A

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MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY

VOYAGES

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TRAVELS:

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TRANSLATIONS FROM FOREIGN LANGUAGES, OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS NEVER BEFORE TRANSLATED.

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III.

ANALYSES OF NEW VOYAGES AND TRAVELS PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND

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1806

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

MOREA, ALBANIA,

AND SEVERAL OTHER PARTS

OF THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE,

TO

CONSTANTINOPLE.

DURING THE YEARS 1798, 1799, 1800, AND 1801.

COMPRISING

A DESCRIPTION

OF THOSE COUNTRIES, OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS, &c. &c.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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THE

AUTHOR's PREFACE.

THE state of modern Greece is but little known. The two travellers who have given us most information on the subject, are Messrs. Choiseuil Gouffier, and Felix Beaujour; the former of whom viewed the country only as an antiquarian, while the latter investigated its commercial advantages. Tournefort and Olivier describe merely its isles; and every other traveller, without exception, has made statements which are either false or incomplete.

Having been left in that country by the chance of war, and during my stay there surveyed the most interesting parts of ancient Greece, I flatter myself hat my work will be found to contain much novelty in the description of the Morea and Albania, as well as in the account of Constantinople.

That the reader may be enabled to judge of the truth of my statements, and to conceive the situation to which I was reduced, I shall in a few words give an outline of the voyage which succeeded my captivity. I left France in the character of physician attached to the Commission of Arts and Sciences, which was destined to the East. Shortly after arriv-

ing in Egypt, the bad state of my health obliged me to quit the country with a view of returning to Italy. I therefore embarked with my colleague Bessieres, also a member of the Commission, in a Leghorn tartane. We were joined on board by Colonel Poitivin of the Engineers, who had just recovered from a long sickness; Colonel Charbonnel of the Artillery; the Commissary Fornier; Beauvais, Commanding adjutant; Girard, a member of the commission; Joie and Bouvier Officers of the Marines; Guerini, Inquisitor of Malta; and a guide named Mathieu, belonging to the General in Chief. Some domestics, and an Egyptian cahouas or courier belonging to the Beys, formed the remainder of the passengers.

Colonel Charbonnel was conveyed on board some days before our departure. This officer was afflicted with a violent ophthalmia, accompanied with a dreadful dysentery; but not wishing to quit the army, he had received permission to repair to Malta, where he was to serve after his recovery. According to the instructions which he had received from the Commandant of Marines at Alexandria, who was ordered to furnish him the means of reaching his destination, he was to quit us at Messina, and proceed to Malta in a *speronare** : but our unpropitious stars, together with the ignorance of the sailors, caused our frail bark to run to leeward of the Pharos of Messina, and

* A *speronare* is a boat which conveys provisions from Sicily to Malta, and is employed in the general navigation of the channel.

thus we were carried towards the eastern extremity of Calabria; a circumstance which I shall explain in the course of the work.

In short, I was reduced to slavery by a Tripoline corsair, and unfortunately separated from my friend Bessieres; but it will be seen how much I profited by his observations, and those of Charbonnel, relative to Albania.

In what relates to the Morea and Constantinople, I have not inserted many events which occurred to me; but have sacrificed my journal and a detail of my personal adventures, to make room for matter of more importance. In speaking of Constantinople, so often described by travellers, I have avoided the repetition of former accounts: and I can confidently assert that my information is new, particularly that which relates to the imperial castle of the Seven Towers, in which I was imprisoned twenty-five months; to the gardens, and the harem of the Sultan, both of which I saw; and to the misfortunes of the French prisoners in Turkey.

The maps given with this work, have been prepared by the geographer of Anacharsis, M. Barbie du Bocage; who has considered the details which I have furnished of the Morea worthy of insertion in a fine map of that country, which he has drawn out by order of the Marshal of the Empire.

Such is the result of my labours, which were often

interrupted during an unfortunate captivity of three years. If it be favourably received, I shall not regret the fatigue which I have undergone; but shall banish from my memory the dangers to which I was frequently exposed by my eagerness to acquire information.

TRAVEI

IN THE

MOREA, ALBANIA, &c.

CHAP. I.

DEPARTURE FROM EGYPT.—ACCOUNT OF OUR CAPTURE AT CAPE STILE, IN CALABRIA.

IT was on the 5th of November, 1798, I embarked on board the Leghorn tartane, the Madonna di Monte Negro, and met with the officers whose names I have mentioned in the preface; most of whom, though in a state of convalescence, were far from having recovered their health. We sailed from the new harbour of Alexandria, at eleven P. M. in stormy weather; and were lucky enough to escape the English, Turkish, and Russian fleets, which then blockaded the port. The next day at sun-rise the Libyan shore only resembled a bluish zone which soon after vanished. For some days the wind blew impetuously, and the sea ran high, at the expiration of which we recognized the island of Candia: a calm then ensued; we were overcome by a suffocating heat, and during ten days we were unable to pursue our course. But alas! why did we murmur at these trivial delays? We were soon rewarded for our discontent.

On the 24th of November our crew, instead of standing off the Pharos of Messina as they pretended, got embayed in the gulph of Squillacea, on the Calabrian coast; and the sun, which appeared towards noon, shewed them the Appennines, in which direction they obstinately persisted in steering. At length the night of the 25th proved the ruin of all our hopes, and the commencement of our misfortunes. A Tripoline corsair perceived us at the decline of day, without being observed on our part; and a sudden calm having stopped our course, the enemy gained upon us by his sweeps. Having no suspicion of our danger, we retired to rest. Already had we passed half the night; the full moon lightened the coast of Calabria, and silence prevailed throughout our fragile bark; when the Leghorn sailors, who watched on deck, perceived the enemy approaching. They imme-

diately ran to their comrades; gently awoke them; and in concert with a Provençal pilot, l.. ered the boat, and made off without apprizing one of us of their intention to go. We might otherwise have detained them: but the boat would not have held us all; so that on learning what had happened, we awaited our destiny with resignation.

The corsair soon discharged a few shot at us; and continued to fire as he advanced, while we were unable to make any resistance from a want of arms. The shouts of the enemy's crew, the noise of his cannon, and the clashing of sabres, redoubled as he approached. We had hoisted our flag; and did nothing but make signals of peace, till the enemy ran foul of our vessel and boarded. The audacity of these banditti was at its height on perceiving there was not a single armed man on board, but each of us was in an abject and peaceable attitude. They instantly knocked us down, and beat several of us in a most cruel manner. A single minute effected our complete ruin; in short, we found ourselves in chains.

Hitherto the enemy had taken us for Neapolitans, a nation which seems to have been created for their prey; but as soon as the captain of the corsair found out that we were Frenchmen, he affected a different conduct, and ordered us to be released from our irons. He was profuse in his protestations of friendship, of which we did not fail to make a proper estimation; he promised that what had been taken from us should be restored, and swore by his head a thousand times that he would conduct us to Corfu. As to the tartane which had been abandoned, and in which he found an old Tuscan flag, he adjudged it to himself, and sent on board a prize-master with ten men. This being done, we were conveyed to his own vessel.

The banditti who composed this crew, nevertheless broke open all our boxes, and distributed their contents; but none of us dared to remonstrate. On the appearance of day, the captain (whose name was Orouchs, and who was a Dulcignot*) permitted myself, together with Messrs. Fornier, Joie, and an aide de-camp of general Buonaparte, to return on board the tartane, for the purpose of procuring a change of clothes, as those about us had been torn to rags; and we were to rejoin him to proceed on our destination: but scarcely had we reached the prize-vessel, when the pirate at the mast-head announced a sail at the hori-

* A Dulcignot means an inhabitant of Dulcigno, the ancient Olcinium; now a town in Turkish Albania, situated near the little river Borana. Its inhabitants are all pirates, and enter into the service of the barbarians; but some of them act for themselves, and visit the Adriatic. They have all a physiognomy which announces cruelty and deceit. Dulcigno is six leagues west of Antivari, and eight leagues from Seutari.

zon, and we soon discovered a frigate making all sail towards us.

The Reis Orouchs hailed his lieutenant who commanded the Tartane which had us on board, and ordered him to make off for Tripoli.

About ten minutes after this separation (which to us was like a thunderbolt, as it parted us from our friends) the frigate fired a shot to leeward, as a signal for us to bring to; but our prize-master refused, and hoisted French colours: this artifice saved him at our expence; for we had no doubt that the frigate was a Neapolitan, which then made sail in chase of the corsair.

I shall not describe the return of the night that succeeded our capture; it filled us with the most melancholy presages. Our enemies became suspicious, and on our side we observed them attentively; for we had already formed a plan of a bold attempt, when they pushed us all below deck and closed the hatches. Still fearing some effort on our part, they did not think themselves sufficiently secure, and continued to watch the whole night. They certainly had good grounds for their precaution; for though we were now reduced to the impossibility of executing any project with decision, we nevertheless suggested and discussed a thousand plans for our release. At length we adopted the only one which seemed reasonable; and as we were totally deprived of arms, we agreed to gain over the prize-master to our interest.

We were able to make him understand us by means of the Frankish tongue: and we had some reason to think he would second our views, as he owed his liberty to General Buonaparte; who had released him as well as a multitude of Mussulmans from the place where the slaves are confined at Malta. He besides knew the French, for he had accompanied our army to Egypt; and after serving General Dumas as a domestic, obtained his release by the interposition of the Bey of Bengazi, and resumed his ancient profession.

As the Reis did not know that we were at war with the Ottoman Porte, we gave him to understand, that since he could take us where he pleased, it would be more to his interest to land us at the isle of Zante than at Tripoli, as we could not now be at any great distance from the former. We added that on his arrival, he would be generously rewarded by the French commanders; and that he need not fear our demanding any thing from him, since the Corsair had carried off nearly all our effects. We besides insinuated, that he might there get rid of his crew; while by selling his prize to advantage, he would be enabled to abandon the dangerous pursuit that had already cast him into a prison. These ideas seemed to please him; and the wind then blowing off the coast of Africa, he resolved to follow our advice.

The next day we perceived that enchanting isle, and spread all our canvas before the wind. We almost touched the land: when the crew, recollecting the danger they would run if a war had taken place, revolted; and putting about the vessel, reproached their commander with treachery. We were struck motionless on seeing the illusions which we had formed disappear in an instant; all we could obtain was to be conducted to the Morea, which was the country of the steersman, who was said to be perfectly acquainted with all its ports.

Night set in with a heavy sea, and several gusts of wind split our sails. At sun-rise we found ourselves off the coast of the Morea below Cape Tornese, where we were detained the whole day by a calm. The Barbarians employed themselves in mending their sails, fighting for our spoil, and burning some manuscripts which I had preserved. On the other hand, we passed our time in searching among thè sand that formed our ballast for scattered morsels of biscuit, as there was none on board either for the Turks or ourselves. About one hundred weight of rice and half a butt of water, constituted the whole of our provisions.

CHAP. II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COASTS OF THE MOREA, FROM CASTEL-TORNESE TO NAVARIN.—ARRIVAL AT NAVARIN.—AUDIENCE OF THE BEY.—ACCOUNT OF THAT TOWN AND ITS ENVIRONS.

FROM the point at which we were stopped by the calm, we recognised Mount Pholoë (now called Dimizana), by two high pyramids which crown its majestic summit. The neighbouring shore is low, and covered with woods that form an arch over the sea, which the irritated waves cannot reach: to the left in the north-west we observed Gastouni, situated on a fine spot inland, at a short distance from the right-bank of the Igliako, a river known by the ancient name of Peneus. The minarets of this town appeared in a confused manner among the white rocks that intersect the shore, and render very difficult all access to a small port in the vicinity. During the day we did not gain more than two leagues, by tacking off the Gulph of Tornese, in which we at last entered.

On the 1st and 2d of December, without being at much distance from land, we pursued our course towards Navarin. We stood out towards the little isle of Pontico, where there is a considerable fishery, from which perhaps in ancient times it derived the name of Ichtys; and a good anchorage at the mouth of a small river which is probably the Jardan, known to the Greeks by no

other name than that of Riaki, or rivulet. The shore in this part is wooded. The gulf runs up almost a league, and a chain of reddish mountains that extend northward shelters it from the winds. About half a league farther along the shore towards the mouth of the Alpheus, the coast presents an agreeable spectacle; and contains some houses, with a chapel said to be consecrated to the Holy Virgin; the Greeks call it Panagia Staphylion, or "Our Lady of the Grapes," perhaps because the vines in this district are good and abundant. Two leagues to the eastward is the town of Golinitza, situated half a league from the sea. From hence to the mouth of the Alpheus, the coast is covered with lakes, fisheries, and salt-pits. All the country along the coast of which we sailed till night, is called Kalloskope or Belvidere.

The next day we found ourselves at a short distance from Cape Cornello: and distinctly saw a part of Arcadia built on the ruins of Cyparisia, which formerly gave the name to the whole gulf in which we sailed; and which, like the town, has taken the modern appellation of the Gulf of Arcadia.

In order to double Cape Conello, we stood towards the Strophades; which are isles covered with herbage, but without trees, and on which I could not discover any houses.

At length, on the 3d of December, before sun-rise, the *Mistral*, or north-west wind, began to blow, and the waves to roar, when we had the good fortune to enter the port of Navarin. Dying with hunger, and having the picture of Africa in our imagination, we smiled at the boisterous elements which drove us to the Morea, from a certainty that our fate could not be more terrible than if we had landed in Barbary. Scarcely had we cast anchor in the port of Navarin, when a young *Zantiot* working a *monoxilon*, or canoe made of a single piece of wood, boarded us: and gave information of the war between France and the Ottoman Porte, as likewise of the siege of Corfu; which followed the surrender of the isles of Cerigo, Zante, Cefalonia, and Saint Maure. He then left us, to give intelligence of our arrival to the town.

Our Reis now perceived that he had committed a fault by putting himself into the power of the Turks: and affecting an air of friendship, assured us that before night we should sail for Tripoli; where we should find protection from the Bey, who was at peace with France. But he was no longer the master of his actions; for immediately afterwards the port captain, having as a mark of distinction a plate of marble suspended from his neck, came to pay us a visit. From his looks and gestures we fully ascertained that he was not our friend: he took the Reis ashore; and conducted him to the Vechil, or commercial agent of the Bey of Tripoli, his master.

He speedily returned; and we saw the shore covered with the inhabitants, who had come thither from motives of curiosity. Several Greeks repaired on board the tartane, to purchase our spoils: the barbarians sold them whatever they did not choose to keep; and among the articles was an image of the *Madona di Monte Negro*, which a Papas bought for two piastres*. Towards evening we were ordered to land and enter the town, that we might be presented to the Bey. We found him in the midst of his divan, sitting at the corner of a sofa in a grave and haughty attitude. Our reception was at first severe: but on the appearance of two trunks which contained the remnant of our effects, the members of the divan began to smile; and immediately put seals upon them, as a security for their inspection on the following day.

We had not hitherto been asked the slightest question; but now the drogman of the Bey overwhelmed us with inquiries, to which we answered as we thought proper, avoiding to furnish any documents. The Bey at length assigned us a chamber in his own house for the night, and put a strong guard of Albanians over us. As for the tartane, he adjudged it to himself, pretending that there was no proof that the corsairs were not pirates; he ordered Ali Cahouas, who came with us from Egypt, to be put in chains, after receiving several dozen bastinadoes on the soles of his feet.

Our supper was served up on a dish of tinned copper, round which we all sat, and an Albanian even brought us wine. The drogman came to bear us company; and requested us to favour him with our cravats, which he wished for as well as the officers of the Bey, who incessantly asked us for our handkerchiefs. This drogman's name was Nicoli: he was a Græco-Venetian, being a native of Cephalonia, and a taylor by trade; besides which he was the British commercial agent at this port. He offered to mend our clothes; and took this opportunity to rob my comrade, Fornier, of a jewel which he had kept from the rapacity of the corsairs, by concealing it within the lining of his pantaloons.

After supper we laid ourselves down on the matting which covered the floor; and had slept a few hours, when the Bey came, and by his entrance awoke us. He broke the seals that had been put on our trunks, stole what he liked best in concert with his chancellor, and concluded with sealing the trunks again.

At break of day we were awakened by the chaunt of the Imaum, who was performing service in an oratory contiguous to the place where we slept. Soon afterwards the Bey ordered us into the divan, and proceeded to examine our trunks; when each of the counsellors stole some of the rags which they contained, but not

* The piastre here is equal to one livre fifteen sous of France

one of them touched my books. After having thus plundered, they pretended much friendship towards us; and from the privilege attached in Turkey to professors in medicine, I was allowed to go out, and was sent to visit an Agar, whose arm had been broken by a musket-shot in a late affray.

As I had liberty, during the week that we remained at Navarin, to walk through the town and its environs, I can pledge myself for the accuracy of the following description.—To the right on entering the port of Navarin, may be seen the town, which is called by the Turks Avarin, and by the Greeks Neo-Castron; but it is not properly observable till we have passed two rocks situated between the isle of Sphacteria and the main land, which forms the pass. The town is built on a promontory at the foot of Mount Temathia: it is more than ten minutes walk from the port to its principal gate, which opens to the N. E. Navarin is longer than it is wide, and extends from the pass which it commands, to the distance of nearly a quarter of a league eastward. Its fortifications consist of four regular bastions, on which iron guns are placed without carriages: they were built by the Turks, as were the walls of the town, in 1572, and were not repaired till after the war with the Russians in 1770.

The Bey has his residence at this place: and the garrison consists of about sixty janissaries, commanded by a oda-bachi, or captain sent from Constantinople; a company of artillery with a baker for their captain, and a corps of about two hundred Albanians who exercise different mechanical professions. An aqueduct which I was not able to see, brings a saponaceous kind of water to the town from the distance of nearly a league; and this is the only supply for drinking.

The town, which has only two gates, overlooks the sea, and protects the harbour: its streets, which are filled with bombs and balls, are dirty, narrow, and high or low according to the inequality of the soil, which sinks to the westward. The house of the Bey is situated in the lower part of the town, and the bazar is in the second street to the left on entering at the N. E. gate. Nothing remarkable attracts the notice of the traveller; except some mutilated marble columns, which support the façade of the grand mosque. Each house has a yard planted with orange trees; which in December, the month of my residence here, were loaded with fruit.

The port of Navarin is the most spacious in the Morea; and extends as far as Pylos, or old Navarin, which is three leagues distant. It is closed to the south by the isle of Sphacteria, celebrated by Thucydides for the massacre of the Lacedemonians who had taken refuge there after their defeat by the Athenians in a naval action: it is now called Sfagia, and contains only a

few fishermen's hovels. It is defended by a fort on the main land, above the ancient Pylos.

The Bey, whose avarice was satisfied, omitted nothing during the eight days we were with him to divert us: we passed the day in his divan, and sometimes in making visits; while he dispatched his emina, or intendant, to the Pacha, to inform him of our arrest.

We addressed a letter to the Pacha by this intendant, insisting on the neutrality of the Tuscan flag, under which we had been taken; and his answer was, a command that we should be sent to him under a strong escort. We therefore quitted Navarin, and the Bey furnished us with horses for the journey; we were guarded by fifty Albanians, under the orders of a sort of serjeant. On any other occasion we could not have refrained from laughing at the grotesque appearance of this guard; they wore red-leather caps, red clokes, sandals on their feet, and were armed with fowling-pieces, besides a pair of enormous pistols and a poniard in their girdle: but when we saw behind us the vechil of Tripoli, who was coming either to surrender us up to the Pacha, or to claim us with a view of sending us to Africa, it was difficult for us to free ourselves from anxiety.

At nine in the morning we left the town; and at the foot of the mountain we saw our Reis, who came to bid us farewell. We ascended Mount Temathia; and after travelling an hour and a half, gained a narrow valley, from which we directed our course N. E. The mountains on our right often presented perpendicular masses crowned with wood; while from those on our left, which were nearly similar, we saw a magnificent waterfall, formed by torrents which escaped from a natural embrasure between two rocks of Mount Tomeus.

After traversing this valley for half an hour, we ascended a hill which led to a vast forest filled with enormous oaks, of that valuable species which affords gall-nuts and bark for tanning, with which a very considerable trade is carried on. We here saw very ancient trees which had been smitten by the hand of time, while others had been destroyed by the fires which herdsmen had kindled against their trunks. At the time of our journey, the medlar (*Cretagus azarolus*) regaled us with its odoriferous scent, and in every part the banks of the rivulets were covered with rose-laurels in blow. We proceeded through immense woods of wild olive-trees, among which arose plane-trees and holm-oaks.

Two hours passed in this manner before we arrived at a rivulet which apparently empties itself in the gulf of Coron. We walked along its banks, and quenched our thirst with some figs that had been furnished to us. We now could not be above four leagues from Arcadia, while the cultivated land proved that we

were approaching a village. After travelling another hour we crossed a river upwards of forty feet wide; which was probably the Bias, that took its name from a son of Amychaon. A quarter of a league farther we came to a farm surrounded by walls; and in which most of the Albanian escort that preceded us at a good rate, had already struck terror. We found in it some poor Greeks meanly drest, and making complaints that the soldiers had beaten and robbed them. Their women had probably escaped into the woods, which extend towards the W. and N.; for we saw none in the neighbourhood. At length, after proceeding over an immense plain closed to the N. by Mount Ithome, and from which we saw the ancient towns of Coron, Coroneus in Bœotia, &c. we approached the Pamissus or Pirazza, which abounds in fish, and particularly lobsters of a very large size, some of them weighing thirty pounds. We passed this river by a bridge, and there the caprice of our guides made us feel their authoritative insolence; for instead of conveying us towards Calamatta, they resolved to conduct us to Andreossa. I afterwards learnt that this event was most fortunate for us, as the inhabitants of Calamatta were very bad people; at least such is their character throughout the Morea, where they are known by the name of "the men with black eyes." I subsequently saw several of them, which confirmed me in the truth of this statement.

The town of Calamatta, which I saw before me, and about which I acquired every possible information, is not, as many pretend, the ancient Thuria; the site of which is at the summit of a natural amphitheatre to the eastward, where the Turks have a small castle. This town, which I suppose to have been the ancient Calamea, contains about 5000 inhabitants, and carries on a considerable trade. In the valley which surrounds it may be seen, almost at one view, twelve Turkish villages.

As our conductors made us take the road to Andreossa, we retreated till we reached a chain of mountains running from N. to S. The country hereabout contained no trees, and the peasantry we met with seemed to have acquired a premature old age by labour and misery. Some shots fired by the Albanians caused a vast echo on the mountains; which no longer responded to the voices of the bacchantes, the amorous songs of the shepherds, or the warlike shouts of the Messenians. Here however were performed the exploits of Aristomenes, that intrepid chief who checked the power of the Lacedemonians.

On approaching Messenia, we discovered Mount Ithome. It was through the valley in which we travelled, that the battalions of Sparta arrived, met the Messenians, and performed prodigies of valour; but now all is barren and silent, presenting a strong subject of meditation.

As we advanced towards Andreossa, the Turks who escorted us surrounded our caravan; while the oda-bachi or chief of the janissaries of Navarin, went on to announce our arrival. The time of our entrance is still fresh in my memory, from which it will never be erased. Our horses walked in a file through a narrow street that grew wider as it approached the bazar, when suddenly the most furious cries proceeded from every quarter. An enraged multitude attacked us with a shower of stones; and pursued us to the house of the aga, whose gates could not be closed in time to prevent us from ill-treatment. Bruised and knocked from our horses, we found shelter from the fury of these barbarians only in a room where enormous chains had been prepared for us. The rage of the fanatics redoubled on seeing Ali-Cahouas, who had been conveyed with us, and who told them that we had carried him forcibly away from Egypt.

We were kept about an hour in the cell, which was full of smoke, while they were deliberating upon our fate; after which they made us walk to a prison at the extremity of the town. From what had already passed, we apprehended new dangers; but representations, even had we been able to make them, would have been useless, and we were obliged to obey.

The crowd having dispersed, we heard no more of their bellowings; but proceeded with tolerable quietness, escorted by the Albanians; when a gang of thieves in concert with the guards, or probably some of the latter alone, profiting by the profound darkness that prevailed, fell suddenly upon us, and attempted to strip off our clothes. We resisted the attack; and I parried with my hand the stroke of a poignard, which was levelled at our unfortunate companion: as all this did not pass without noise, the populace again ran towards us, the assailants redoubled their rage, and we did not arrive at our prison till we had several times withstood the attacks of this outrageous multitude.

I must assert however, that if we had received any blows, we should certainly have returned them, as the horde increased insomuch as to endanger our lives: nor was their rage at its height till after we had entered the prison; the stones then fell in showers upon the roof, the doors shook with their assaults, and our last hour seemed to have arrived. We waited with resignation for the result of this horrible scene, and vowed to sell our lives as dearly as possible; when a dreadful thunder-storm, accompanied by torrents of rain, dispersed the assailants.

The captain of the Albanians, whom we had missed during the attack, now came; and after giving us salutations of peace, made a fire, and prepared some pilau* for our supper.

* Rice baked, and mixed with butter or oil.

The next day we were taken out to be again conducted to the house of the Aga. The town appeared perfectly tranquil, and the inhabitants even saluted us with tokens of friendship. From such an unexpected change, I was convinced that we were indebted for what we had experienced to the Tripolitan commissary; and to one of the corsairs who was with us, whom with regret we saw effecting his escape. Every thing now seemed for the best; and so much exceeded our hopes, that I was able to make my observations as tranquilly as a traveller with an escort under his orders.

From the remarks which I have made on the town of Andreossa, and the villages in its vicinity, I am convinced that the Morea is more populous than is generally supposed. The town, which stands in a narrow and cheerful valley, is every where without walls; it contains three mosques, and a bazar planted with mulberry-trees. The houses, which are small but elegant, possess a cleanly appearance, which I no where else observed in the Morea; and may be said to accord with the beauty of the spot on which they stand. With respect to the inhabitants, they are thieves by profession; but are brave, proud even to arrogance, and bear a character for wickedness which I am not inclined to contest. Their physiognomy is animated and expressive. There are among them many fair men with large blue eyes, which indicates the mixture of the Aborigines with the Spartans. The Turks who inhabit this town have intermixed with Greek women, and speak the language of their wives; they are generally of an athletic conformation.

CHAP. III.

DEPARTURE FROM ANDREOSSA, THROUGH LONDARI, TO TRIPOLITZA.—REMARKS ON THE COUNTRY THROUGH WHICH WE TRAVELLED.—AUDIENCE OF THE PACHA.—DESCRIPTION OF HIS PALACE, GUARDS, &c. AND OBSERVATIONS DURING OUR RESIDENCE IN THAT TOWN.

WE mounted our horses in the court of Aga, and left Andreossa by a narrow valley surrounded with cottages and gardens. Proceeding northward, we passed an artificial road paved at intervals, and having all the solidity of an ancient military way. After travelling an hour, we stopped at an Aiasma, or consecrated fountain made by the piety of the Mussulmans for the benefit of travellers. A quarter of a league further on, following the declivity of Mount Ithome, we saw a large village called Anaziri, and entered a valley which was filled with wild hogs.

A Laconian greyhound belonging to the Bey of Navarin, was hunting, at the time of our arrival, a number of those ferocious animals: but it was soon surrounded, and compelled to retreat. Our Turks and Albanians attempted to liberate the courageous hound from its enemies, by which we became spectators of a pleasant kind of combat. On the one hand we heard the clamour of the Mussulmans, and on the other the roaring of the boars, which were driven to a rock in the mountain; while the hound had gained a rocky projection, and trembled in every joint. At the first onset the followers of the prophet, though animated by their hatred of the unclean animals, as well as by the interest they had in saving their master's dog, fell back, and threw each other into confusion. The boars, profiting by this circumstance, returned upon the assailants, with their hair bristling up; and leaping in a furious manner, gained the field and made off, though not without receiving several musket-shots. None of the assailants were killed, and the dog joining his liberators, they proceeded in front during a storm of rain which wetted us all to the skin.

About half a league from this spot, we reached the banks of the Parnazzi, or Parnassus, which was swelled by the water of several torrents. We entered a mill in the vicinity with a view to rest ourselves, but found no provisions: on which the Turks ordered us to proceed again, while they remained behind to levy a contribution on the miller.

The rain continued to fall violently, and we entered a field through which we could not find a passage; when we met with a Turk of good appearance and noble chest, followed by two slaves. He wished us good day in French, informed us that he had been at Marseilles and Paris, and recognised the commissary Fornier in his tattered regimentals. He then told us a variety of news, which we listened to with eagerness. To hear a Turk express himself with purity in our language, and yet a real Mussulman, made us anxious to know who he could be. We asked him the question, but he only informed us that he was going to his country-house at about two leagues from the spot where we met him; he however said much of the attentions which we should receive from the Pacha. Our conversation grew more interesting; but the guards arriving in sight, he thought it prudent to retire.

From hence to Mount Lycea and the foot of the Taygetus, at which is the defile that was the Hermaeum of the ancients, the ride is reckoned two hours and a half. We continued a full hour over a road which was paved at intervals, and had been well washed by the rain: and soon after we left at about two hundred fathoms to the right, a large village called Chastemi, which was probably Arupheus; or the present is rather a hamlet built upon

the ruins of that town, among which there are still a great tower and several high buildings. The fields in the vicinity were cultivated with cotton, and surrounded with hedges. About half a league from this place, we arrived at the village of Carterogli, where we passed the night; our conductors as well as ourselves being almost exhausted by the incessant rain, and a want of food.

According to custom, these fellows drove the unfortunate peasantry from their hovels; who nevertheless contrived to carry off with them all their goods, which consisted of a mat of reeds and an image of the Holy Virgin. Among the ancient Greeks, Ceres had her niche near the door of each house; but now it is filled by the Virgin Mary, before whom a lamp and incense burn on holidays.

We took up our residence in a cottage with the intendant of the Bey of Navarin; and the manner in which we were treated, made us forget the usage we had experienced at Andreossa. The mistress of the cottage baked for us upon the hearth some bread, which she kneaded as soon as we arrived: we found it delicious; as we realso two enormous turkeys with which the intendant regaled us at the expence of the peasants. We quitted this spot the next day at sun-rise; after drinking some warm ewe's milk, with which the Greeks presented us. We saw some very handsome women with light hair, who walked without any covering on their feet or legs, in the mud which made the roads of this village almost impassable. At length we descended into a cultivated plain; when we perceived by the fallen flanks of our horses, as well as their slow pace, that they had passed the night without food. I now found myself in the centre of a celebrated country, of which my memory furnished me with many interesting anecdotes. Leaving the fields of Steniclaros, I directed my steps towards the Hermæum which led from Messenia to the territory of Megalopolis. At length, after a tedious journey of some hours, we reached the small town of Londari. We stopped at the house of the Aga; who received us with civility, gave us a good dinner, and furnished us with excellent horses to carry us beyond Mount Boreas.

The town of Londari contains about two hundred and fifty houses, among which were several that announced the owners to be opulent. The inhabitants, whom I cannot but praise, made a good appearance, as I were respectably clothed. They may be said to live upon the fruits of the field; they breathe a wholesome air, and rear a number of silkworms.

We left Londari the same day, at two in the afternoon; and after a difficult journey of several hours up a hill, reached the summit of Mount Boreas. After passing the valley of Belmina, through which runs the Vasilipotamos, we stopped at a village for the night. I sincerely regretted that I was not able

to visit the sources of the Alpheus, of which so many prodigies have been related. I wished to descend into those profound gulfs from which it impetuously issues; and to ascertain the state of those subterraneous passages which, like most of the mountains of the Peloponnesus, owe their origin to volcanoes: but I was not master of my actions, and the guards frequently reminded me that I was their slave. The next day we entered Tripolitza, when our Albanian escort fired off their pieces; and we proceeded at a quick pace to the seraglio or palace of the pacha, in order that we might escape such insults as we had before experienced. The pacha or vizier who then had the chief command in the Morea, was named Mustapha.

At the foot of the stairs by which we ascended to the hall of the divan, where he presided, we saw a beautiful horse richly caparisoned, and held by two African slaves. We crossed a long gallery filled with guards and officers of the houshold, who were habited and decorated in the most ludicrous manner. At length we were presented to the pacha, whom we found surrounded by all the great men of his province: he was sitting at the corner of a sofa, smoking mechanically a *narguillet*, or Persian pipe. Appearing as if recovering himself from a profound contemplation, he invited us, by his drogman, to sit down. The Vechil of Tripoli, intendant of the Bey of Navarin, prostrated himself at his feet, kissed his sleeve, and retired to the extremity of the hall in a suppliant attitude. He afterwards inquired our names and quality, said a few words about Egypt, and then dismissed us. We were conducted to one of the wings of the palace which used to be the harem; but which was now unoccupied, as the pacha kept no women: here were appointed for us a chamber, a guard, and a Greek as an attendant. Ali-Cahouas was extremely well-treated, and our Albanians with their captain was lodged in the stables. In the course of a few hours we were visited by the drogman, M. Caradja; who informed us that three hundred Frenchmen belonging to the garrison at Zante had lately been lodged in the galleries of the harem in which we were placed, and were afterwards conducted by land to Constantinople.

In this place we passed a whole month; communicating only with the pages of the pacha, and the officers of his houshold.

The seraglio, or palace of the pacha, seemed capable of accommodating twelve hundred men: it is a vast house built of wood, upon a square plan; and divided in half by an aile of buildings, which also forms two courts. On the ground-floor are the stables, and above them the apartments of his highness and his attendants. A vast corridor projecting over the court, leads to the different apartments; and the Albanese who compose the guard of the pacha, sleep beneath this kind of shelter. The harem, and the prison

for criminals, are to the north (or back) of this square building.

The palace is encumbered with a numerous train of domestics: this was the luxury of the Romans; and it prevails among the Turks, who have succeeded them in the possession of these beautiful countries. Among these domestics are preparers of coffee, lemonade, sherbet, &c. purveyors of pipes, confectioners, bathers, taylors, barbers, hussars, pages, and other minions of the pacha; besides buffoons, musicians, players of marionets (an obscene kind of gesticulation with music), exhibitors of the magic lantern, dancers, an Imaun, and lastly the executioner. This last personage is like the right-hand of the pacha; as he always accompanies his master, and is the only person who has the privilege of sitting down in his presence.

The harem, when it is maintained, has its particular service and attendants. We must not entertain the ideas of luxury and magnificence, which arise from the description of this residence as given by travellers: their details of it would have been more accurate, if they had described it as the abode of ennui, jealousy, and unsatisfied desire. Music and dancing constitute the frivolous pleasures of the victims of such a residence, into which true love never entered: their occupations consist of embroidery: and every day presents nothing but the same series of monotonous labour, tedium, and disgust.

In the palace they quit their beds before sun-rise, to attend the prayer that precedes the ablutions; and afterwards pipes and boiled coffee are distributed. Sometimes the vizier gets on horseback, and goes to see the *jerid* (a sort of review); or employs himself with public audiences. Afterwards he administers justice in person; and pronounces the sentences of various kinds, as he is invested with absolute power. At noon prayers again take place, and are followed by dinner. At three in the afternoon they again go to prayers; which are succeeded by military parades, music, &c.: they then enter the semanlic, or the Andronitis of the Greeks, which means the apartments of the men. The pacha receives visits; when they pour him out sherbet for his recreation, and relate tales from the Thousand and One Nights; while his buffoons make grimaces, the visitors occasionally singing verses from the Coran. At sun-set they again resort to prayers, take supper, and smoke afterwards. In the course of an hour and a half they assemble to pray for the fifth and last time; and as soon as this is terminated, a retreat is announced by music.

In order to raise our spirits, or perhaps rather to shew their own talents, the pages of the vizier regaled us with a concert in their way. The sweetness of their romances, and a certain melan-

choly charm excited by their tumbeleks or cymbals, flutes, violins, tambourines, drums, pipes, &c. produced upon us the most agreeable impressions: they imitated the voices of women in their singing, but in dancing to the sound of castanets they made figures which were disgusting to those unacquainted with their manners.

The ordinary council of the Pacha, which assembles every Thursday, consists of a Kiaya, his Vice-Begher-Bey, the Lieutenant of Finances, the Comptroller, and some Cadis. At this period Russia kept an agent at Tripolitza, who had a consular voice in the assembly. At these meetings they deliberated on the firmans which were issued by the Porte; on the demands of the Beys or Commandants of the place; and discussed the different modes of administration, on which depended the completion of the views of the governors.

The common guard of the Pacha consists of four hundred delis, or horsemen clothed in the Hungarian manner; with felt caps similar to those of the French hussars, bound round the head by a turban. Their arms are a sabre, a brace of pistols, and a poniard. On making a charge, they fix the bridle to the pummel of the saddle; and hold a pistol in the left hand, and the sabre in the right: they observe no order, but act according to the impulse of the moment

Some Arnouts or Albanians (an uncommonly warlike people, who are in the service of all the Pachas) form the infantry. They guard the palace-gates; where one of them sits down to watch with a stick in his hand, while the rest sleep in an obscure spot rendered inaccessible by the smoke of tobacco.

They always keep a horse saddled, with an equerry in waiting: not, as some travellers have asserted, with a view to accomodate their prophet if he should pass; but for the use of the Pacha, whenever he is obliged to make an excursion to a spot where a fire has broken out; on which occasion he is not only obliged to appear in person, but to be among the first that arrive.

I shall conclude my account of the interior of the palace of the Pacha, with observing, that a Turkish kitchen would not hold a distinguished place among those of modern epicures. Except the pilaw, their dishes consist merely of mutton *spoiled* in various ways, stinking ragouts, starch scented with musk or rose-water, and pastry made of oil or fat sweetened with honey.

While we were confined in the harem, we had the privilege of walking about the court enclosed by its walls, and associating with the pages and principal officers of the Pacha. This prince condescended to transmit us dishes from his own table; though he had ordered us to be supplied in another manner, and

had appointed a Greek to act as our purveyor. This person, of whom I shall often have occasion to speak, was named Constantine; he was upwards of forty years old, and as great a cheat, rogue, and liar, as could possibly be met with. He came several times a day to know if we had any commands; and when we made any request, he always answered that he had nothing of the kind.

In the evening a detachment of twenty Albanians barricaded our door, and mounted guard in a contiguous chamber; for the double purpose of preventing our escape, and guarding that side of the palace against the nocturnal enterprizes of some mariats, whom the Pacha dreaded even in his seraglio. These soldiers behaved to us in a very friendly manner, and could not help admiring the gaiety and carelessness in which we passed our time. The loss of our liberty, the dangers that surrounded us, and the uncertainty of our fate, might however have produced melancholy reflections; but such was the extreme apathy in which we lived, that we did not anticipate any period before it actually arrived. The season however which followed: (the rains and storms of December), together with the few clothes that we had had, made us feel that something more than philosophy was requisite to secure us against the cold. The Pacha, at our request, ordered us rugs to cover us, and mats to sleep on.

The winter solstice having now arrived, the summits of Mount Roino and Artemisius were loaded with snow, which shortly after covered the ground to the depth of two or three feet.

I was afraid we should be obliged to stay in the harem as long as we remained in the Morea; and this would have been the case, had not a fortunate circumstance occurred to change our fate. The place of pacha being only temporary, Mustapha, whose period had expired, was deposed, and banished to Lepante: while Achmet, who had formerly been governor of the Morea, was re-appointed to that important situation; and as he had a household, and a number of women, we were taken from the harem and sent to lodge in the town, at the house of the Greek who served us, without even being required to give our parole.

CHAP. IV.

DEPARTURE FROM THE SERAGLIO.—ACCOUNT OF OUR NEW RESIDENCE.—REMARKS ON THE DURATION OF THE WINTER IN THE PELOPONNESUS, OR MOREA.—ARRIVAL OF ACHMET PACHA.—ACCOUNT OF THE VALLEY OF TRIPOLITZA.—ROBBERS OF MOUNTPHOLOE.—JOURNEY FROM CALAVRITA TO PATRAS.—ITINERARY AS FAR AS VOSTITZA, OR ÆGIUM.

ON the 17th of January we took possession of our new residence, at the house of the Greek, Constantine. The apartment appropriated to us was the ground-floor of a hut, the door of which was so low that we were obliged to stoop in order to enter it: in this manner the hovels of all the poor Greeks are built; it had a hole that bore the name of a chimney, and under which we lighted our fire. A small trap-door admitted light into this cabin, and at night we *enjoyed* through the apertures between the tiles the majestic appearance of the heavens! Sometimes, however, the snow fell in our faces, and obliged us to put our heads under cover; nevertheless we were incessantly laughing, and forming projects. The winter was rigorous, and the Greeks felt it severely: for six weeks the snow covered the ground, and the wolves descended in herds from the neighbouring mountains to the very gates of the town; but this severity of the season was not without its advantages, as it put a stop to a terrible epidemic disease which had desolated the town of Tripolitza for several months. The different families were consequently more sociable, and we were surrounded by visitors. The first of these were two soldiers of the sixth demi-brigade; one of them a Zantiot by birth, and the other a Saxon. They excited in us the greatest pity; as they were naked, meagre, and diseased. We made them accept whatever we could spare, and promised to call on them in our turn: they told us that they belonged to the garrison of Zante, who were on their way to Constantinople; but twelve of them were left sick at Tripolitza, of whom themselves alone had the misfortune to survive. They informed us of the pay which the Pacha allowed for their subsistence; and of which our Greek, who was their intendant, had robbed them of two-thirds. As the same knavery had been displayed towards us (the Pacha having allowed us fifteen parats, equal to about thirteen sous daily, for our board), I resolved to question Constantine, and reprimand him on the subject.

At length the inquisitive people of the town came to see us; and we found that by communicating with the garrison at Zante, which Mustapha had kept during his residence in the town, they were enabled to express themselves in a few sentences of French. One Mustapha, a Turk by faith, and who had been twice a deserter, endeavoured to gratify us by every assiduity: we were informed that he was a spy appointed to observe our conduct, but he never gave us any reason for complaint. We afterwards had a visit from some Greek women who came to satisfy their curiosity, under the pretence of consulting the physician; some of them solicited prescriptions for their relations in the country, some wished to be bled, and others asked if they were pregnant, or whether they were likely to be so? An old woman presented a tolerably handsome child to us, and begged that we would spit in its face; and notwithstanding all our representations we were obliged to obey her, otherwise she would have conceived that it was bewitched. I afterwards learnt that this singular practice was supposed to prevent the effects of sorcery. Thus a new system of manners and customs came under my observation. The people gradually accustomed themselves to observe us: we daily acquired a greater liberty, and thus I was enabled to collect the facts which are now submitted to the public; my sphere was more and more extended, while my situation gave me an opportunity of associating with several well-informed men, with whom I used to converse, and compare my observations.

Tripolitza is surrounded by a stone wall, which was erected by the Albanians about thirty years ago, as well as a small square fort on a height to the south west of the town. The plan of Tripolitza is irregular, its soil is unequal, and towards the north east is mountainous and swampy. At different distances along the wall, there are half moons in the rampart, which is pierced with loop-holes. The iron artillery on the bastions at the west-side bears the arms of St. Marc. The town has six gates besides a small one for the use of the seraglio; the principal gate which is ornamented, and on which the crescents are hoisted, is that of Naupli in Romania.

The town is supplied with no running water, except what falls from the mountains to the N. W. and this stream, which is employed for the baths and tanneries, is dry during summer. From the south side there runs a rivulet which is partly conveyed to the town by a canal, but the water is not abundant. The Pacha, who apprehended an invasion from the French, had caused a redoubt to be constructed on this side, to prevent the water being cut off, as it supplies that part of Tripolitza throughout the year.

The seraglio of the Pacha is at the opposite extremity, between the gate of Naupli and that of Calavrita. Towards the middle of the principal street which divides the town from North to South, is the Bazar, consisting of several streets, and filled with arms, merchandize, fruit, provisions, and every article of trade: it is shaded with plane and other large trees, on which storks build their nests undisturbed; though they are the site of military executions, and other criminals are often hung on them. Springs, which are kept in excellent repair, are very numerous, and every house has its well; but the water which is found at a short depth, is of a bad quality. There are four grand mosques, and five or six Greek churches in a ruinous state. The streets, except the large one just mentioned, are paved only in the middle, and have small kennels cut in them to facilitate the running of the water, and receive the waste of the houses. Some rich and powerful Turks have vast mansions in the town, but they are built in a tasteless manner. The poor inhabitants who are banished to the lanes in the vicinity of the rampart, live in houses, or rather hovels, which consist of nothing but a ground floor; they make their fires simply against the wall, and the smoke passes through the interstices of the tiles.

The Khan is the only solid edifice in the town; it is built of stone, and closed by doors strengthened by iron, which are every evening fastened with large chains. There is a magnificent reservoir which served as an ornament at the principal gate of Megalopolis, as is evident from the inscription upon it; but it is now used as a trough, at which travellers water their horses.

Tripolitza, as well as several other towns in the Morea, revolted on the appearance of the victorious flag of the Czarina; but yielding at length to their fate, this fine province was transformed into a desart, and the town was taken and plundered by the Albanians, who in two hours decapitated a thousand persons. They shew near the castle above-mentioned, in a spot called the cemetry of the Moscovites, the bones of the brave people of that nation, who fell at the period alluded to. There are also to be seen two pyramids of sculls whitened by the air, which were collected on this blood-stained territory.

The mosques of Tripolitza contain many beautiful columns and inscriptions profaned by the stupid use which is now made of the marble. As to bas-reliefs, the Turks take great care to conceal them in their building; for if they pave a bath with those precious relics, they never fail to turn the figures downwards, in order to hide from the notice of the faithful Mussulmans such subjects as are proscribed by their religion.

The changing of a Pacha is an event of the first importance to the inhabitants of Tripolitza. An account of the ceremonies

which take place on this occasion, will doubtless be thought interesting.

Mustapha Pacha, whose reign had just expired, modestly quitted Tripolitza, and in a dress conformable to his degraded situation, had, without the least bustle, taken the road for Lepante, where he was to be left at his ease to reflect on the vicissitudes of fortune. As soon as he had gone, the Greeks began to furnish the seraglio for his successor; this occupied them for nearly a month, as it was necessary almost to rebuild the palace, the officers of the disgraced vizier having in their discontent combined their efforts to despoil it. Hence it was necessary to supply new mats, carpets, sofas, fuel, and every article of provisions, and to make arrangements for anticipating the wants of his highness, during six weeks from the day of his installation; for the custom is, that a new Pacha and his houshold must be maintained forty days, in order to give him time to recover from the fatigues of his journey; and thus it often happens that they prolong a period which they would wish never to terminate. The Turkish noblemen on the other hand, had set off to pay their compliments to the new vizier at Naupli, in Romania, the place of his birth, and where he resided *pro tempore*. On this occasion they presented him, as much through fear as from duty, with a number of fine horses, and there appeared amongst them a rivalship in point of flattery, because the first periods of a reign are, in general, not the most pacific.

The Pacha, who was about to arrive, was stated to be a tyrannical character, and having been dismissed from the place which he was appointed to re-occupy, he was full of resentment; he bore the character of astonishing knowledge and address in the administration of affairs, and had been distinguished at an early period of his life, by a spirit of sagacity and penetration peculiar to the Turks of the Morea, who have the title of *Turcæ belingues*. Notwithstanding the obscurity of his origin, this man was attached by his alliances to the greatest families in the country.

He made his solemn entry amidst the sound of cannon, and was preceded by a barbarous band of music, and a banner of three tails, the emblems of his power. A number of buffoons dressed in skins, from which, as well as from their pointed caps, hung innumerable foxes' tails, made part of the procession, and amused the populace with their grimaces, contortions, and gutteral acclamations; one of them threw about a zin, or Arabian instrument, commonly called a Chinese drum; they made their horses rear, leap, and fall upon their knees; they turned themselves towards the tails of the animals, and occasionally passed themselves under their bellies while they were in full gallop.

Next came a body of foot-soldiers, having on the left arm an antique shield, which they struck with a curvated sabre. From time to time they stopped and made attempts at attack and defence; but the awkwardness with which they handled their weapons clearly proved that they knew nothing of the art.

The Albanians followed these soldiers, and marched without order, or preserving the least degree of rank. They often hit each other in the eyes with the barrels of their muskets, which they carried on their shoulders, and they sang the praises of the Pacha in the manner of a litany, or tale.

The artillerymen of the town next appeared, wearing conical caps, as big as bee hives, this being the only distinctive mark of their profession. The corps of cavalry, in the midst of which was a flag, occupied the whole width of the street; they preceded, surrounded, and followed the Vizier, near whose person were his two sons, (whose physiognomy was as enchanting as that which represents Apollo,) and several of the most distinguished Turks. The Pacha rode a most beautiful horse, which was caparisoned with a tiger's skin, and a profusion of gold trappings; he advanced slowly, while from the terror which operated upon him, his head was agitated by a convulsive motion, and he held firmly by his beard to keep it steady. The people ran before him, prostrated themselves, and made incessant shouts as a testimony of their happiness at an event which afterwards cost them dear.

At this time it was the Arhamazon, which is the fast of the Mussulmans; and for several nights we observed the mosques brilliantly illuminated. The coffee-houses were filled with guests, and the amusements at the seraglio continued the whole night, which was likewise the time of audience, as the day is devoted to sleep. The Pacha being informed of our captivity, ordered us before him the day after his arrival. Towards midnight they came for our persons; and being ignorant of the customs, we were not without alarm, particularly as we had heard such exaggerated accounts of the severity of the personage before whom we were to appear. We therefore took up what we possessed, and putting a good face upon the matter, repaired to the seraglio. The Greek, Constantine, our host, knew not of which saint to solicit protection, but trembled from head to foot.

We were at first introduced to the drogman, M. Caradja, who was the interpreter, the master of the ceremonies, and the negociator between the Pacha and the Greeks, and foreigners upon all occasions. He was surrounded by twenty-four Codja-bachis, or chiefs of provincial districts, and a Greek from Mistra, in the uniform of a Russian officer. M. Caradja then presented us to the Pacha, prostrating himself to the ground: his

highness received us with an open countenance; he put a variety of questions to us, but had the generosity not to insist upon answers whenever we equivocated or attempted to elude them. He appeared to be moved at our situation, and several times repeated his wish to alleviate the distress of our captivity: he then ordered us to be served with coffee, and dismissed us with much urbanity.

We had scarcely left the apartment, when I was again ordered before him; and he requested me, in the most kind manner, to visit one of the members of his household, as well as several of his officers who were ill. From this time I became the physician to the court, and the palace was open to me upon all occasions: I did not, however, enter it with out a secret repugnance, arising from the conduct of certain Greeks disguised as officers of the Russian navy. Their insolent and haughty tone formed too great a contrast with my unfortunate condition; and I felt that I was in no respect their inferior. The officers of the cavalry feasted me every time I went to their barracks, and amidst their barbarous manners I distinguished a friendly candour. The executioner of the pacha, in order, as he supposed, to afford me amusement, related a number of anecdotes of his disgusting employment, and talked much of his dexterity in striking off heads. I must admit that this man often made me shudder at his recitals.

The pacha signalized his return to power by several acts of justice which were little expected. The fanatics who prevail every where, had represented him as an impious character, who was never seen in the mosques: he, however, proved the falsity of their assertion, by repairing to that place of worship the Friday after his arrival at Tripolitza.

The victories of Buonaparte in Syria had been heard of in the Morea, and politics formed the general conversation at the coffee-houses. An Imaum, in a paroxysm of religious zeal, once declaimed against the French, and insulted them; but the circumstance coming to the ear of the pacha, he ordered the Imaum before him, and without inquiring what he had to do with the affairs of nations, he ordered him to leave the town in twenty-four hours, and repair to Negrepont; which sentence was rigorously enforced. It is remarkable that the pacha acted in this manner towards us at a period when the Greek patriarch was sending forth his anathemas against the French nation, and whose ridiculous crusading proclamation was printed and registered in the public records.

Having spoken of Tripolitza and its pacha, a few remarks on the valley in which the town is built, as well as on its vicinity, will not be unacceptable.

Mount Ro no or Menale, at the foot of which stands Tripo-

litza, extends from the plain of Mantinea as far as Mount Boreas, near the gulphs of the Alpheus. At its northern extremity, towards the fields of Mantinea, it is woody, and contains the ruins of a village, with some sheep-walks, in which they enclose the flocks at night. About half a league to the south may be seen the remains of a convent which was destroyed by the Albanians. Mount Artemisius rises to the north, and extends as far as Strata Kalilbey; while the Parthenius, covered with woods, borders the valley to the eastward as far as the road of Carvathi, which leads to Sparta. Lastly, Mount Boreas, now called Chelmos, terminates this beautiful plain; while Mount Taygetus, whose snowy summits rise in the back ground, confines to the southward the most agreeable perspective that can be imagined.

There are in this plain, and on the mountains that circumscribe it, no less than seventy villages and farms, the inhabitants of which are subjected to less oppression than any in the Morea. The soil, which is every where fertile, and cultivated by robust individuals, would soon make this canton the centre of luxury and riches, if its prosperity were not checked by the vices of the administration.

I shall dispense with a full description of this valley, which for various reasons could not be extremely accurate, and shall merely mention such objects as I met with in the course of my walks. On leaving the gate of Calavrita, which opens to the north on the road to Mantinea, you pass a torrent a quarter of a league from the town, and a league farther from the plain, enter that of Mantinea: at this part the distance from Mount Rocko to Mount Artemisius is not more than half a league. These two promontories contain much wood, and that of Artemisius is covered with vineyards. At a short distance from Tripolitza the traveller respires a pure air, and finds himself among the good people of Arcadia.

Shortly afterwards the valley grows wider, and every step excites reflections of antiquity. The passenger is afraid that he may tread upon the tomb of Epaminondas, and the oaks that still exist may perhaps be the remains of the wood of Pelagus. I passed over the field of battle, where the chief of the Thebans perished by the hand of the son of Xenophon. When at this spot no traveller of sentiment can refrain from visiting Mantinea: he seeks it in the plain, amidst the oaks, olive trees, and lands which have covered it for ages: during a journey of an hour and a half, his heart palpitates with impatience; but at last he enters it—a swamp. Here stood Mantinea!

A secret melancholy takes possession of the mind on approaching the august ruins, which have fallen beneath the hand

of time. The form of the town, which is oval, and about a league in circumference, is still perceptible. The fragments of the wall are in some places five or six feet high, and upwards of eighteen feet in thickness: they were built of stones from Mount Artemisius; for those from Menale, which is in the vicinity, are of a different kind. On observing these ramparts attentively, there may be distinguished four principal gates, which opened to the roads of Achaia, Argos, Tegea, and the Megalopolitans. In the middle of the town are the ruins of a small edifice, which at first sight may be taken for a theatre; but, besides its not being built at the foot of a hill, as Pausanias asserts, it is too small for the purpose in question. Another ruin at a short distance appears to have belonged to a temple; but there are no inscriptions to shew to what divinity it was dedicated. During my stay in this plain, a Greek discovered without the walls of Mantinea, in a spot near Mount Alesius, precisely at the part where the race-ground must have been, a statue of white marble, three feet high, and in a state of preservation: on the base was the word

ΑΦΡΟΔΥΚΑΙΡΕ,

but as the base did not form a part of the statue, I presume that it belonged to a funereal stone. Some time afterwards, one of my companions in captivity saw this statue in the possession of M. Caradja, to whom the Greek above-mentioned had presented it. Considering the spot on which it was found, there is no doubt but by making proper excavations many valuable relics would be discovered: it was about a league from this spot, towards Tegea, that the battle took place which ruined the hopes of the Lacedemonians, and in which Epaminondas fell at the moment of victory. This spot, in which so many brave men were laid at rest, is now covered with laurels and rosemary. We may search in vain for the tomb of the daughters of Pelias, to whom the Arcadians erected a monument near the military way which led to Tegea.

On leaving the plain of Mantinea, you turn along a chain of mountains, which some Greeks called Pogliesi, which leads to what was formerly called the plain of Alcimedon. On the southern declivity of these mountains is the village of Vidi, and near it the road that is ordinarily taken by travellers who pass from Tripolitza to Patras through Calavrita.

Leaving Vidi to the north-east, you enter a forest about a league in extent, which consists entirely of large trees, such as oaks (from which gall-nuts are taken for exportation), chesnut trees, and others which grow in cold soils. The ordinary inhabitants of this forest are wolves, but they are far less dangerous

than the robbers who lay in wait for such travellers as imprudently proceed alone.

A landscape composed of rosemary and aromatic plants, would induce the traveller to believe, on quitting the forest, that he is in another country and a different climate from that of the Morea. He hears the cries of storks in the burning days of summer, while the woods resound with the bleating of deer; but the barren aspect of the neighbouring mountains, and the evident changes that have been produced by the great events of nature, tell him that he is in the wildest part of Arcadia.

Here every thing bears an appearance of ferocity; as soon as a man is perceived, the traveller puts himself on his guard, for as in the deserts of Lybia, every one he meets is an enemy. The shepherd does not outstrip the day with his flocks, nor does he proceed with the ancient crook and pipe, saluting the echo with his rural music: on the contrary, he is always suspicious and alarmed; his savage dogs have watched through the night, and he waits till the sun has enlightened the gloomy passages through which he has to pass, before he can venture to conduct his sheep to their pastures. Even then he travels like an outcast, with an enormous musquet, ready to destroy, not the sanguinary wolf or starving jackal, but his own equal*.

After proceeding along this valley, which is interspersed with ash-trees that afford manna, you cross a rivulet, and a quarter of a league farther, arrive at a farm, which contains a khan built on a hill: it affords a security to travellers against the attacks of robbers; but it has often happened, that the inmates have been obliged to abandon it to screen themselves from violence, and to retire to obscure hamlets in different parts of the mountains. The pacha of the Morea keeps a corps of cavalry at this spot to ensure the communication.

From hence the road leads to Mettaga, distant seven leagues from Tripolitza. I conceive it to stand on the site of the ancient Methydrium: it is a pitiful burgh containing about a hundred houses, and is generally the first place at which travellers stop from Tripolitza. The next stage is Tripotemi, six hours journey. Three leagues farther is Pergo, from which, after proceeding near an hour through large forests of antique oaks, and two hours more over a valley and a very high mountain, you arrive at Calavrita, overcome with danger and fatigue.

Calavrita is a town that contains about three hundred houses, and appears as if built in the midst of mountains: it is governed

* The reader will find an ample corroboration of this account by referring to the "Itinerary of a Journey to Constantinople," page 61, inserted in our first volume, the author of which is an English gentleman.—Edit.

by a Turkish aga, and defended by a paltry sort of castle, constructed of wood. In war time the pacha of the Morea keeps here a corps of soldiers, in order to secure the possession of the roads in this part of the province. The inhabitants of Calavrita are chiefly Albanians, the remains of those who invaded the Morea in 1770, and who have never since been completely expelled, though the pacha who was authorized to drive them from the country, employed the greatest severity. The environs of this town, notwithstanding the sterility of its site, are agreeable; they contain several beautiful fountains, gardens planted with orange and lemon trees, besides an immense number of mulberry trees, which afford nutriment to considerable quantities of silk-worms. They export from hence every year, as well as from Vostitza, a quantity of hard cheese, which is sold in the province to rasp into maccaroni, a dish which the rich people of Italy consider as a great delicacy. In ancient times these cheeses were highly esteemed by the Athenians, and were considered as an essential article in all well-regulated kitchens: it even seems at present that they have the same form and consistence as ever, nor do they appear to have undergone any change whatever, either in their make or uses.

From Calavrita to Patras is reckoned a good day's journey, as well on account of the distance as from the difficulty of the road, and the height of the mountains over which it is necessary to pass; for it requires two hours to ascend and descend Mount Vidi alone. The clouds which almost always envelope the sides of this mountain, which is the highest in Arcadia, do not permit the eye to comprise a great extent of country, which might otherwise be seen from its elevated parts; and even in the clearest days one cannot see beyond the inferior mountains of the vicinity, which form an horizon as striking as that of that of the Alps.

From the summit of Mount Vidi, Patras, which is situated on the sea-shore, cannot be discovered, though that element is distinguishable; but after descending a short distance, it comes in view.

The town of Patras was known in the earliest ages by the name of Aroa, and held a distinguished rank amongst the towns of Greece. Pausanias gives a flattering idea of it, by his descriptions of the monuments which it contained. Amongst its celebrated edifices was an opera-house (Odeon) and several temples, the most distinguished of which was that of Diana the African. Augustus compelled the inhabitants of several towns of Achaia, to come and reside at Patras, and even made it take his name, from which time has delivered it, and restored that of Patras, its founder. It is now a metropolitan town, having been converted to the Christian faith by the apostle St. Andrew,

who there suffered martyrdom. After several revolutions, it was beseiged in 1533 by Doria, who took it from the infidels, but to whom it afterwards reverted, as well as the whole province of the Morea.

This town, as it exists at present, is in the form of an amphitheatre: it still exhibits, by its ruins, the injuries it sustained by the last war. Its revenues go to one of the sultanas, and the drogman of the sublime Porte. At present it contains but few of its ancient ruins, and these are daily diminished by the Turks; for the remains, mentioned by Spon, as well as several relics of antiquity in marble, have been almost entirely destroyed by these barbarians. The town of Patras is governed by a bey, who is appointed by the pacha of the Morea; and a number of Jews belong to his suite, by whom all business with the court is transacted.

On quitting Patras for Vostitza, a small town of Achaia, ten leagues distant, the road is entirely by the sea-side. Pausanias asserts that there was a shorter way to Ægium, which is the present Vostitza, and I am of his opinion, The inhabitants of the country are no doubt acquainted with it; but as it is not practicable for horses, they prefer travelling by the sea-shore, by which they escape the attacks of banditti. After an hour's journey from Patras, you reach Cape Rhion, on which is built the castle of the Morea; and opposite to it is another upon Cape Antirhion in Epirus, the range of whose guns cross each other, and guard the entrance of the gulph. In this road there are no longer to be seen any vestiges of the temple of Neptune, which was about half a league to the east of Patras; but before arriving at the castle of the Morea, you are obliged to pass a spot which was far more venerable to me than the temples of the ridiculous gods of pagan antiquity: I allude to the cemetery of the Christians who perished in the naval battle of Lepante. Even the Mussulmans think it their duty to shew this spot to travellers. I think I now see the army commanded by Don John of Austria plunging into the gulph in search of the Mussulman fleet, which was far superior to the combined squadrons of the Christians. Never since the battle of Actium had the seas of Greece borne so many ships of war, or been the scene of so memorable an action. Let us only conceive the idea of Mussulman gallies worked by Christian slaves, and the vessels of the Christians by those of the Turks, both being compelled to fight against their own country; let us think on the instant when the two fleets came in contact, and assaulted each other with all the weapons of ancient and modern times: they fought man to man, with arrows, javelins, lances, cannon, musquets, pikes, and sabres: the gallies chained together, appeared like a vast field of battle, on which both ar-

mies met to dispute the point; and at length victory was declared in favour of the Christians. At a few paces from this spot, each party collected the corpses of their own nation, which were thrown up by the tide; and those of the Christians being interred at that part of the cape to the west of the castle, it obtained the name already mentioned.

As to Vostitza, if it be the ancient Ægium, it possesses no remains of its former grandeur. If another Agamemnon were to convoke the kings in this town, I do not think there would be sufficient houses to contain them, so great has been the reduction of a famous town to a pitiful burgh; but if the Turks, or rather the Codja-bachis, were not to oppress the Greek inhabitants, Vostitza might become the most opulent place in the Morea: from a fatality, however, which appears to attend the unfortunate, the Greeks have the greatest enemies still amongst them; these are the Codja-bachis, who, though of Greek origin, have prostrated themselves at the feet of the Turks, and who irritate in every way those whom they ought to protect and console. By their insolence, pride, and ignorance, they have established a line of demarcation between themselves and the Greeks. They may be considered as a degenerate species, who possess all the vices of slaves, and do not feel degraded by the extreme humiliation to which they are subjected by the Turks. In the temples they occupy a place contiguous to the altar, and there they display all the pride of the Pharisee, being satisfied with a contemptible prerogative, purchased at the expence of the happiness of their countrymen.

CHAP. V.

A FEW REMARKS ON ARCADIA—CARITENES—OLYMPIA.—ITINERARY OF THE FRENCH GARRISON OF ZANTE, FROM CASTEL-TORNESE TO TRIPOLITZA.—ARRIVAL AT THEBES.—LACONIA.—ROUTE FROM TRIPOLITZA TO LACEDEMONIA.—RUINS OF SPARTA.—MISTRA, THE INHABITANTS, &c.

I SHALL now quit the cheerful shores of the gulph of Corinth, to say a few words on the centre of Arcadia. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the vallies and finely-cultivated fields in Arcadia: notwithstanding the inequality of its soil, the height of its mountains, and the number of its lakes, pools, and marshes, the inhabitants experience nothing but fine weather after the winter season, which often brings abundance of snow. There is no spot which is blessed with a more beautiful sky; and while the

climate of Attica parches up its fields, here a few clouds, converted into rain, increase the fertility of the soil. Here also terminates the empire of oppression, and begins the residence of peace. Submissive and faithful, at a distance from the Turkish Government, whose tributaries they are, the Arcadians enjoy in tranquillity the charms of a pastoral life. A few mountaineers who inhabit the unfrequented regions of Mount Pholoë, and who alone know its paths, defend with intrepidity the absolute independence in which they live; they possess a few villages, which on a reverse of fortune, they abandon, and retire into the caverns, (where according to fabulous history, Hercules visited the centaur Pholoë,) or else to certain spots in the vallies unknown to any but themselves. A few hermits, who live by their manual labour, have taken up their residence in the hollows of some of those aërial rocks, and preach the gospel in regions which seem to approach the celestial abodes.

There is, however, a horde, known by the name of Laliots, from the small town of Lala, where they reside, who disgrace this part of Peloponnesus: they are the out-casts of banditti, who have escaped from the arm of justice, and are more cruel and ferocious than the Bardouniots, for they spread terror and desolation amongst the peaceable inhabitants of Elis and Arcadia. It is against these people in particular that the troops of the pacha have most occasion to act.

To proceed to Arcadia you leave Tripolitza by the gate of Caritenes, situated to the west, and at a distance of two hundred fathoms across the bed of a torrent, which, with another from Mount Roïno, forms an island, and on this spot were buried the French soldiers belonging to the garrison of Zante, who died at Tripolitza. Here only would the fanaticism of the people allow them to be interred, as they were equally rejected by the Turks and the Greeks. From hence the road leads for two or three leagues through several villages inhabited by the Arcadians at the base of Mount Roïno till it approaches Caritenes, which must have been the ancient Gorthys; before it, to the south-west, runs a river called by the inhabitants *Potamoi tis Caritenis*. This town contains between two and three thousand inhabitants, who are nearly all Greeks, and very affable; they relate to strangers the adventures of a traveller, whose name they do not recollect, but who was assassinated about thirty years ago, as he was proceeding to visit the ruins of a temple about four or five leagues from the town: they assert that all attempts to discover the murderer have failed. They speak of this misfortune with as much anxiety as if it had happened only a few months ago, and unanimously attribute it to the Laliots. Perhaps this unhappy man was M. Bocher, the architect, who, on his return for the

second time from the Morea, disappeared, without any circumstances transpiring as to his fate.

The environs of Caritenes are much extolled for their salubrity; and it is pretended, that the plague never extends its ravages amongst them: it is, however, certain, that when this calamity prevails at Tripolitza, the rich inhabitants retire to the neighbourhood in question. The land is well-cultivated, and its productions are various; amongst them are mastich-trees, which, if grafted, would perhaps afford that substance of an equal quality to what comes from the isle of Chio. But the inhabitants appear insensible of these advantages: they are are clothed in course woollens, manufactured by themselves; and their trade consists in exchanges amongst themselves; though they occasionally sell the silk, cotton, and kermes, which they prepare, to the opulent Mussulmans.

About a quarter of a league from Caritenes you pass a river of the same name, and perceive the Alpheus, which cannot fail to excite the most agreeable sensations: it runs through an immense valley in various sinuosities. Here the valley of Demizana commences, and extends eight leagues to the north; its town, of the same name, which was long supposed to be the ancient Psophis, is about three leagues from the spot, where the Erymanthus empties itself into the Alpheus. This valley, besides affording a variety of productions, contains several thermal and mineral springs, particular at Iocova, a village about a league to the east of Demizana, and at which is the residence of the Bishop of Langadia. This part of Arcadia, before the disasters of 1770, was the most populous of any in the province; and it makes one shudder to learn, that those who escaped from the sword of the Albanians, were sold to the corsairs of Barbary, who came into the gulph of Arcadia, to partake of the spoils of the Morea; and the families who had taken refuge among the mountains, only left their retreats to retire to the immense domains which Cara Osman Oglu possessed in Asia Minor.

While I am on the subject of Arcadia, I cannot refrain from saying a few words relative to the ruins of Olympia, on which now stands the village of Miraca: the position of this ancient spot, as well as the poetical accounts of its games, are sufficiently known from the works of early writers; but for the particulars of its present state we are indebted to M. Fauvel, one of my companions in misfortune, and the only person who, in the present age, has attentively examined its site. "On advancing," he has often observed, "from Pyrgo to the interior of the Ælida, I came to a plain about two leagues distant from the sea, in which several sarcophagi had been exposed to view by the

trampling of horses. After a journey of three hours, I arrived on the banks of the Cladeus, a river to which the Ælidans paid the greatest respect, excepting the Alpheus. Having perceived in this river the ruins of an ancient bridge, I stopped near its shore to examine them, when I observed the sections of its banks to contain always, at the depth of six feet below the soil, a quantity of earthen-ware, bricks, and ancient tiles, as well as fragments of marble. These discoveries convinced me I stood upon the ruins of an ancient town: on the other side facing the bridge, I observed the remains of a theatre, which fronted the south, and was built on the acclivity of a mountain.

" I visited with scrupulous attention, the whole plain bounded by this elevation, the Alpheus, and the Cladeus. The remains of walls very low, and covered with shrubs, were the first objects that caught my attention. Some labourers sent by the aga of a neighbouring village, were at this time digging, in order to procure materials for building; but what was my surprise on hearing, that they called their village, Andilalo, or the village of the echo! I then recollected, that the Greeks who assisted in the games, placed themselves, according to Pausanias, in a particular spot to hear an echo, which was repeated seven times. This discovery convinced me still more, that I was on the site of Olympia. I perceived in the middle of the excavation several fragments of columns, upwards of sixty feet in diameter. Pausanias observes, that the temple of Jupiter was of the Doric order, and surrounded by a peristyle sixty-eight feet high, and that it was not built of marble, but of a stone called poros, which was full of marine shells. In short, the trunks and bases which I saw, were of this kind of stone, covered with a whitish stucco; and it is remarkable, that the Greeks still call this stone by the name of poros. I was unfortunately deprived of every means for continuing the excavations made by the people of the aga, and I even perceived that my curiosity began to displease them: I was, however, certain, that the most prominent mountain to the north, was the Chronion; and, that the river I had just crossed, was the Cladeus. I searched about for the race-ground, the hippodrome, and the winning-post; when I found, to the east of the temple, some vestiges of an octagon, built on a mass, that projects and forms an obtuse angle, which proved to me that I was on the hippodrome. On entering the building, which was fifteen feet deep, I perceived that this angular wall contained chambers on a level with the soil, nine feet deep, and five or six wide, which I suppose were the stalls for the cars. Delighted with my discovery, I resolved to measure the hippodrome, and found it to be two hundred fathoms in length, which is double that of the course at Athens.

"Another spot, parallel with that just mentioned, must also have been the stadium; it was only separated from the former by a small eminence, and extends to the banks of the Alpheus, whose waters gradually undermine, and at times overflow it. In the part which is worn away by the Alpheus, there may be seen sarcophagi, half exposed, and ready to drop into the river: sometimes bronze helmets are found near them; and I purchased one of them, which is of the same shape as that of the statue of Phocion."

These details of M. Fauvel are positive, and refute the assertion of several learned men, that nothing is now to be seen of Olympia; but, in support of the excellent remarks of M. Fauvel, I must declare, that the territory of Olympia is entirely covered with ruins.

Before I proceed farther in my remarks on the Morea, I shall give a sort of itinerary of the French garrison at Zante, from Castel-Tornese to Tripolitza. This garrison surrendered in the year 1798, to the combined Turkish and Russian armies. According to the terms which they obtained, they were to be sent to a place occupied by the French armies in Italy: but the Russian commander, who ought to have protected the people of a civilized nation against the Turks, oppressed them in their misfortune, and landed them at Castel-Tornese, to be conveyed to the dungeons of Constantinople. No pen can describe the rage of these men, on finding they were cast on the Turkish territory; they regretted that they had not suffered themselves to be buried under the ruins of Zante; and in short, they conceived the frantic thought of forcing their way through the Turkish territory into Germany: but they had no arms, nor the means of procuring any; they were therefore obliged to submit to the humiliating chains of Constantinople. They were landed at Castel-Tornese, which the Turks call Clemouzi: it is a paltry town, surrounded by high walls, which could not resist any attack from artillery; but the Turks keep a garrison in it, on account of its vicinity to the isle of Zante.

From Castel-Tornese, the French soldiery, who were scarcely allowed time to breathe, were sent to Gastouni, a town on the left of the Igliako: it contains upwards of 3000 inhabitants, and is governed by a bey, who might render them peculiarly happy, if he possessed the amiable qualities of his son, with whom I was particularly acquainted while at the palace of the pacha. The inhabitants of this town carry on a considerable trade in cheese, silk, and cotton; they are honest in their dealings, have a prepossessing appearance, and the peasantry do not exhibit the traces of premature old age. The garrison next passed Mezalonghi, about four hours journey from Savalia: this

is a town which contains about two hundred houses, scattered on a hill; its environs are well cultivated, and several villages may be seen in its vicinity. The principal trade of Mezalonghi, is in salt-fish and riding cloaks. They afterwards reached Pyrgo, which is built on the right bank of the Roufia, nearly opposite to the ancient Epitalion, a town which contains about two thousand inhabitants, consisting of Turks, Greeks, and Jews.

All the territory hereabouts, as far as Olympia and Mount Pholoë, is the most fertile of any in the Morea. On leaving Pyrgo, they were compelled to pass the river Alpheus, chained together like criminals: sometimes the water reached up to their shoulders, and many were in consequence drowned. After this, they were driven, though overcome with fatigue, across the beautiful valley of Agolinitza to Andritsena, a small town in Arcadia, about ten leagues farther. The inhabitants are of Greek origin, and are descended from the Arcadian shepherds. With them strangers are objects both of curiosity and respect; and without indiscretion, they make a point of seeing them, and offering them the productions of their fields; while, so much are they attached to the duties of hospitality, that much persuasion is necessary to induce them to accept any reward: they would have shewn similar kindness to our soldiers, but they were not permitted. They were not allowed to make any stay at Andritsena, which was then troubled with insurgents, but were pushed forwards to Sinano and Londari, and the same day entered Tripolitza.

At this time Mustapha was invested with the pachalic of the Morea, and when he saw the unfortunate Frenchmen chained together in pairs, he could scarcely restrain his indignation: he gave immediate orders that every respect should be paid to them, and they were all lodged in his palace; the women separately, the officers in rooms, and the soldiers in a clean and wholesome corridor. Provisions were regularly distributed amongst them, and they were allowed a certain time to rest, before they proceeded on their extensive journey. One half of the soldiers had permission to walk daily about the town and its environs, under the command of their officers; and when they were at length obliged to set off for Constantinople, the pacha hired several vessels at Naupli in Romania, to convey the women, children, and convalescents. The pacha in short, did every thing to ameliorate the situation of these Frenchmen; and before they set off, he ordered them to be supplied with good shoes.

I shall not detain the reader with any farther particulars relative to the march of this garrison over the immense tract of country which led to Constantinople; suffice it to say, that they underwent many difficulties; and when they arrived at the Turk-

ish capital, the officers were disarmed, and all, without distinction, were sent into the bagne, or common prison; where, during three years, such of the victims as survived their misery, were confined in chains, and subjected to the most horrid treatment.—I shall now return to the inhabitants of the Morea.

Of all parts of Europe, it is necessary for those who wish to see the remains of its ancient monuments, to repair to Athens; but on penetrating into the Morea, the difficulties of travelling increase, as soon as one has passed the isthmus, or proceeded from the ports of Modon and Coron. As soon as an intelligent traveller has set his foot in the Morea, his ideas naturally recur to former ages, and his attention becomes fixed on Laconia. On opening a book of ancient history, we find that the country of Lacania, or Laconia, which the Turks call Mistra, was in fabulous times denominated Lelegia, from Lelex, a person of that country, who prescribed its laws; his son Euroatas, succeeded him; and the river whose course he directed, takes his name. Virgil and some other poets have spoken of Laconia under the name of Œbalia, but Strabo calls it Argos. This river appears to have taken its course over twenty-six leagues of ground: but it is evident, that the hot climate of Laconia required other supplies of water; and these it received from the melting of the snow and glaciers of Mount Taygetus, as well as from frequent storms, to which it is subjected.

With respect to Sparta, the name is nearly all that remains of this celebrated city, the circumference of which is known to have been more than two French leagues; and it is evident, that the modern town of Mistra is built upon its ruins. It is constructed in an amphitheatrical form on the declivity of a mountain, which, towards the east, receives the rays of the sun; and these not being modified by the north winds, render the heat insupportable in summer: it is overtopped to the west by Mount Taygetus, from which, in the burning season, the inhabitants collect the snow, for cooling their sherbet and other drinks. To the north it is commanded by its castle; and from the eastward it receives agreeable emanations from Mount Tornika. Lastly, the view extends southward beyond the Tiasa, and along the delightful banks of the Vasilipotamos.

The inhabitants of this town do not deserve the calumniating epithets of Pauw, who calls them the refuse of banditti who have escaped from punishment. They have a noble physiognomy, and seem to retain something of the Spartan character, even in their defects; their stature is high, and their features are regular and masculine: they are the only people who look at the Turks with a stern assurance, as they are brave even to temerity. Sorry am I, however, to add, that a propensity for

plunder seems with them to be innate; which, added to a natural degree of ferocity, renders them extremely vindictive and dangerous. Even the Turks of Mistra, who are born of Laconian women, are more intrepid than other Mussulmans; and we do not observe in them that taciturnity and apathy so prominent in the people of their nation. They are also less rigid in observing the precepts of the Koran; for they drink wine in public, and swear, like the Greeks, by the Virgin and Jesus Christ; indeed, they appear to regret that they dare not partake of the fêtes and pleasures of the Christians.

The inhabitants of Mistra are estimated at from fifteen to eighteen thousand in number; of which one third consists of Turks, and above one eighth of Jews. The calamities of war have, in some degree, disappeared, and in a few years this town will enjoy a prosperity and population, which will place it far above the other parts of the province. Its bey always maintains a body of disciplined troops, including a numerous corps of cavalry, which enables him to present a warlike aspect towards the people of the Taygetus, who are his implacable enemies. These people are the free Laconians, who still fly in the face of destruction, even when it is inevitable. To them we may apply the remark of Seneca on the Lacedemonians: "Turpe est cuilibet viro fugisse, Laconi vero de liberasse"—It is disgraceful for any man to retreat, but for a Spartan even to think of retreating.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE PEOPLE OF GRÆCIA-MAGNA.—ELECTION OF BEYS.—MILITARY STATE OF THE MOREA.—GRECIAN WOMEN. SUPERSTITION, SORCERY, MAGIC, SWEARING, HONORARY TITLES, BIRTHS, &c.

THE public are already in possession of the accounts of Messrs. Stephanopoli, who travelled through the country of the Maniats, or inhabitants of Græcia-Magna, in 1797; and they have described in striking terms the enthusiasm of those people, with their ardent love for liberty, or rather independence. I, however, have been able to obtain facts much more numerous and positive than those travellers, in consequence of my residence in the Morea, and particularly from the connections which I formed with several of the principal inhabitants of that territory.

As the small number of people in the Morea who were enemies to the Turks, had a secret attachment to the French, the report of our capture and residence at Tripolitza soon reached the Maniats; on which, three of them, disguised as merchants, requested a secret interview with me at the khan. Here, after

a most friendly conversation, they offered to liberate me from slavery, and convey me to their mountains; I might even at that instant have obtained my liberty, for horses had been conveyed to the gates of the town, an escort was waiting for us on the road, and my escape would have been certain. I felt disposed to accept the offer of these brave strangers; but on speaking to them of my four comrades, to whom my fate was allied, they confessed that they would not run the risk of conducting them all: they, however, generously requested me to profit by the offer I had received; but this I thought proper to decline.

It was on this occasion, and during several other interviews, that I was enabled to acquire certain information relative to those brave, warlike people.

It is known that the part of the Peloponnesus comprised between the gulf of Laconia and that of Messenia, was in the early ages inhabited by an independent class of men, who, in the time of the Roman empire, took the name of free Laconians. When public dissentions prevailed in the Peloponnesus they retired with their gods to the defiles of Mount Taygetus, where they always presented a threatening front to their oppressors. Here no efforts could overcome them; they submitted to the Christian religion at the period when Basil, the Macedonian, swayed the sceptre of the eastern empire, and the cross of the Christians was erected on the icy summits of the Taygetus.

This warlike people, notwithstanding their new religion, which inculcated submission to earthly princes, would not lay down their arms, which were then, as at present, the palladium of their liberty; in short, by this conduct they have always been able to resist the Ottoman yoke.

But though united amongst themselves to repel a common enemy, the Maniats, nevertheless, as soon as the danger was past, gave way to dissentions, which often covered their soil with blood. Though as implacable in their hatred as in their vengeance, they did not abjure each other, unless with the consent of the most respectable old men in the canton; and even amidst these errors and calamities, we are forced to admire many virtues which they practised.

The old men are here treated with the utmost respect; their advice is followed like that of oracles, and the young people and women never approach them without the most profound veneration. These men, after having defended their country as long as they could carry arms, preserved it in the decline of life by their wisdom and experience; in short, all civil regulations and decisions were performed under their influence.

All the measures of safety and defence, which are concerted in an assembly of their captains, are transmitted to a chief or bey,

who carries them into execution. This bey is invested by the Turkish government after the Maniats have appointed him; he keeps up no external correspondence, and has no power beyond his own district; he derives from his dignity no revenues but those of monopoly, and he subsists entirely on his patrimonial produce, as he is always chosen from amongst the landholders; in short, he is only a simple captain, dignified with the title of bey, which makes him the most consequential person in his district.

Since the year 1776, when Græcia Magna was separated from the pachalic of the Morea, and, like the isles, same under the direction of the grand admiral of the Ottoman empire, the power of the beys has much increased. Zanet bey, who was the first that acquired this dignity, governed the country in the capacity of officer of the crown. In 1785, being forced by the intrigues of a drogman of the capitan pacha to quit Citries, the place of his residence, he took refuge at Zante; but though he obtained pardon through the intervention of France, and returned to Græcia-Magna, he could not avoid the bowstring, which terminated his existence in 1787. From that time the Maniats have resisted the power of their beys, whom they seem to despise as soon as they accept the chains of the Turks to domineer and enjoy ephemeral honours; they regard them as the agents of their common enemy, the capitan pacha, who never fails to sacrifice the bey as it suits his caprice or interest: yet the ambition of the Maniats is so great, that no less than five persons have accepted the situation of bey since 1777; of whom two were strangled, one disgraced, a fourth conveyed to the prison at Constantinople, where he remained in 1801, and the fifth has been two years in his post.

The young Maniats, accustomed from their infancy to the use of arms, inured to fatigue, and familiarized with danger, are always ready to attack the Turks, whose very name drives them almost frantic: it must be added, however, that their courage, or rather their temerity, is increased by the perfect knowledge which they have of the advantageous positions of their defiles, in which they can resist an enemy far superior in numbers. They have often been known, during a meal, to form a plan of attack, and carry it almost immediately into execution; in short, the ferocious courage of the Spartans has been transmitted without alteration to their descendants, and has increased by the oppression which they have in modern times experienced.

During my captivity they made the pacha tremble in his seraglio; he had sworn to punish an affront and injury which they had done him, in plundering a vessel laden with the tributes of his province; and he in consequence dispatched a number of his cavalry towards their defiles, to watch the passages and in-

tercept the commerce of Græcia Magna: they were ordered to give no quarter to the inhabitants; and, in short, to do them every possible injury. The Laconians, who have a number of friends in the province, received early notice of the danger which threatened them; on which they ran to arms, and soon occupied their accustomed positions: the most intrepid amongst them were divided into small detachments, and sent out to fight the cavalry of the pacha; about thirty of them were surrounded in a village by nearly a hundred of the delis belonging to the pacha, when, in an instant, they forced their way through them with great slaughter, and becoming masters of the field, they not only bid defiance to their opponents, but marched within sight of Tripolitza. The pacha then found it time to put a stop to hostilities, and purchased a peace, which was as disgraceful as it was transitory.

The women of these people are no less courageous than their sons, and often share with them the greatest dangers; when their children fall, however, they are much afflicted, for they love them with the most amiable tenderness: they are indeed a model for mothers, after having been an example to girls. On forming an union on the basis of affection, they are no longer seen amongst the dancers, who, on the decline of day, pursue this exercisse beneath the shade of the plane-trees. The tresses of their hair, which were previously scattered over their bosom, are ever after collected and fixed on the crown of the head: they have retained this custom of the Greeks of antiquity, who, on marrying, adopted a particular kind of head-dress, which they never after abandoned.

These people are scrupulous observers of the simple faith of the primitive church, for which they would sacrifice their lives; and they are by no means addicted to the vices of which Pauw has accused them. Indeed, one cannot but wonder how that wise and judicious writer could have attributed to the inhabitants of Laconia the ferocious customs of the people of Africa.

The vigilance of the Maniats is not impeded even by night: they announce their presence by kindling fires in different parts; and these have often proved a trap by which the Mussulman has terminated his existence. They have, besides, enormous dogs, who are trained to destroy the wolves; they rove about the villages at night, and by their natural instinct alone they perfectly distinguish, even in darkness, the inhabitants of the place which they defend; but whenever a stranger, or even an unknown animal, is scented at a distance, they spread a general alarm, and each man runs to his post. Græcia Magna is divided into captaincies, all of which are, more or less, dependent on the bey, who resides at Citries.

POUQUEVILLE.]

Having said thus much on Laconia, I shall return to the subject of Tripolitza and the Morea in general. The government of the whole of the Morea is intrusted to the pacha with three tails, who resides at Tripolitza; in time of war a pacha with two tails, who is subordinate to the former, commands at Naupli. The beys of Navarin, Coron, Modon, Mistra, Argos, Corinth, Patras, and Gastauni; the chiefs of Arcadia, Andritzena, Andreossa, and Londari; and the codja-bachis of Caritene, Sinano, Vostitza, Vasilico, &c. pour their tributes into the coffers of the pacha beglier-bey, who has an intendant, the Defter-kiaya, and a comptroller, Moucabel-edgi. The taxes are levied on persons and property; the Turks pay nothing but the land-tax, and every subject who is not a Mussulman furnishes a poll-tax, called the caratsch, to which every vassal is subjected on attaining the age of twelve years. The pacha fixes the total amount of the collections, which he divides, in his divan or assembled council, between the codja-bachis of the cantons, whom he summons before him; these, in concert with the pacha, convoke by circular letters the notables of their districts, and meet in the churches to discuss the assessments. The codja-bachis are the most vile and contemptible agents of the satraps of the sultan, and are employed in nothing but extortion, as their fortune is founded on the oppression of the people. The land-tax belongs to the Turkish government.

The subjects of the Grand Seignior who are not Mussulmans, consist of the Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Parsis, &c. The Turks are treated despotically in the collection of the taxes, but with more justice than the other inhabitants. A certain sum is imposed upon them, and they generally pay it without murmuring. In time of war, the Turks are called upon to arm, and as they are always told that they are about to fight in defence of their religion, they do not hesitate to come forward.—There is also a sort of poll-tax upon them; and from these three imposts the Ottoman Porte receives about two millions of piastres per annum; the pacha one million, and about 1,500,000 French francs are distributed amongst the codja-bachis. The annual produce of the land and industry of the Morea, supposing the taxes to be one-fourth, may be estimated at 15,000,000 of French livres.

But of all the vexations the greatest certainly do not proceed from arbitrary power, which merely imposes on the people and crushes the great; on the contrary, the most revolting tyranny and opprobrium result from the state of anarchy that prevails amongst the people at large. I have seen one of the lowest of the Turks dismount from his horse, pull a Greek from his shop, load the animal with his property, and make the man follow

him; while the latter, though capable of avenging such insults, dare only to murmur. I have also seen young Mussulmans strike the most venerable and hoary-headed Greeks, while nothing is more common than to raise their hands against the aged. The unfortunate Greeks experience such insults every hour, and tears run down their cheeks on speaking to them of their glorious ancestors. The mothers press their children to their bosom, and pray for their own fruitfulness, in the hope that one of those extraordinary men that heaven sometimes grants to nations, will arise to unite the Greeks, and avenge the outrages of centuries.

The principal bulwarks of the Morea are Naupli, in Romania, on the gulph of Argos, Coron, Modon, Navarene, the fort of Castel-Tornese, Patras, and the castles in the gulph of Corinth; these places have garrisons even in time of peace, if the name of garrisons can be given to a few miserable hordes called spahis and cannoneers.

It being war time during my residence, the province of the Morea, though protected by a strong fleet, was considered as threatened, and was defended by six thousand troops. I saw these miserable men arrive; they had been collected in the different towns of the empire, and came without arms, and in a state of starvation. I might add, that they were without officers, and quite ignorant of order; but I derived most amusement by seeing the cavalry defile, as it was impossible to tell to what country they belonged. Some of them rode on horses harnessed with pack-saddles, and were only armed with a musket; while others seemed to have been taken from coal-mines, and carried an enormous lance, and many had only pistols; as to the horses, they could do any thing easier than run.

These Albanians, however, though undisciplined, were in some degree organized: each of their corps was divided into a chiliade, or thousand, commanded by a bim-bachi, or chief of a thousand men, who is distinguished by a tunic similar to that of deacons, with long epaulets falling below the elbows. There were, besides, several captains, lieutenants, and commanders of companies, without any determinate number of soldiers. Each man on being enrolled for active service, received a certain sum for his bounty and pay, out of which he was obliged to arm, clothe, and support himself; the government being responsible only for the supply of provisions, which consists of a pound and a half of bread for each man per day, and which is sometimes changed for boiled wheat; to this supply they add olives and cheese, but very seldom meat.

We may thus easily conceive the state of a soldiery without controul, a military chest, or daily pay. If we add, as has partly been stated, that these soldiers are armed only with a fowl-

ing piece without a bayonet, and that some of them, even in the infantry, have nothing but pistols; that all are obliged to cast their own bullets, make their own cartridges, which they carry in a square box, in which is a small jar of oil for cleaning the gun; if we consider the empire which is supported by such defenders, what a contemptible idea must we have of its power!

In the garrisons, instead of practising manœuvres, the Turkish soldiers pass their time in sleeping, smoaking, drinking coffee, and playing on the mandoline. In such places, nothing is heard but songs; and if you speak of the enemy, each soldier pledges himself to his comrade, that he will cut off a certain number of heads. One need only hear their conversation to be convinced of the just character of the old adage, which describes them, "as bullies in the camp, but cowards in the field." When they are threatened with an attack, if they apprehend a surprise, instead of establishing sentinels, a whole army turns out at once to mount guard; on which a grand fête takes place, and the dervises chaunt canticles, and repeat stories from the Thousand and One Nights, till they have talked their hearers to sleep on their posts. Hence it happened more than once in the last war, that the Russians were indebted for their advantages to this contemptible conduct of the enemy,

To return to the Greeks of the Morea. I shall neither adopt the systematic spirit and apathy of M. de Pauw, nor the partiality of M. Guys, who has thought proper to discover in modern Greece, the Greece of the ancients.

The present Greeks, like all other distinct people, have a peculiar physiogonomy, which, unfortunately, derives its principal feature from the state of servitude and oppression in which they are plunged; but who will assert that the sanguinary rod of despotism has not had the same effect upon a whole people, as it would have upon an individual? Without stopping to explain causes, I shall merely describe them as they are.

The Greeks of the Morea are strong, robust, and distinguished by features full of expression; but, as I have observed, altered by servitude. They are in general full of spirit, but dissimulating, crafty, and vain. Gossipers, liars, and perjurers, they do not make the slightest profession, nor traffic with the smallest article, without taking the saints to witness their probity. Being lively, good-humoured, and inclined to debauchery, they excite pleasure without inspiring confidence; and their conversation abounds in figures and comparisons: hence they exaggerate whatever they say or do. When they speak of liberty, they talk with such spirit, that one would believe them ready to undertake every thing, and to make every sacrifice to obtain it; but, in fact, the indignation which they manifest towards their op-

pressors, proceeds less from their love of freedom, than from their wish to see their religion predominant. One may easily conceive, what may be expected from people occupied with such ideas. The descendants of Miltiades and Cimon, now bent down by the double despotism of Mussulmans, and the papas or priests, are incapable of forming any of those generous and manly enterprises, which might restore the political existence they have lost. I should add, that though they hate the Turks, they probably detest much more those Christians who acknowledge the authority of the pope.

The assertions I have made relative to the motives which would induce the Greeks to undertake a revolution, are founded on what occurred in 1770. On beholding the victorious flag of Catharine, the whole of the Morea ran to arms. The Greeks having united together in a tumultuous manner, possessing no plan, nor regarding any measures, leisurely bathed their hands in the blood of the Mussulmans, not because they considered them as terrible enemies, but simply because they were infidels. Besides the causes here given as to the duration of the enslaved state of these people, there is one that arises out of their character: I allude to the jealousy which divides the Greeks among themselves. The tyrannical influence exerted by the subaltern agents of the satraps, those vile instruments of their extortions, the codja-bachis, is the greatest obstacle to the mental progress of these people. If to this we add their insatiable love of power, their restless and quarrelsome disposition, and the spirit of intrigue so natural amongst them, we shall be convinced that a long time must elapse before this people can regain their ancient glory.

Such are the modern Greeks, or, at least in such a light did they appear to me from actual observation. The Grecian women in the Morea, deserve in general the praise of beauty, and perhaps the palm of virtue. They are indebted for the first advantage to physical causes, which it it is possible to assign. During the greater part of the year an ardent sun dries up the Morea; and the air deprived of moisture, and impregnated with the perfume of flowers, is pure and vivifying; while the temperature is as mild, and the sky as clear as at Memphis; to which if we add the moderate labour and regular life of the women in eastern countries, we shall find in these united causes the source of that beauty, which has ever distinguished the women of the ancient Peloponnesus.

The models which inspired Apelles and Phidias, are still to be found amongst the Greek women: they are generally of a large size and noble shape; their eye is full of fire, and their

mouths, replete with fine teeth, seem to excite kissing. Nevertheless, their complexions vary according to the part they inhabit, though they always retain the unchangeable basis of general beauty. The girl of Sparta is fair, her shape is slender, and her gait noble; while those of the mountains of Taygetus possess the size and form of Pallas, as that divinity is represented displaying her arms and ægis in the field of battle. The female of Messinea is of a small size, *en bon point*, and of regular features, with large blue eyes, and long black hair; and when she treads on the verdant carpet of nature with her naked and delicate feet, she resembles Flora in her enamelled meadows. The Arcadian woman, enveloped in coarse woollen garments, scarcely shews the regularity of her shape; her head is finely formed, and her smile is that of innocence. The females of the Archipelago, excepting those of Naxos, are by no means so interesting. I may add, that the Grecian women of the Morea, and even those in the best circumstances, have no ideas inimical to modesty: chaste when they are girls, and bashful and faithful when they have formed the hymeneal contract, they possess a certain austerity of conduct which repels all attempts at Asiatic voluptuousness. After the death of the husband of their choice, they very rarely make any new engagement; on the contrary, they seem to labour under an existence after those they have lost, and they often pass the remainder of their life in tears. They use no valuable article to decorate themselves, except India shawls, which can be obtained only by the most opulent women; they wear such clothes as they have themselves spun and woven, while they intersperse amongst their hair the various flowers of the season.

But though the Grecian women have received from nature their share of beauty, and the gift of loving with ardour and sincerity; they have also the defect of being vain, avaricious, and ambitious, at least amongst the higher ranks of society. Deprived of every kind of instruction, they are incapable of supporting a conversation of the smallest interest, while their defect of education is not supplied by that natural wit which gives rise to repartees, and pleases the men more than such wit as is acquired. Hence it may be affirmed, that the Greeks are generally ignorant, while those even who are born in a more elevated sphere, are unacquainted with the art of doing the offices of a household; an art so familiar to the women of most European countries, who know how to attract and attach to them the most serious and amiable men. To give a proof of the little education which the Greek women receive, not excluding those who are qualified for princesses, I shall add, that at the Fanal, which is the name given to a part of Constantinople, in which the

Greek princes reside, one may hear these ladies employ the most vulgar and injurious epithets when commanding their servants, whom they incessantly call by the appellations of *beast*, *bitch*, &c. instead of their proper names. I shall leave it to the reader to decide what attraction an European can find in the society of such women. From what I have said, it may, however, be concluded, that no parallel exists between the eastern women and those of the west.

In every part of the Morea there is an abundance of old sybils and professed sorcerers; the refuse of Thessaly, which, in all times, has been over-run with magicians: these impostors explain dreams, interpret signs, and comment on the weakness of the imagination, insomuch that nothing serious is undertaken without consulting them. Hence it is easy to conceive the influence which these wretches, so generally known by the name of gypsies, must have over the ardent minds of the Grecian women.

A young girl suddenly experiences an emotion, unknown to her before, on seeing a young man, whom she has distinguished amongst others; but she has not been observed by him for whom she sighs; she therefore runs to the gypsy, who composes for her a philtre, as an inevitable means of exciting love: if the girl be in good circumstances, so that the gypsy may hope for a suitable reward, the success is certain; for she secretly forms a plan of intrigue, which effects the desired purpose.

When a girl wishes to know what sort of a husband she is to have, the gypsy orders her to knead a cake with certain aromatic herbs, to eat it without drinking, and go immediately to bed; she also gives her an enchanted bag, containing three flowers; one red, a second white, and a third yellow: the first which she draws on awaking in the morning, announces the state of her future husband; if it be white, he will be a young man; if red, one brave and serious; and if yellow, he will be a widower. When any of these charms fail in their effect, they are attributed to the influence of an evil spirit, an enemy to all happiness, whose name alone terrifies the most courageous, and to whom is attributed every bad quality. This opinion is so general, that when a man has handsome children, his neighbours never congratulate him, nor do they praise the excellence of his horses, or mention the success of any of his undertakings, as they apprehend that the malevolent spirit would instantly afflict his children with leprosy and destroy his cattle; he is even supposed to have the power of stealing the treasure which any one has amassed. The antidote to his influence is, when praising any person or subject, to spit, or mention garlic. It is in consequence of this prejudice that garlic is seen hanging in every house, and

every Greek vessel has a bunch in a bag, as a preservative against storms; and when any misfortune happens, every person cries out "*scordo, scordo;*" that is, garlic, garlic. In short, the fear of this demon embitters even the pleasure of love; for it is feared that his influence may check the passion of a bridegroom. Hence, on the evening of a marriage, every precaution is taken, and particularly that of making a present to the nearest magician.

I knew one of these female gypsies who boasted to me of having several times prevented the consummation of a marriage. In order to undeceive a number of persons who were present, as to the pretended power of this miserable creature, I made several objections to her remarks, which, at first, threw her into a rage; but instead of producing the effect upon me which she hoped for, I suddenly assumed a tone so severe and positive that she appeared struck with terror. I told her that I possessed the power of really bewitching her, and causing her to be tormented by the devil; on which she became thunder-struck, and her confusion proved to me that though she could make dupes, she could be duped herself. This woman, whom I saw several times afterwards, never again spoke to me of her power in magic.

All these puerile apprehensions are general in the Morea amongst both sexes: the men, who are all addicted to blasphemy, swear, on every occasion, by the heads of their children and their own souls; but they are afraid to pronounce the name of the devil. If they make use of the common wish, that the devil may take any one, they turn the phrase in this manner, "may he who is far away seize you;" a modification truly ludicrous: but in the churches they are not so scrupulous, because they know the devil cannot enter them; hence, in the holy places I have heard the papas send their flocks to the devil, have his name incessantly in their mouths, and express their wish that he may take them; though without the doors of the conventicle they dare not pronounce his name.

But in order to pursue the moral character of this nation still farther, one needs only to be present at the birth of a child, and to witness the superstition which takes place at that period. Before the hour of delivery, the sufferer is afflicted with dreams, predictions, and alarms, which are interpreted to her by those who possess most skill in the art of lying and deception. At length, when her pains come on, she is attended by a midwife belonging to the sect amongst whom she has been brought up; for in the eastern countries each religion has its own obstetric females: but the sufferer receives not the aid of art; for a Greek woman would prefer a thousand deaths rather than suffer a man of skill to curtail her pains, or even to save her in a dangerous crisis. A

lamp burns before the image of the Virgin, and the smoke of incense fills the house. The child on coming into the world is covered with a thin veil, and loaded with amulets; they then mark its forehead with a little mud, taken from the bottom of a vessel in which water has deposited its sediment. This mark, it is supposed, will keep off the evil spirit.

After some days they prepare for the reception of the fairies or elfs: they ornament the chambers with their best carpets; dress the infant in shawls; &c. and wait the arrival of the fairies, who come invisibly, and make gifts to the child. The people pass their time in boasting of the great kindness of these agents; and take every precaution that nothing in the apartment may make a noise, or cause the invisible beings to fall. Every thing being thus arranged, the families sit down, and remain motionless, while they suppose the fairies to be round the cradle. This ceremony being over, they immediately take the child to church to be baptized: this religious rite does not, as with us, consist of simply sprinkling water in the face; but the infant is immersed, whatever may be the season, in a large reservoir of water, in which it is rubbed, and washed, in order to purify it from the original sin of the first man. The papas, who perform this ceremony, wipe the child, and say to it, " Go forth, my son, thou art clean."

Thus preserved from the influence of demons, enriched by the spiritual gifts of the fairies, and regenerated by the holy water, the infant is given entirely to the care of its mother. No mercenary nurse is intrusted to bring it up, but every effort of maternal tenderness is lavished on it.

The impaired health of the mother, who performs these duties, is thus restored like a fine flower loaded with rain when the sun expands its genial influence. A gentle languor renders her more interesting, and her voice becomes so mild as to touch the heart of the most indifferent; she sings melodious airs to lull her infant to sleep; and, in short, is the finest ornament of her house, which becomes the asylum of peace and happiness.

In the same climate the nature of the institutions causes a difference of manners among the Turkish women. The latter, who are the wives and mothers of proud and despotic men, have customs, manners, and principles, far different from those of the Grecian women. Though many of them are Greeks themselves, yet they seldom have a number of children, like the women of their own country. This may be attributed on the one hand to polygamy; and on the other to the dreadful art of procuring abortions, so familiar among them: and no where are the effects of this art so fatal, nor so solemnly consecrated. Being publicly permitted in the family of the Sultan, who condemns his sisters

and nieces to sterility, these dreadful methods of depopulation pass through the different classes of society. If a Turk unjustly doubts the fidelity of his women, they do not hesitate to commit the crime of which they are suspected: but they render themselves barren with the sole view of preserving their beauty; which gives them great influence over their rivals, with whom they are incessantly at war. As to the processes they employ, may we ever be in profound ignorance of them! All we know is, that they make use of infernal drinks, aided by mechanical operations; but the consequences are, a premature old age, disgusting infirmities, and wide-spreading ulcers, which induce them to wish for death as a happy release from their misery. Some Turkish women, in whom the voice of nature is not stifled, tenderly rear their offspring; but their unnatural children, on becoming great, forget and ill-use the unfortunate beings to whom they owe their existence. In general, however, these women rear such children as they happen to have, with their own hands, and adopt nearly the same processes as other nations.

CHAP. VII.

BRIEF REMARKS ON THE MANNER OF EDUCATING CHILDREN IN THESE COUNTRIES.—AMUSEMENTS, DANCES, &c.—SONGS AND MUSIC OF THE GREEKS.—FARTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THEIR RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES, FESTIVALS, MARRIAGES, &c.

THE only time in the life of a Greek, during which he enjoys perfect happiness, is that of infancy; for he is then left to vegetate like a tree in the forest. At this agreeable period, the Greeks are not subjected to that barbarous treatment which children of the lower classes experience in civilized society: they are rarely beaten, though often scolded; and hence their physiognomy exhibits no sorrowful cast. As soon as their reason begins to be developed, they are sent to the school of a papas, to learn to read; but when the method of teaching is examined, it is impossible to conceive how the children can even learn their letters. The master hears his scholars while sitting in an easy chair, in the attitude of a man afflicted with the vapours of opium; and holding a long cane, with which he strikes the boys promiscuously. One of them begins to read, on which they all follow the lesson with a high voice, and the most opposite tones; but the most singular circumstance is, that the (boys who are already as cunning as their fathers) possess the art of completely deceiving their master, by reading with effrontery in different books, while he supposes that they are reciting one general lesson. As to the girls, they

receive no other education than that of apprenticeship to different domestic labours; at which they remain till they become marriageable, when they are estranged from society.

Among the various amusements of the youth, foot-races are most common. The young people of Arcadia in particular perform these exercises even in the midst of summer; the old men or the papas preside at the ceremony, and the winner receives a prize. On attaining the years of manhood, they follow several of the interesting amusements of the ancients; such as wrestling, and throwing the quoit or the javelin.

I saw these games performed at the residence of the pacha; when after several matches at wrestling, the Turks threw the javelin: they were mounted on the swiftest coursers, and attacked each other with impetuosity. The javelins with which they practised, were nothing more than sticks about five feet long; but the blows were often fatal to those who received them. From this cause a number of one-eyed men may be seen among the officers in the service of the pacha.

The dancing of the modern Greeks bears a great similarity to that of the ancients. It is performed to the sound of tambourines, Pan's pipes, and the voice of the choros, or chief of the dances, who sings a certain number of strophes, which form a hymn or rondo. The dances are in general performed by young women, and seem to represent historical facts; though it is evident, that the performers are entirely ignorant of the circumstances which they are taught thus to retrace. There is also a dance of men armed with daggers, which is characterised by violent jumps and thrusts: it is called the Pyrrhic dance, and doubtless owes it origin to the celebrated king of Epirus. On seeing this dance performed, I conceived myself transported to ancient Sparta, and at length I became quite alarmed; for such were the impetuosity and rage of the actors, that I fully expected a bloody scene would terminate their sport.

I shall conclude these observations upon the dances of the Greeks, with noticing one which the Albanians define by the name of the "dance of thieves". It was often performed before the pacha by his soldiers; and as it is characteristic of their profession, I shall describe it. A large hall in the seraglio is illumined with candles of yellow wax; the sepulchral light of which, casts a pale and disagreeable reflection upon the spectators. In this hall the pacha sits gravely at the corner of a sofa, having a poniard and a brace of pistols in his girdle, and a carbine by his side; while his body-guard, dressed in course cloaks, stand about him in a mournful attitude: the executioner, from a peculiar privilege, sits in front of the vizier, attentively observing his crafty looks, and

ready to strike off the head of any one whom the gestures of the pacha may devote to death, and convey it to his feet.

The Corypheans, with one arm passed round each other's neck, and one hand in each other's belt, form a circle, and move at regular paces, which increase to the most rapid motion; at which period they make a savage yelling to the sound of barbarous music. It sometimes happens, that to augment the interest of the dance, the actors introduce the Pyrrhic ceremony just mentioned; after which they pretend to go in search of the thieves, give chace to them, and finally bring them forward in triumph*. —I shall terminate this subject with observing, that the Greeks scarcely ever meet without dancing. This exercise is the amusement of all ages, among a people full of life and spirits: it is introduced at all their public festivals; and even on the days consecrated to devotion, it tends to dissipate the slavery to which they are subjected by their oppressors.

Among the inhabitants of Arcadia, one may sometimes hear music which bears great similarity to that of the ancients. Groups of women may often be seen singing in plaintive accents to the accompaniment of their lyre; while their subject, like that of their ancestors, is taken from the exploits of warriors. The songs of the shepherds, which are truly melodious, appear to have been introduced among them by the inhabitants of the Ionian isles.

The ignorance of the principles both of poetry and music, does not prevent these people from having their original tunes as well as verses; and sometimes the young people speak many pleasant lines extempore. These effusions are called *cotsakias*: and so much is this amusement in vogue, that when parties meet for purposes of pleasure, it is considered indispensable that they should address each other with this sort of impromptus.

Most travellers have spoken of the Greek religion, and several have exposed its dogmas, so that the subject may appear exhausted; but there are certain particulars relative to its ministers and ceremonies, which deserve to be known. It is sufficiently understood, that the Greeks follow the religion of the primitive church; without admitting the pre-eminence of the successor of St. Peter, or the procession of the Host, the Holy Father excepted: but these are points too contemptible to be again agitated. Suffice it to say, that the children of Lycurgus and Solon belong to the august family of Christians; their religion, being tolerated and avowed by the capitulation of the Mussulman

* Xenophon speaks of a dance of thieves, nearly similar to that just described, which the Greeks celebrated on their return from the expedition to Persia, when they arrived on the banks of Pontus Euxinus.

emperors, (who revere Jesus under the name of Issa, and consider him as the prophet who is to preside at the day of judgment,) would probably still flourish, if their ministers, the papas, who are for the most part ignorant and vulgar, did not daily disgrace it by a line of conduct directly oppo principies which they inculcate.

The ministers of the Greek religion may be divided into regular and secular. The patriarchs, or bishops, who are taken from the class of caloyers or monks, make a vow of celibacy; and it is only in this order that men are to be found who possess any knowledge of theological subjects: but if they know something, and are respectable in their moral conduct, they are, on the other hand, perpetually committing intrigues to arrive at dignity.

The caloyers who are destined to be patriarchs or bishops, pursue their first studies in the monasteries of Mount Athos, or the Holy Mountain; which takes its name from the number of monasteries it contains, and the inmates of which appear as if separated from the rest of the world: here they study the evangelical writers, but their subtile spirit involves them in continual cavils on the plainest articles of the Christian faith. These monasteries, besides certain funds and donations, receive abundance of casual alms from the faithful. The monks of the chief places of the order, send, during Lent, some of their members to make evangelical excursions, which afford great profit to the community. One day I met with a missionary of this description, attended by several priests, who had just been giving extreme unction to a whole family, who were in perfect health. On expressing my astonishment at such strange conduct, they told me that they had taken this precaution because they could not meet with a holy man every day. I took care not to hurt the feelings of these simple people by a reply.

One of the most difficult functions which the bishops have to fulfil in Greece is, to maintain order and discipline among the ignorant and fanatical clergy of the lower order, most of whom disgrace their office by their dissolute conduct. These fellows, who are a kind of curates, have an intimate communication with the faithful, and are either married or have taken the oath of celibacy. A papas, who has contracted marriage before his ordination, may continue to live with his wife; and hence most of those who are destined for an ecclesiastical life, marry before they take orders: but they make choice of as stout a wife as possible, that she may live a number of years; for if she die, they cannot contract another union. Those who enter upon sacred orders without being married, remain single ever after; and the people, who pay respect to those who suffer such privations, esteem them

more than the others: though the Turks, who judge by a different rule, treat them with greater rigour; and woe be to them if they are surprised in an improper conversation with a woman, or even if they are only *accused* of profaning the nuptial bed! In such a case their beard is shaved, and they are exposed to the ridicule of the populace on the back of an ass. The report of an event of this kind which took place in Candia, spread to the very centre of the Morea, at the time of my captivity, and made the secular clergy of Tripolitza tremble.

These papas, from their filthiness and corpulence are objects truly disgusting; they never go out without their stole in their pockets, to perform some act of their calling, which is frequently required of them. I am obliged to add, that almost all whom I knew, were impostors, avaricious, and addicted to every vice; and that they detested all Christians who were not of their own sect.

Divorces, that source of corruption if not checked by a wise jurisprudence, seem to be placed in the power of these priests by some infernal agent; for often, on the slightest pretext, when a husband gives them a trifle of money, they dissolve the holy bands which have been ratified in the face of heaven. In vain do modesty, morality, and religion, protest against these profanations; the abuse which money has caused is irrevocable. As to their exorcisms, one cannot but laugh and despise those ridiculous ceremonies of antiquity. If any one has suffered an injury in his house or goods, they exorcise whatever is supposed to have been bewitched: they likewise perform similar ceremonies on hypochondriacs and madmen at the foot of the altar; after having driven out the devil, they leave the subject extended on the pavement, in order that the demon, who roams about for some time in the vicinity of the church, may get tired and go away. The church of the Holy Angels at Tripolitza was in high repute, during my residence, for this kind of ceremonies.

The Greeks celebrate, after Easter, the festival of St. George, at a chapel dedicated to that saint in the plain of Mantinea; whither the bishop, clergy, and the whole population of Tripolitza, repair before break of day. As soon as the sun has gilded the summits of Mount Taygetus, the shepherds of Arcadia, on conducting their flocks to the valleys, leave them in the care of a few old men and children, and repair to the fête accompanied by their wives. The peasants of Mount Artemisius, and, in short, the inhabitants of every village to a considerable distance, likewise assemble to partake of the pleasure of this great day.

The most profound silence and respect prevail during the celebration of the liturgy; after which the young lovers proceed to the foot of the altars, make vows of mutual faith, and receive

from the prelate a crown of vine-leaves. On the evening of this ceremony, a young married woman, who was one of our neighbours, was conducted to the bath, according to custom. Her goods had previously passed through the town upon horses ornamented with ribands, and some children carried her clothes. The dances had begun in the house of the new married couple, whither I went from motives of curiosity. As soon as I arrived, the young woman, whose hair was plaited with threads of gold, her face painted red, and her eyebrows, as well as the orbit of the eyes, painted black, came out of the house, and humbly kissed my hand. She seemed to smile at what was going on for her amusement; but was so timid when she approached the altar in the morning, that she could hardly advance. When I saw her at the house, she still wore the nuptial crown. In the evening I saw her quit her maternal residence, where every object reminded her of her innocent pleasures; she hesitated, while her mother tenderly embraced her, and pressed her to her bosom. At length, supported by her relations, and preceded by a child who held before her a mirror, she walked onwards at a slow and solemn pace, to the chorus of an epithalamium, while the spectators offered their wishes for her happiness and prosperity. About half-way she was met by the bridegroom and his suite, who took the lead of the procession.

On reaching his house he placed himself on the left side of his wife; while the populace strewed over them flowers, fruit, nuts, and sweetmeats, as symbols of abundance: they then carried the bride into the house, it being reckoned unlucky for her to touch the threshold with her feet. Before going to bed, she is obliged to give a proof of her virginity. Such are the ordinary ceremonies of marriage among the modern Arcadians.

I shall now say a few words on the funereal ceremonies of these people, to one of which I was a witness. A codja-bachi of the town died in our vicinity, and public prayers were ordered for the repose of his soul. It was not sufficient that his wife and children, with rent garments, proceeded to his grave, striking their face and bosom; but as he was a man of power, the honour of his family required that the pomp of religion should be displayed in respect to his manes, and the most famous criers were put in requisition to attend his funeral: these criers were women; who soon arrived with a joyful countenance, in the hope of receiving a salary proportionate to the importance of their functions. They began by drinking off some bumpers of wine, and ascertaining the price they were to receive; they then inquired the name, qualities, and good actions, of the codja-bachi, of which his valet informed them, taking care to enlarge upon each circumstance. They now placed themselves round the coffin,

and began to groan and murmur; afterwards they cried in faint accents, but gradually raised the voice till it had attained a high pitch. The substance of their lamentation was as follows: "Oh, what a fine brave man! his ancestors were noble and illustrious; his father and grandfather were codja-bachis, and he was one himself. He might have become a prince; and who knows but he would have restored the empire? He prayed like a saint, and never failed to burn incense before the image on holidays. Let us weep over him."—And then their cries recommenced. These lamentations continued for a length of time, and were repeated to every person who came to see the corpse. After the interment, at which the criers also attend, the whole family return to partake of a repast; when they eat and drink, and their grief is at an end, or at least they all part in good-humour. In the valleys of Arcadia, however, the manners are more simple, and the grief is more sincere. There are particular days appointed by their religion, and on these the people visit the tombs of their deceased friends; and on these occasions the papas recite prayers, and burn incense on the tomb-stones. I was present at one of these ceremonies, and admired the care with which every tomb was attended to. The women ate a preparation of boiled wheat, mixed with almonds and raisins, and consecrated by the papas, who himself partook of it; they then offered up prayers for the health of their relations, as the ancient Romans formerly did in their cemeteries, that the earth might lie light on those whom they had lost.

CHAP. VIII.

SOME PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO OUR SITUATION.—EXPEDITION OF THE DELIS OF THE PACHA AGAINST THE ROBBERS OF ACHAIA.—PRESENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE AMONG THE GREEKS.—POLICE OF THE TOWNS AND PUBLIC ROADS.—TEMPERATURE AND SEASONS OF THE MOREA.—REGIMEN OF THE GREEKS OF THE MOREA

IT was thus that I observed the Greeks, in order to study the practices and customs that prevailed among them, though without losing the consolatory hope that I should return to my own country. Familiarized with danger, my comrades partook of this sentiment, and did not even suspect that any thing disastrous would happen to us. Confined in a miserable hut, and reduced to a savage state, we became habituated to what we at first thought hard; and we might ultimately even have conceived ourselves comfortable. We arose at the break of day, and began our career with agreeable walks amidst the mellifluous songs of birds,

and the healthful perfume of mountain flowers; and when the heat of the sun spread over the country, we returned to our cabin and refreshed ourselves by a nap. Thus, while stretched upon a coarse mat, we reposed as serenely as if we had rested on a bed of down, under a canopy of gold; and when the stars sparkled in the firmament, we began to prepare the only meal which we took in a climate where sobriety is so essential. Thus we were never ill, nor did we experience the slightest inconvenience; and, what is more, one of the guides of Buonaparte, who was a prisoner with us, and frequently spat blood mixed with pus, in consequence of a wound from a stiletto, which he had received at Rome, on the left side of the breast, was radically cured by the sole effect of the air, and the aromatic qualities of sheep's milk, which he drank every morning. Hence we passed our time with total indifference to the events that might befal us; in short it slipped rapidly away, from a conviction that our liberty though distant, was inevitable.

For my own part, I had a kind of occupation which afforded me powerful means of dissipating *ennui:* I studied the Greek language, in which I soon attained proficiency, while my profession introduced me into the best houses. Thus I saw those men whom various adventures, or the hope of fortune, have dispersed through every country of the world. I questioned them, noted down their observations, drew inductions from them, and finally used them for the completion of my object.

But we were obliged to make a general struggle to avoid the snares laid for us by our enemies; being circumscribed and secretly watched, we were more than once indebted to prudence, or probably good luck, for our escape from embarrassments in which we were involved: I shall mention only one instance.

A Greek, in the garb of a Sclavonian, watched us nearly in the street, and his looks seemed to disclose some project; when coming up to us as if by chance, he said, on passing, that he was our friend, and the next day he should contrive to slip into our cottage. It may be imagined, what an impression these vague words made upon us, burning as we were, with a desire to change our situation. We could not close our eyes for reflecting on the singularity of the circumstance. In short, he came according to his promise; and after having cast his eyes round our miserable dwelling, he said with a mysterious air, that he was employed by General Chabot, the Commandant at Corfu; that he was provided with a Russian passport for travelling with security; and raising his hands to heaven, he prayed the divinity to punish his perjury, if he had told us any thing but the truth. He added that, some time before the siege of Corfu, he had been sent to the Morea, to ascertain the nature of the prin-

ments that were preparing in its ports. According to his own account, he had been at infinite trouble; and not confining his zeal to this part of Turkey, had traversed the Ægean sea, visited Candia, where report said, that the enemy were making great preparations; and had thence returned to the Morea, to endeavour to make a bargain with the inhabitants of the western ports of this province, for supplying provisions to Corfu. He concluded with saying, that he was about to return to Corfu; and that he would with pleasure carry any letter from us to the French general.

The roguery of this Greek was too evident; but we seemed to believe all he said, conjuring him to remain our friend, and to see us again, as we assured him we had an ardent desire to change our situation. He consequently returned at the appointed hour, with more confidence than ever, and feigning an extraordinary zeal, made us a proposition to escape. I have just left, said he, a Maniat who is my friend, and who is ardently desirous of serving you. He has two horses at his disposal, which are only half as many as we shall want; but if I had money, I would lend it you; and by setting off at night, your escape would be certain. We pretended to accept his proposition; but when we told him that we did not possess a single dollar, he found the enterprize to be dangerous, and confined himself to the mere offer of conveying our letters to Corfu, which we accepted. We therefore with apparent great confidence, gave him a letter containing nothing but our names, and he mounted his horse, invoking all the saints in his calendar to effect our deliverance.

We had already forgotten him, and said to each other, that he was a rogue who had been paid in his own coin; but in two days he returned with a sorrowful countenance. He thanked God a thousand times that we did not follow his advice, as we should infallibly have fallen in the enterprise. He then told us, that his guide had robbed him of his watch and purse, and fled to the mountains; in short, he had lost every thing but his red cloak: our letter, however, was safe, as he had carried it in his bosom. He concluded his tale with requesting a donation to enable him to pursue his journey. At length, to get rid of him, we made a slight sacrifice; and we afterwards learnt that he had not only never left the town, but that he was the emissary of the Russian agent at Tripolitza.

All our time was not taken up in receiving visits; but much of it was employed in recreation. Every evening as soon as the sun had retired behind Mount Roino, we walked to an elevated spot, which led to the castle of Tripolitza, and whence we could see the valley of the ancient town of Tegea. Here we were

always surrounded with Greeks, whose inquiries were sometimes answered, and from whom I often received much valuable information. Our time thus passed divided between excursions, noting down remarks, and attending upon patients to whom I was called, when we received a visit from an Englishman; he was a young man of a most benevolent countenance, and at our first meeting saluted us as friends. He had served in the French army; and though being again employed under the British flag, he did not cease to pray for the glory of his old friends; he informed us of the northern confederacy against France, and confirmed the report, that Messrs. Beauvais and Gerard had been disembarked at Patras, and sent by land to Constantinople.

The pacha, doubtless, knew of all the interviews between us, and saw the attempts we were making without the least mistrust. On the contrary, he sent for me several times, to consult me about his health, and that of his women, to whom I was admitted. I therefore had ingress and egress at the palace whenever I pleased; and having been fortunate enough to cure an officer of his cavalry, I enjoyed the full protection of that corps, of which I shall relate some horrible anecdotes that resulted from the following event:

Three Zantiots who had entered into the service of France, while we occupied their country, were obliged to abandon that service as soon as the allies came into the place, on account of the persecutions directed against them. In order, therefore, to shelter themselves from the fury of parties, they came to the Morea; persuaded that with the sentiments they possessed, they would easily be forgotten by the Turks.

As they travelled from Patras to Tripolitza with a few other persons, they were attacked in the forests between Calavrita and Mettaga, by a band of thieves from the retreats of Mount Pholoe. As the travellers were only armed with a few pistols and an old sabre, it would have been imprudent to defend themselves against six times the number of resolute banditti; they were even reduced to beg for the life of a Mussulman, whom a chief of the troop seemed resolved to assassinate; but the eloquence of the Zantiots, aided by their title of Christians, produced some effect upon the robbers, who contented themselves with plundering them of what they possessed. The loss to the three proscribed men was irreparable, as they had about them all the property they possessed in the world, with which they intended to carry on a small traffic in Turkey; the robbers, however, left them their clothes, and took merely their money and arms; they even gave them sufficient to defray their expences to Tripolitza.

On reaching that town, the Zantiots having a passport signed

by the Russian and Turkish generals, appeared before the pacha to demand justice and indemnity; they gave him an account of what had happened, and stated that the banditti were about thirty in number. The pacha received them kindly, promised to satisfy them, and gave them pecuniary assistance. But he did not stop here. In a paroxysm of fury he made an oath not to sleep without insuring vengeance: he immediately ordered his Delis to mount their horses, and commanded them to bring him the banditti or their heads; and at their peril, not to let one of them escape.

The ferocious joy of the delis on receiving these orders cannot be described; and arming themselves in the best manner, they passed in the evening before Mantinea; while another detachment penetrating to Mount Romo, took the road to Upper Arcadia, in order to scour Mount Pogliesi and the neighbouring villages. However, in spite of their zeal and the positive orders of the vizier, they took care not to approach the mountains, and particularly the caverns in the vicinity of Nonacris; but contented themselves with sending to the chiefs of the villages to demand whether they had any strangers amongst them. On hearing of this expedition, the Greeks raised their hands to heaven, and lamented the fate of the inhabitants of the plains: they informed me of the manner in which the delis executed the order of the pacha; they told me, that on surrounding a village, they summoned the chief, and ordered him to call over the names of the inhabitants; and if any individual was found amongst them whom the Greek primate did not recognise, he was immediately seized and put to death; because it was easier to carry a number of heads than to convey a body of men. But if the examination did not answer the hopes of the delis; and knowing as they did, that they dare not return without prisoners or heads, they did not fail to decapitate the first persons they met with, and in this horrid manner completed their orders by the sacrifice of innocent men.

The expedition to which I alluded, lasted ten or twelve days; during which time nothing was seen but heads at the gates of the seraglio. The terror which is always excited by the obscure executions of despotism spread throughout the town: the people murmured, and disseminated a report that they had seen the corpses carried from the stables of the pacha and secretly buried. In fact, such a measure had been adopted not long before, in order that the execution might be rendered more terrific to the people. Some few of the banditti, however, were taken, and amongst them was their chief named Zacharias, who had been the terror of the Morea for more than ten years. He was found in a house at Tripolitza, in which he had secreted

himself. The next day he was impaled without the walls of the town. None of us had the courage to go and see this barbarous sight, but the Turk Mustapha, whom I have already mentioned, gave us a pompous account of the sacrifice: he assured us that the robber displayed such audacity, that even when fixed on the pale, he continued to retort upon the spectators for their insults, till at length an Albanian, in pity for his sufferings, struck off his head.

The pacha fixed on a Sunday for this execution, that being the day when all the inhabitants of the country parts come to the market at Tripolitza; and to make it the more striking, several Greeks were hung, by way of example, on the trees in the Bazar.

This day was likewise remarkable by the return of the delis, who made a sort of triumphal entry into the town, loaded with the spoil of those they had murdered; they galloped in, throwing about their bloody sabres, making a parade with the heads which were stuck on them, and putting forth shouts of joy in approbation of their cruelty.

From these details, the reader may judge of our feelings while prisoners in such a country.

With respect to the present state of knowledge amongst the Greeks, I have a few observations to offer. I must first do justice to their charming language, which, though degenerated, still has a sonorous and measured pronunciation. The idiom of the moderns probably possesses all the melody of its antique beauties. In vain may scholiasts, by learned dissertations, attempt to render prevalent the guttural croakings of a harsh and barbarous enunciation: every unprejudiced man who possesses a musical ear, will be struck with the difference between their manner and that in which a modern well-informed Greek will read the harangues of Demosthenes, or the gentle modulations of Anacreon. It is by associating this pronunciation with the excellent rhyme of the ancient Greek, that we may conceive how an audience may be affected by the simple reading of productions in that language.

The pronunciation, however, varies amongst the modern Greeks. The inhabitant of the Morea, for example, drags his words and gives them a nasal accent; the Athenian expresses himself affectedly, and the inhabitant of Epirus bears in his speech the impression of his hardy character. I do not know to what cause to attribute the ridiculous accent of the natives of Chio, who speak from the breast and throat; while at Smyrna they find great difficulty in pronouncing the gamma; and at Constantinople they almost make an elision of it. From this difference the modern language no longer appears the same as the

ancient; though it doubtless varies much less than is generally reported.

Having thus exposed the motives which induced me to give the preference to the modern Greek pronunciation, I must in justice praise those estimable men of that country, who come to Europe to gain instruction. They are the sole hope of future generations, as it is by them that their countrymen will hereafter be enlightened. But what troubles and labour are in reserve for them! The ingratitude with which they are requited, even when successful, might well be supposed to repress their ardour.

It is generally with a view to study medicine, or under that pretext, that the Greeks expatriate themselves. The acquirement of foreign languages necessarily causes a loss of time which might be better employed in obtaining positive knowledge: but these men are susceptible of the most liberal ideas. They all detest the Turk, and their hatred is well founded; but abhorrence is not sufficient: it is necessary to sap his power, and general information is the only means of ruining that colossus of despotism, by disseminating knowledge amongst the Greeks. Yet a new obstacle checks this desirable event.

The well-informed Greek will no longer submit to humiliation; he therefore takes up his residence in civilized Europe; for what could he do amongst his own nation? The prevalence of fanaticism, more dangerous than the Ottoman scourge, oppresses every mind; and hence, the Greek of liberal ideas has only one part to take, which is, to translate the best European works into his own language, which would circulate in time through all the towns of Greece. But at present, every thing which can excite courage and noble ideas among a people degraded by their slavery, is constantly omitted by their translators; for the Inquisition of Venice used to inspect their books, and still more was to be feared from the censures of the Greek prelates. In short, a book which has been anathematized, will not find a reader; and a suspicion is even excited against such productions as may come after it. It is, however, by the clergy, that general information can be most successfully spread, and the Greeks thus prepared for a political regeneration. The schools of France already contain a number of young Greeks, who are able to disseminate scientific knowledge in their own country, and the works of Fenelon, Rollin, Bossuet, and several books of education have been translated and dispersed amongst the Greeks. But I have been informed, that the "World Displayed," by Fontenelle, has been condemned by the Patriarch of Constantinople, on account of some mention being made in the notes of balloons and animal magnetism. The translation of Robinson

Crusoe is also suspected, though that excellent work has been mutilated in several parts, and begins like the tale of Blue Beard, in a manner that renders it ridiculous. But the excellent works of Marmontel and Voltaire seem to have terrified the Inquisition, insomuch, that they have not dared to issue any prohibition against them; a circumstance which forms the most extravagant contradiction to their general conduct. We all remember the end of the translator of Anacharsis, a work which will be admired as long as the French language exists. This unfortunate writer, when about to commence the printing of his translation, was delivered up to the Divan by the Court of Vienna, and soon after decapitated. Notwithstanding this example, a Greek has been found zealous enough to defy death, and continue the work of his friend; and though he experienced the most shameful persecutions, it is to be hoped that he will attain his object.

Happy are those Greeks, who, when disputes arise, remain satisfied with the paternal decision of their bishops, or the arbitration of their friends; for if their naturally contentious spirit induces them to have recourse to the tribunals of the Cadis, they expose themselves to every fine and vexation which the caprice or avidity of those officers can suggest; and it often happens, that a formal denial of justice is made to the applicant. Yet daily experience does not check the propensity of the people of the Morea for litigation, even on the most trifling subjects. In proof of this injurious propensity, the following story is related.—Two Greeks who had long been united in the bond of friendship, met on a fine summer's day under the shade of a bower, near the ruins of Mycena, where they regaled themselves with a roasted lamb; and with copious potations celebrated the festival of one of their principal saints. Their pleasure and confidence expanded in a torrent of lively conversation; and after the repast they called on each other for a song. Stephanopholi (which was the name of the principal Greek) took a lyre, and accompanied with his voice the discordant sounds that he made it produce. Dimitri followed him, and his impromptus were entirely in praise of Stephanopholi, who had regaled him; he wished that he might enjoy his health for a thousand years, with riches and abundance; and after the song, they resumed the bottle and the pipe. At length the plaintive Philomela displayed the fine cadences of her divine harmony; the two friends became struck with admiration, and scarcely allowed themselves to breathe, lest they should disturb the enchanting melody. Hark! said Stephanopholi, how grateful the nightingale is for my song! It was my voice that attracted her, and this is the return she makes me. Thy voice? said Dimitri, thou shouldst rather have said mine. The other replied, and took the credit to himself. In short, a

dispute arose which terminated in a battle, and the affair was laid before the Cadi, who was solicited to pronounce for whom the nightingale had sung. The wise Mussulman judge heard the respective charges; and when they were finished, he pretended to reflect deeply, and after stroking his whiskers several times, he awarded a fine to the person who was most beaten. Then addressing them both, he said, I will tell you for whom the nightingale sung; it was for me, you infidel sons of b——s; get home, and be friends.

If we were to listen to these scurrilous Greeks, said another Cadi, they would always have things their own way; for they say what they please: I know, he added, that they have more sense than we possess, and therefore my manner of acting is infallible. I always decide before I hear their complaint; and then they may plead as long as they like.

Two papas once made a reciprocal accusation before a Cadi, of stealing a goat, which both claimed as their property. "*Your holiness,*" said the one, "has stolen my goat." "You lie," says the other, "I'll swear it is mine, and that *your* holiness stole it from me." As the words holiness and thief were frequently introduced in the discussion, the Cadi, with a scowling look, ordered the janissaries to be called in, and commanded them to administer the bastinado to both the papas: he then adjudged the goat to himself, observing, that as one of their holinesses had undoubtedly committed a sin, he took the scandal of it upon himself, in order to oblige them.

The police of the towns is administered with an equal defiance of justice and consistency. At night, patroles parade through the streets and environs of Tripolitza, to take up vagabonds and thieves; but instead of checking outrages, they are often the cause of them. Every evening during our stay, several companies of Albanians went out to take watch on the mountains, and did not return till the next day. The magistrate of the police was accompanied by soldiers, who administered the bastinado to dealers, who were detected in using short weights and measures; and for a second offence, he ordered them to be nailed by the ear to the doors of their shops, or even to be hanged, without any other ceremony than the mere discovery of them while committing the offence.

There is a grand overseer of the high-ways, called the Dervendgi-pacha, who goes about to inspect the roads, and while on his journey, lodges with the agas of the towns on his route, who entertain him in the most splendid manner they can afford; but he frequently takes up his residence in the houses of the Greek primates, whom he turns out without ceremony, and sometimes levies contributions upon them. He never fails to

stop at such monasteries as lie in his way; and with his suite, devours more provisions and wine in a day, than would serve the unfortunate monks for a year. But woe be to them if he should find their provisions good, and the site of their residence agreeable; for as he is not pressed as to time, he never fails to ruin them.

The Morea possesses a great variety in its temperature, as well as in the configuration of its soil; insomuch, that Providence seems to have diversified her benefits in a thousand ways on so small a part of the globe. The climate in general seems to hold a middle rank between that of Egypt and the temperate zones. We do not see in it those livid clouds which conceal for a length of time, the azure of the sky and the rays of the sun; nor that arch of brilliant light, deprived of moisture, on which the sun ascends and inflames the deserts. A refreshing dew falls in the early days of spring, and the ground is covered with snow, or moistened by torrents of rain, according to the difference of the seasons: but the mourning of nature is of short duration; for each night discloses to the admiring eye, the firmament sparkling with its brilliant constellations.

The woods, so necessary for exciting rain, which covered most of the mountains, and were consecrated by the religion of the ancients, no longer exist; and since their destruction, the vallies in their vicinity have become barren, while the extermination of the inhabitants by their barbarian invaders, has left to the feeble generations that have succeeded in those quarters, nothing but disorder and insalubrity.

The winter generally begins in the Morea with abundant rains, and the most dreadful thunder; and never was the voice of Jupiter more imposing, than when it resounds through the caverns of the Taygetus, or extends along the deep excavations of Mounts Olenos and Pholoe. These changes, which begin in December, are succeeded by frosts, but which are seldom severely felt till the beginning of January; at this period, the harvest of every kind is finished; the wine is fermenting in vats or inclosed in casks, and the last operation is that of expressing oil from the olives, which almost all the cantons furnish in abundance. But the same cold and temperature are not felt in those parts of Ælida and Messenia, which are bordered by the sea; yet Arcadia, Achaia, Sisyonia, and the elevated territory of Corinth and Laconia, experience very rigorous winters; while the sun daily shines on Arcadia like a diamond, but deprived of heat. In the month of February, however, the malign influence of which was so much dreaded by the ancients, vegetation begins to revive, and the narcissus and humble violet may be seen issuing from the snow; when the youths, impatient to resume

their wonted activity, arm themselves, and go out upon excursions against the wolves, accompanied by that courageous race of dogs peculiar to Epirus.

In the month of April, the rising and setting of the sun are preceded and followed by abundant dews; while some gentle showers rapidly fertilize the lands. The orange, vine, and other fruit-trees embalm the heavy atmosphere of the Ælida, while thyme, rosemary, and other aromatic plants, embellish the whole of Laconia and the Peloponnesus. I observed that at this period, a little before the rising of the sun, the air was impregnated with such a mass of odours, that those not accustomed to it, felt inconvenience from its respiration.

I cannot describe the grandeur of the rising sun in these delightful climates, but shall observe, that the attractive descriptions of the poets of antiquity, are, in this respect, not exaggerated.

The summer season commences in the month of May, and lasts till October. From the very beginning, the air is dry, the heat increases, and as well as the cold, is most felt in the great bason of Laconia. The thermometer in summer rises there to 34° and 36°. The Ælida is refreshed by sea breezes; but the Argolide is suffocating, and most of the rivers are dried up. Every evening the people make their beds in the open air, and each family passes the night in the middle of the court, which forms an essential appendage to every house; they are also in the habit of lighting fires, which they assert to be necessary for purifying the air. There is likewise a charming spectacle which embellishes the obscurity of night—millions of luminous insects, which the Greeks call Κὸλο φοτιὰ, fly through the air, and seem like so many diamonds agitated by the clouds. At this time, the atmosphere of Tripolitza becomes so much impregnated with the odour of the milk-thistles, that grow about Mount Roïno, as to affect with vertigo and fainting the nervous and delicate women of the harems. To remedy this inconvenience, and partly from an old custom, the pacha, during my residence, sent all the inhabitants of the town to extirpate and burn those plants.

The odoriferous herbs and flowers which perfume the fields in every part, are too numerous to mention. The ponds in the north of Arcadia, are covered with the flowers of the water lily, the leaves of which resemble so many large shields spread on the surface of the water: the manna trees afford abundance of gum, and the cantharides fly in swarms around those of the ash. Towards the end of May, they begin to cut their corn, and pile it in stacks on their farms. In the months of July and and August, the chirping of the grasshopper is no longer heard

on the burning soil; and the people throughout that season are reduced to drink the unwholesome water of their wells and cisterns. The labourer, shepherd, and inhabitant of the towns in the Morea, eat a variety of fruits which relieve them so much from the oppression of the heat, that they seem scarcely to regard it: the revivifying freshness of the evening and the light morning air cause the population of the valley of Tegea to forget the heat of noon. The children run about with nothing on them but a simple shirt, and are as nimble as the Arabs; but none of those scrophulous diseases are to be found among them, which are so common in our large towns. At length, in October, the rains announce the autumn, and seem to give rise to a new spring; the grapes fall beneath the knife of the vintager, and nothing is heard but songs of joy. Fêtes then take place in every part, and the whole of the inhabitants assemble for recreation.

I have now [illegible] object [illegible] of the Greeks. It has already been observed, that [illegible] so necessary to life, is not generally good in the Morea. In the summer the rivers convey only a brackish and muddy kind; and in winter, only the large rivers furnish such as is wholesome. The waters of Tegea, the best in the whole province, and the environs of Sitano and Argitocastro have several springs impregnated with sulphurate of soda, and the traveller who drinks their contents, is [illegible] by a colliquative diarrhœa, which is followed by an eruption that soon dies away of itself; the inhabitants, however, who are accustomed to this water, are not affected by it like strangers.

As to the food of the inhabitants of the Morea, it is nearly the same as that of the Greeks in the other parts of the empire. Being forced by the principles of their religion to make long and frequent fasts, their tables are covered for the greatest part of the year with meager dishes, consisting chiefly of the most common vegetables. Oil and butter are the basis of their seasoning, to which they add a variety of the most powerful aromatic spices.

At all their meals I have seen them use the black and salted olives of Coron, with caviar or salted fish spawn, prepared in Russia. As to the caviar, [illegible] considered as the national dish; and he would [illegible] who should speak of it with disrespect. They also [illegible] various parts of various kinds, but poorly [illegible] their cookery, however, is very different to that of [illegible] are no longer those gluttons giving the [illegible] every [illegible] has appeared before them. Alas, [illegible] are! How would a modern Apicius be disgusted on [illegible] a mess of nothing but red poppies, fennel, and lettuce, [illegible] the aromatic herbs

which they use, excite an appetite by the odour which they exhale. This kind of pie is in general use at the table of a rich man. The third course consists of an enormous dish of snails, of which all the guests eat eagerly. They drink bumpers of a heady wine, which they contrive to do long after their plates are empty; for excepting at their festivals, the Greeks are in the habit of eating with avidity.

At the times when meat is allowed, the Greeks prefer it roasted; they put a whole lamb on the spit, after greasing it well over, and sprinkling it with marjoram. In this way they also eat hogs and kids, which, together with sheep, are almost the only viands in use. When they make ragouts, it is generally with hares; but they seldom eat poultry.

Salt fish, mackarel, and sea-eels, together with the xiphias and the Moscovy fish, or *Baluc Moscow*, are consumed by them, though not indiscriminately. The people of the Morea also, like sea-fish; but they reject with an invincible repugnance the enormous carp of the Stymphale and of the pools of Arcadia, which they say produce leprosy. In fact, the fat and oily substance of those fish, whose scales are extremely viscous, may possess an injurious property. I am also of opinion, that the fish taken on the coasts of the Ælida are not very wholesome, though they be sea-fish: in order to abridge the trouble of taking them by the net, the people often use the roots of the milk-thistle and euphorbia, with which they stupify or make them drunk; but when taken by such means, their flesh soon corrupts, and even when salted, it is by no means pleasant: it is asserted to occasion very severe cutaneous eruptions; nevertheless, as this kind of fish is always cheap, the people make it their common food. I believe this food produces several inconveniences, and many persons are of my opinion, but they cannot be very serious: for the people will not renounce the consumption of fish which are taken by means of those poisonous roots.

Fruit is one of the principal articles of subsistence amongst these people, and particularly melons, water-melons, and gourds, which last are the manna of heaven to the people of the Morea: in summer, they eat scarcely any thing else, and they may be seen in every house, being consumed raw. Sometimes they cut them in pieces, and eat them with milk instead of bread; and it has been remarked, that when this and other aqueous fruits are most in use, contagious diseases are most predominant.

At the tables of the rich people, macaroni, mixed with rasped cheese of Vasilico or Sisyonia, is very common. Sisyonia still retains its ancient privilege of furnishing the hard cheeses so much esteemed in the kitchens of the Greeks; but their pastry, that fertile source of indigestion, is rendered much more heavy

by the oil employed for making the crust, as well as by the honey which they substitute for sugar. Thus their various kinds of cakes act like a lump of lead upon the stomachs of any but Greeks and Turks; and every stranger who is obliged to submit to their manner of cooking, will have many risks ro run which he is little aware of: he may therefore conceive himself happy, if he can procure nothing more than a plate of pilau, the humble dish that has been already described.

The ragouts of mutton, with minced and hashed meat, are, in the way they prepare them, equally difficult of digestion. They do not use sallads any otherwise then boiled, and desserts are unknown amongst them.

During their meals the Greeks drink copiously; but the Mussulmans eat eagerly, and do not drink till the repast is at an end. Thus, the aliments taken into the stomach distend, and most of the orientals are scarcely able to smoke after dinner, so much are the organs of digestion inflated.

In these countries pipes form the ordinary dessert. After having washed the mouth and nose, and soaped the whiskers, the people of the Levant curve themselves at the corner of a sofa, and begin to smoke; it is then they delight in the scent of tobacco, and pass in a state of apathy the most agreeable hours of their life.

I shall pursue no farther the enumeration of oriental dishes, but shall pass to their milk diet, which has a great consumption amongst them. The milk most generally used, is that of the sheep; in the state that it comes from the dug of the sheep or the goat, it is of a sweet and aromatic nature, like the herbage on which the animals feed; and in this state they use it, without any of the foolish preparations which change its quality. The Greeks, however, have a different taste; for they do not willingly take milk, till it has been parboiled, nor cream, till it has undergone the same process. They always speak of these preparations in epithets proper for describing ambrosia, though it is difficult to conceive any thing more sour and disagreeable than their taste; and if their manner of preparing them, together with the filthiness of their kettles and other vessels, were known, one would be disgusted, rather than pleased at such a repast as they could offer.

Their butter is far from possessing the quality which might be wished for; for it is rarely found without a mixture of grease. Being almost always in a liquid state, it has the appearance and consistence of virgin honey: it is kept in leather bags made of goat's skins.

Their cheeses, which are deprived of lactyraceous particles, are in general too salt, and are equal to none of the kinds which are

found in Northern Europe. Those of Mistra and Vasilico, which are divided into loaves or squares, are, however, in high repute. As to the rest, which are kept in the bags, they are eaten fricaseed with butter: this dish, which is entirely new to us, forms a real Albanian repast, and is fit only for the stomachs which could digest the black gruel of the Spartans. Besides wine, which is the common drink of the Greeks, the small number of Turks drink different liquids, which it is important to know, as they are likewise consumed at the festivals of the Greeks. Amongst these are the boza, a thick kind of liquor, made from bruised barley fermented, and to which is added a certain quantity of of soporific drugs: it is an intoxicating drink, and is very much esteemed. Next to this come the sherbets or sorbets, which are prepared from a confection of raspberries, strawberries, or apricots, diluted with water. They are also sold in solid lozenges, and the musk with which they are scented, is not so strong as to be disagreeable, particularly in the summer season, at which time they are delicious, on account of being dissolved in mountain snow. Currants steeped in rose-water, with a slight infusion of aromatics, form the nectar that is most in vogue.

Their brandy, the principal spirituous liquor, is bad, and may occasion diseases in irritable persons. The Turks are uncommonly attached to a preparation of mint and pimento, digested coolly in water; and I must declare, that I never met with any thing so strong. The person who drinks it for the first time, cannot but suppose that he has swallowed the most concentrated alcohol. Their preserved cherries, mustard-seed, and citrons, are passable; but their confectionaries are masses of badly-prepared flour, with which they form sweetmeats and toys, which are sold at the cheapest rate.

The customs, manner of living, and even the dress of the people of the Morea, are of great importance in my manner of considering their diet and regimen. It may even be said, that the ambition of the females, and the fear which enervates the people, may be considered as a predisposing cause of pestilential diseases: for the entire slavery of a nation changes its physical constitution; and the greater or less degree of liberty which it enjoys, induces alterations which cannot escape the eye of the active observer.

The inhabitant of the valley of the Tegea, lives chiefly upon fruits; and being less subject to vexation, preserves something noble in his features. The man of Upper Arcadia lives chiefly upon milk, and loves rest and peace: his customs are mild and attractive; but both are content with their present state, and only wish to exert themselves for the spots which have given them

existence. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the vallies near Mettega, who live during winter upon chesnuts and meal, do not possess the same submissive character; and their old men are subject to arthritic affections.

The Messenian, who frequently eats meat and fish, has a lively physiognomy, which is kept up, or increased by his vicinity to the sea; and being brave and industrious, he soon quits the banks of the Pamissus or the Neda. The aspect of his towns, which are almost all built in an eastern or southern direction, together with his regimen, give him an open countenance, very different from that of the Messenian, who cultivates the interior of the country, and whom I have represented as borne down with labour and misery.

CHAP. IX.

FEW REMARKS ON THE DISEASES PECULIAR TO THE MOREA, AND OF THE PLAGUE IN PARTICULAR.—OF THE STATE OF MEDICAL SCIENCE IN THE MOREA.—ITS ARTS AND TRADE, WITH THE OCCUPATIONS OF BOTH SEXES.—PRODUCTIONS, GAME, &c.—BRIEF REMARKS ON ITS COMMERCE.—TERMINATION OF OUR RESIDENCE IN THE MOREA.—INSURRECTION OF THE GARRISON OF TRIPOLITZA.—ANECDOTE OF AN APOSTATE ZANTIOT SOLDIER.—DISEASE AND DEATH OF THE DEFTERKIAYA.

Abstained from speaking of the diseases, when treating of the temperature of the Morea, because I wished to take up the former subject in a more particular manner, and to add the result of my own observations. I have mentioned how fatal the evaporations from the rivers and pools, are to the inhabitants of the valley of Argos; but it remains for me to say, that that country, and the environs of Lerna, are the most unwholesome of any in the province. No sooner has a stranger taken up his residence at Naupli, in Romania, situated on the east bank of the gulf of Argos, than he is attacked by quartan fevers, from which the inhabitants are not exempt; while their yellow complexion and scrophulous diseases afford ample proofs of the malign influence of the atmosphere. Hence, in general, at Naupli, as well as in all the valley of Argos, the inhabitants have a hard belly and inflated viscera. The peculiarity of their lymphatic system causes many to be attacked with elephantiasis, and a great number with dropsy. The women continue to have their purgations during the time they give suck; a circumstance which is very rare, excepting in Laconia; they are particularly liable to

miscarriages, and have an uncommon propensity for the most absolute idleness. Being of an ardent imagination, they are generally fruitful, though without being fortunate in the great end of nature. I have seen some examples of hydrocephalus, as long as the fourteenth month, but which were always attributed to the influence of the evil spirits.

In the valley of Argos, venesection is dangerous in most diseases; and even in the phlegmatic attacks so common at Argos, at which town, as well as in the villages contiguous to the forest of Nemea, coughs are very frequent.

Wounds, in such a climate, are difficult of cure: they degenerate into phagedenic ulcers, the edges of which rise, take a round form, and only yield to change of place and compression. I had several examples within my own knowledge. A woman of Aglacombos, whom I attended for a length of time, could not be cured of an ulcer in the leg, till she had left the hot and moist climate of the Argolide. She therefore quitted her village, and came to reside at Tripolitza, where the means which I had before employed without effect, proved advantageous.

The valley of Tegea, which is cold in winter, and under the influence of a burning sun in summer, is the most salubrious part of the Peloponnesus.

Apoplexies appeared to be frequent in Sinano, in the environs of Arcadia, and in the whole extent from Cantenes to Olympia, when the south winds fill the air with warm exhalations. The practice in this case is to bleed without any attention to the nature of the disease: they then give a vomit, composed of a slight infusion of leaf-tobacco. In the Elida, particularly during the summer season, when storms are frequent, the people are subject to ataxic and adynamic fevers. The Laconians are afflicted with less serious disorders: the children at an early period, are generally attacked with hydrocele and tumefaction of the scrotum. It is in the Elida, the environs of the Alpheus, near the lake of Voulsi, and other waters of Arcadia, that the elephantiasis is, to my knowledge, most common. In the course of six months upwards of twenty persons were brought to me from those parts, to have advice for the elephantiasis in the legs; amongst those who consulted me, I observed, that two thirds had the infection in the left leg. This disorder, however, does not present such an hideous appearance as I observed it to make in Egypt. As to the phthyriasis, I no where observed it, though the doctors of the country boasted to me of having cured it several times; but I did not want their testimony with regard to the leprosy. I had often heard speak of it, when, as I was returning one day from M. Caradja, to whose house I had been to see his domestic, who was afflicted with a malignant fever,

some Greeks invited me to enter a court, and look at a young leprous girl; I found her, as they represent the Cretans, sitting on a marble block, and exposed to the heat of the sun in the month of June. She was about fifteen years old, and the women informed me, that she had never exhibited any signs of menstruation; her skin was covered with a crust, from which small scales fell off; and at certain periods, she complained of itching attended with pain. She did not feel, at the depth of four or five lines, a puncture that was made on the legs, thighs, or arms; she remained motionless for a whole day at the place to which she was led, and rarely required any food. Her complexion was of a lead colour, and her breath had an infectious and very peculiar smell; her teeth were greenish, and her nails lumpy and cracked. She had periostoses on the forehead, and, in short, an entire lippitude and alopecia, or fox's evil, rendered her a horrid object. I had the curiosity to feel her pulse, which was slow and faint. The Greeks to whom this poor girl belonged, conceived her to be bewitched; but excepting on this account, they displayed towards her neither disgust nor aversion; and they were persuaded, with much propriety, that the leprosy is not communicated by simple contact. It is in fact from some impure connection, that this dreadful disease is propagated; and if in the isle of Candia, where it is very frequent, they banish the leprous persons to unfrequented places, it is from the horror which they excite, and not from the fear of contagion.

With respect to the plague, its very name implies the most terrible of disasters. In Asia, Africa, and even in the midst of the fortunate isles of Greece, it manifests itself by general disease and death. Yet its nature and principles are enveloped in the deepest obscurity; and it may be considered as an emanation of celestial vengeance. In modern Greece, however, it is not Apollo who punishes an innocent people for the faults of the king of kings; but a prejudice equally deplorable from the fear which it excites, renders the body susceptible of contagion.

The evil spirit, or *cacodaimon*, has been seen to glide along their roofs: no one dares to doubt the assertion; he is a decrepit object, covered with funereal shreds, and has been heard to call by their names those whom he wished to cut off from the number of the living. Nocturnal music and murmuring voices have been heard in the air in the darkest nights; and phantoms have been seen moving in solitary places near the cemeteries. Strange dogs have howled in a dismal manner, and their voices have been terrifically re-echoed along the deserted streets. "Hence," observed to me an inhabitant of Naupli, "you must take care not to answer, if you should hear yourself called in the night: you will sometimes be attracted by symphonies; do not listen to them,

but cover yourself over in the bed; for it is the decrepit demon, that is the plague, which knocks at your door."

These ridiculous fears, from their frequent repetition, shake even the best-informed minds; while grave historians have taken pleasure in representing such signs as forerunners of the plague; and in consequence of these prejudices, no simple description of the disease is yet known among the Greeks. I shall therefore endeavour to trace it without embarrassing the reader with their technical terms, and shall add the result of my own observations on the subject.

The nature of the plague is as little known as that of many other diseases. To attribute it to effluvia or contagion is saying nothing, and throwing obscurity on a point of the question which is not essential. I shall argue more to the purpose by saying, that the plague arises from the insalubrity of certain parts, and the impurity of the air. This was the opinion of Hippocrates; for according to that father of medicine, the proximate cause of every disease is the air, which, in proportion to its rarified or condensed state, contains morbific principles that penetrate with it into the human body. In fact, in the countries of Africa, for example in Egypt, where the plague is endemic, it always appears with the hot and moist winds from the south; and when the north winds commence, its ravages cease. From a constant proof of this phenomenon, as given by every observer, it is not improbable, that the plague is a destructive emanation from the Samm or wind of the desert, which Bruce describes as killing like a stroke of lightning.

The plague, however, was not known in Egypt in the early ages, notwithstanding the prevalence of the desert winds. Its ravages are not mentioned by Herodotus; nor was it known while that province was a Roman colony; but as soon as it fell to the weak emperors of the east, who let every thing go to destruction; as soon, in short, as Egypt was invaded by the ferocious Amrou, the lieutenant of the caliph Omar, this fine country became the residence of the plague.

We ought not indeed to believe the assertions of Thucydides, Lucretius, and Pliny, that the plague proceeds from Ethiopia. Bruce, who travelled through Abyssinia, does not mention its existence at Axum. The caravans which proceed every year from the interior of Africa, had spread it in Upper Egypt before it was known at Cairo; but the contrary now takes place, for it comes from Lower Egypt, where it seems to be concealed in the environs of Damietta, and is propagated by contact. From the time of Procopius, it has appeared in a similar manner, as is evident from his description of a pestilence which spread over all the known country. It began, says he, in Egypt amongst

the inhabitants of Pelusium, and gradually extended itself to Alexandria, in the other provinces, and in those parts which are nearest to Egypt. Professor Desgenettes makes the same remark, when stating that the epidemy, by which he means the plague, appeared at Damietta in the month of September, and afterwards in the marine hospital at Alexandria.

The opinion of travellers, who pretend that the plague is conveyed from Constantinople to Egypt by ships, is absurd. We have too many facts to overthrow the assertion, were they only in the number of our soldiery who were destroyed by the plague in Egypt, at a time when all communication with Constantinople was cut off. But it may be said, that the fortunate territories of the east, the Grecian provinces subjected to the power of the Turks, are afflicted with this calamity from time to time: it, however, arises from the lakes of Albania and the Morea, together with the ruins of so many towns, which cause exhalations that favour its development.

It is necessary to place among the fables and popular falsehoods, what is recounted of the signs that announce the plague. Thus epizooties, which are sometimes similar to the epidemy, are not essentially combined with it. The myriads of frogs and insects, the inundations, the hydrophobia, (a disease unknown in all the east) the spots of oil upon the walls, and the falling of meteors, all of which though asserted to be indications of the plague, are so many inventions proper for a novel, but which the impartial traveller ought only to mention in terms of ridicule*.

The most certain sign of the plague, is the hot and moist constitution mentioned by Hippocrates. Constantinople and the whole of Greece being under the influence of such an atmosphere, are always liable to the plague; and it may be said with Lucretius, that the germs of this disease cross the sea in the air, and descend on the people of Pandion. This is the period to shut oneself up, as such means are considered as an infallible preservative. The pestilence immediately attacks the people who walk abroad, and are ignorant of their danger; yet vegetation is never more beautiful than at such a period: the corn is attacked with a sort of smut, but the meadows are every where enamelled with flowers, which even grow amongst the cypress of the tombs.

The commencement of the plague may now be easily ascertained from the appearance of the first victims who have been struck with it. Its symptoms are as follow: cardialgia, bitterness

* With respect to the hydrophobia, many creditable persons have assured me that mad dogs have been seen at Constantinople; but notwithstanding their veracity, I positively assert the contrary.

of taste, head-ach, lassitude, and horripilation, which frequently occurs towards evening, are the common symptons of all malign or adynamic fevers; but shiverings, anorexia, sinking of the pulse, sleeplessness, or rather sleep accompanied with frightful dreams, and a melancholic habit, seem to be nearly allied to the pestilential or adeno-nervous fever, which is only the putrid fever in the highest degree.

An attack of the plague is never so sudden as to cause men to fall down in the street as if they were struck by lightning. The only people who perish in this manner, are such as are without a home; and this class is very common in the east, where almost the whole year, and particularly at the time of the plague, the unfortunate men lie under or at top of the warm ashes from the public baths. Their miserable mode of life, renders them the earliest victims to the epidemy; and in all cases those who have died rather suddenly, have previously exhibited some of the symptoms of a pestilential fever.

The first patients who are attacked by the plague, generally leave an uncertainty as to the nature of the malignant fever which prevails; it is, however, known to have three stages, during which it assumes different characters; though sometimes, when it exerts its greatest ravages, it exhibits them all at once.

With some persons, the approach of death is indicated by vomitings, cephalalgia, feeble pulse, and large black spots: they in general die soon after, when the limbs preserve their flexibility; and in a few hours the corpse exhales an insupportable smell. But the most unfortunate beings, are the women in child-bed, who quickly receive the infection, and never escape its consequence. Those who have been previously weakened by violent fevers, or acute diseases, likewise fall a prey to the first attacks of the plague.

Some patients are afflicted with delirium, raving madness, or a burning fever: their tongue is red, dry, and cracked; their eyes sparkling, and sometimes filled with tears; and their looks are altogether singular. The bubo does not appear till the moment of death, when it often rises under one of the arm-pits, or on the breast. Others are afflicted with a pestilential angina; and the fauces and larinx are inflamed by numerous ulcers, which impede respiration, and at first make the patient appear to be attacked by the croup. A cadaverous stench issues from the mouth; the tongue is covered with a blackish sanies; and the tumified lips give the unfortunate beings a horrid appearance. They complain of a parching thirst, feel as if a fire was burning within them, and generally die on the fifth day. The plague is mild, when it follows the progress of putrid or adynamic fevers; the bubo, which, however is not one of its essential characteristics, appears between the fourth and fifth day, and always in the groin, or on

the thigh; it soon suppurates: the tongue and teeth, which, till then, had been black, become white: the patient recovers his senses, and his hopes revive, particularly on finding he is not abandoned by his relatives. If the bubo be long in arriving at suppuration, his convalescence is tedious and violent; and the patient for years afterwards feels pain on the return of the epidemic season.

Being terrible at its commencement, more from the consternation which it spreads, than from the evils it occasions, the plague seems to be propagated by the alarm which every one feels, and thus by inducing debility, renders himself susceptible of its attacks. On the least suspicion of the plague, the most courageous men become depressed, alarmed, and seriously ill; while many, from this predisposition alone, have been attacked by it; hence the fear of death precipitates them to the tomb.

On reaching its second stage, the plague covers the city with funerals. The silence of the night is only interrupted by groans, and the plaintive cries of the dying, combined with the lamentation of whole families who are stricken by the contagion; very few escape without lingering for the remainder of their life in a deplorable state. The streets are abandoned, the people avoid each other, and they dare not ask any questions, lest they should hear of the loss of a relative or friend. At this period of affliction, the Turk who resides in Constantinople, begins to believe the existence of the plague, as nearly a thousand corpses are conveyed in a single day through the gate of Adrianople. These mortuary processions give the rallying signs to the Mussulmans, who meet in the plains of Okmeidan, to invoke the divinity to stay his wrath; they do not complain of their losses, for *God has willed them;* they merely entreat a cessation of the calamity, and pray to be made whole.

In this general mourning, the Mussulman, blinded by fate, sees in the plague which devours him, nothing but one of the irrevocable decrees of Heaven; although he does not blame the Greek for being alarmed, or the Frank for being shut up, he believes himself to have sinned by wanting confidence; and that, if Providence has so decreed it, his prayers will be heard; for he is convinced that his days are numbered, and his fate decreed from all eternity; and in this he is not stupid, or apathetic, but religious. His children and wives perish before him, his heart bleeds, he sheds the most afflicting tears, and bows his head to Providence, who has overwhelmed him; he remains in his house, gives his orders coolly, and performs the duties of his religion in his usual way. But death still continues his ravages, and the Turk at length remains at home, like an ancient tree in the midst of a forest devastated by the winds. He raises his hands to-

wards heaven, in which he sees his country, and observes that this world is a place of passage. In short, he dies in his turn, but without having undergone pusillanimous agony and fear, a hundred times worse than death itself. This second period is the crisis of the pestilential disease; children, women, and weak men, mostly fall victims to it; but fortunately it is of short duration. On arriving at its third stage, there is a remission of its principal characters of malignity; it no longer follows the ataxic progress, as in the second period; nor does it screen itself under the mask of other diseases, but appears openly, and assumes a decisive form: the patient no longer has ulcers, spots, or sore throat; but the bubo is the prevalent symptom. In this stage a greater number of patients escape; while infants and youth are almost the only victims; in short, it disappears as the temperature changes, or when the cold is first felt in Europe.

The plague commits such extensive ravages only at distant intervals. It is believed that it returns with increased force at Constantinople once in nine years; but it never appears there when the communication with Egypt is interrupted by war; nor is it so absolutely contagious as the Franks who inhabit the Levant, would make us believe; for if so, how few of our eastern army would have returned to their country?

On reflecting on the pestilential fever, I dare not hope for the discovery of a specific, as it is often difficult to distinguish this Prothean malady: so many fruitless attempts have been made, and such a number of remedies proposed for the plague, that it is even ridiculous to speak of them. Seduced by the idea that it was occasioned by a particular and homogeneous virus, M. Valli lately made an attempt, as bold as it was interesting. He thought he had discovered about two years ago, that persons who had been vaccinated were not attacked by the pestilential disease which then prevailed at Constantinople; he therefore concluded, that the vaccine virus would neutralize what he called the pestilential virus, as Dr. Swediaur had proved that mercury, combined with the pus from a siphylitic tumour, destroyed its contagion. He therefore took some pus from the bubo of a person attacked by the plague, and mixed it with a certain quantity of vaccine virus, with which he had the courage to inoculate himself. No inconvenience resulted from the experiment; but what conclusion ought to be drawn from a single instance? Certainly we ought not to give credit to the insignificant reports which were afterwards circulated. Let us rather praise the wisdom of modern governments, who have placed barriers against the plague by the establishment of lazarettoes and the performance of quarantine; while culture and civilization have destroyed its first principles. We may add, that an European, who travels through, or resides in

the Turkish empire, should adopt means for his own preservation, the first of which is courage; while the life of pleasure mentioned by Boccacio, and a sort of demi-epicureanism, are excellent preventives. Wholesome food and moderate exercise should be adopted as much as possible; and these, with a degree of confidence, not extended to fool-hardiness, will save him from danger. As to the physician, his duty is evident from the engagement which he has made to assist the unfortunate: he need not go and sit on their pillows; but he should appear like the minister of peace in days of mourning; like the desired angel in the midst of horror-stricken families, to whom he should give hopes, that would enable them to muster strength to resist the disease; and if his hour be fixed, as he must die at last, he will meet with an end appropriate to his zeal, and expire in the midst of good works.

I shall now say a few words on the state of medicine in the Morea. A few acute and well-dressed Italians under the name of *calo-iatros*, or *good physicians* travel through the Turkish empire, as the celebrated barber of Beaumarchais visited Estramadura. In one place they make a widow, in another an orphan; while the indolent Turk, who bears witness to their ignorance, considers them as the ministers of fate, and caresses, treats, and pays them without ever reproaching them for their want of success, which he attributes to the immutability of fate.

Secured by this prepossession, the calo-iatros, boasting of his art, and the goodness of his drugs, continues to destroy life, and gain money; by which he is enabled to display a degree of luxury and importance equally ridiculous as his pretensions to knowledge, for he doubts of nothing. The domestic, who serves him as interpreter, page, footman, and puffer, profiting by his practice, leaves him in the course of a few years to exercise for his own advantage, the divine art of Hippocrates. Every person who wears a culpak, or fur cap, similar to a muff, is a physician; the dress is every thing; and whether young or old, Turk, Greek, Jew, or Armenian, is of no consequence: but the Italian is most prevalent. Hence these people are seen arriving at the Adriatic like famished birds of prey. All, however, are very far from realizing a fortune, which seems to be reserved for those who have studied as domestics under a popular master. They might all, however, succeed, if their avarice did not put them at variance, and induce them to abuse and calumniate each other; for an envious physician will undertake to cure a cholic for two piastres, for which the object of his malice would have received thirty or forty.

During my residence in the Morea, I had frequent opportunities of seeing one of these knights who skim over the surface of the

earth to profit by the credulity of its inhabitants. I was astonished at hearing some of them say, that they had studied at Corfu; others at Zante, and some at Naupli in Romania, under a famous physician, who was the pride of those countries, and who had made more than fifty *bleeders* from his domestics. The chief calo-iatros of Tripolitza was a Greek, who sold tobacco in the bazar. He had been a cook at a public-house in Montpellier, but now gave recipes and amulets for removing pains. Most of these gentry treated me like a brother, and came in confidence to ask me for prescriptions for such and such diseases: for the art of curing consists with them, as with many people, merely in the knowledge of recipes. Some good medicines composed of jalap, manna, the *admirable Glauber's salts*, bleeding in particular, and, in spite of the repugnance of the orientals for clysters, a few well-composed enemata, are their familiar arms. Impudent as they are ignorant, they incessantly talk of the success which they have obtained in other parts; they declare that they bleed without the operation being felt, and draw teeth with the point of a stiletto. In other respects they do not yield to the Greeks in fraud and perjury; and not liking them on this account, they only speak of them with contempt.

The people of the Morea who form the principal part of the population, are, however, in possession of various simple methods, by means of which they triumph over ordinary diseases, and conceive themselves fortunate, if they can send away the homicide calo-iatros. I have been astonished at the sagacity of the peasants in curing a putrid fever: a few glasses of generous wine mixed with water, and pomegranates and lemons given to the patients to suck, are their only medicines. Thus, without any polypharmaceutic apparatus, or the use of the lancet, they suffer nature to recover her energies. I seldom observed intermittent fevers resist a mixture of coffee and juice of lemons, which is the general remedy throughout the country.

The women inoculate the children for the small-pox; and as soon as the vaccine system becomes known in this country, I can venture to assert that it will be generally adopted. But as to such diseases as the epilepsy, vapours, lunacy, &c. they have recourse to exorcisms, and to the most ridiculous secrets of what is called white magic.

The only notions of surgery in the country, remain amongst the Albanians. Being warriors by instinct and inclination, they are obliged to learn to cure their own wounds; they are consequently accustomed to reduce luxations and fractures: their instruments for every case that can occur, consist of an iron rod, which is their probe; a pair of pointed forceps for extracting the splinters of fractured bones; another curved pair, and some razors

instead of bistouris. They invent bandages according to the necessity of the case, for supporting fractures, or compressing the vessels, though they cannot even guess at their position; and yet this miserable kind of practice is not unworthy of the attention of the professor. But their best operation is, that for inguinal hernia not strangulated, which they perform with surprising dexterity and constant success. This appears to me of too much importance to be omitted here; and as it was practised on my friend Fauvel, I shall transcribe his report, which I have with his own signature.

"I was treated," says he, "by the Albanian surgeons at Athens, in May 1798, for a hernia not strangulated, with which I had been troubled for twenty-four years. It protruded to the size of a hen's egg, and slipped into the scrotum, particularly in cold, moist, or stormy weather, the bandage I wore, not being sufficient to contain it. They proceeded to the operation as follows, and which is their constant method:—they laid me on a plank of my own length, to which they bound me tightly with my arms across, the left elbow being supported by the right hand, and the right by the left; the legs straitened out, and placed close together: they then bent my head back, and the operator made the incision with an ordinary razor from top to bottom with respect to me, but from bottom to top with respect to his own position. The incision which he began an inch above the inguinal ring, being dilated, he reduced the intestines; after which he conducted by the hand the testicle opposite to the ring, and forced it in as well as the cord; he then drew the hernial sac with the fingers, paying the most scrupulous attention that the intestines were properly reduced, and held the sac with a kind of compass retained by a ring, to prevent it from slipping; he afterwards applied a strong ligature of waxed hemp thread, the two extremities of which were left hanging about three inches beyond the diseased part, that it might be removed with facility at each dressing, or taken away, when detached by suppuration. He, at last, cut the sac below the ligature, and placed the whole in the abdomen, retaining the ends of the threads just mentioned.

"Here the operation finished. I was untied, and placed in bed upon my back; they gave me a dressing as soon as they had dried the wound, by applying a compress steeped in the white of eggs mixed with salt, and kept it on by a linen bandage. Half an hour afterwards they took off the first dressing, on which the surgeon made a sort of ridge round the sore with hemp, and placed in it the whole yolk of an egg; this he left for several hours, after having covered it with a compress of hemp steeped in the white of eggs, on which heated wine had been poured. I was dressed three times in twenty-four hours. On the third day

suppuration took place without fever; on the sixth the string came off, and I was dressed with a digestive, composed of wax, oil, and turpentine. The tenth day I got up, and on the fifteenth, went out perfectly cured.

"If you are curious," adds M. Fauvel, "to know the mysterious practices of these Albanians, they are as follow:—They place a sickle behind the bolster of the patient, and suspend in a net above his head, the hernial sac which they have taken off, having filled it with cotton and a knob of garlic; they likewise place garlic under his pillow as well as in the windows, and all the holes of the chamber except the chimney, in which they burn incence: they thus filled my apartment so full of smoke, that I was apprehensive of suffocation. All the persons who are in the chamber at the time of the operation, remain there, without being suffered to go out on any pretext whatever. At sunrise, all the doors and windows are thrown open, and the people depart; but care is taken never to leave the patient without a child to watch him; so much are they apprehensive that the devil may spoil their work, even fifteen days after it is finished."

This is perhaps the only operation which these pretended surgeons are capable of performing with adroitness.

With respect to the general industry of the people of the Morea, it cannot, considering their oppressed state, and the ignorance of their oppressers, be supposed very great. A very few words on that subject, will therefore be sufficient. Their agricultural instruments are simple, and like those of antient times. Their bread is of a good quality, and their fields are not generally cultivated by women, except in Laconia. Of their mechanical arts, they are most proficient as saddlers, and their dyed goods deserve attention for the vivacity of their colours. The women manufacture cotton-cloth for their domestic purposes, and sometimes coarser silks; but their favourite occupation is embroidery, which they perform with much delicacy.

The principal occupation of the Grecian women, ought to be washing; but they neglect this process, so essential to health. A woman thinks herself sufficiently provided for, if she have two shifts; and she seldom changes them oftener than once a fortnight: but with respect to washing, they put their linen in a wooden trough, and merely soak it with very little water. But it must not be supposed, that the lower orders of people are alone negligent in point of cleanliness; for it is not uncommon to see a lady, covered with shawls, take off her shift after a walk, hang it in the sun to evaporate the moisture, and put it on the next day to go out on a visit. In short, the Greeks pay great attention to perfuming themselves; but cleanliness, that first of arts, especially with women, is unknown amongst them.

The natural productions of the Morea may also be comprised in

a very few words. The soil being light and marly, partaking of the nature of turf, and abundantly rich with decayed vegetable substances, renders all the vallies peculiarly fruitful in pasturage and wood. From Calamatta to Andreossa, almost every spot is cultivated; the vines afford the most delightful grapes, while the orange, lemon, and cedar tree give their fruits and perfumes with prodigality. Majectic oaks speading their lofty summits in the air, are every where observable, and seem to await a more noble destination then that of falling by age and decay on the soil that produces them, as most of them are proper for ship-building.

The oxen of the Morea are of a small size, and have long white hair: as they are unacquainted with the manner of fattening them, those of the best order seldom weigh more than two or three cwt. They draw but little milk from the cows, which soon cease to give it after their calves are separated: they are also exposed to the attacks of jackals which tear their dugs; as well as to the suction of large adders, which cause them rapidly to decay.

The annual consumption of the Morea in the towns subjected to the Turks, is not more than six thousand oxen or cows; as the Greeks and Mussulmans prefer mutton. I can however assert, that both nations begin to have a taste for beef, which they formerly considered unwholesome; but the inhabitants of Græcia Magna and Messena, who are more carnivorous, consume so oxen, as to make it worthy the attention of speculators to purchase their hides. There are also buffaloes in all the cantons of the Morea, which are employed in agriculture, and their flesh is eaten when they are past labour. Their sheep are small, and have large horns; and the whole of their wool, which is exported, is considered as second in quality of all the eastern kinds that are sold in Europe.

Their horses, which are not elegant in form, seem to be a mixture of the Arabian and Thracian kind: they are full of vigour and courage, and run with a rapid and firm step in the mountains without ever stumbling. Their asses, which are numerous in Arcadia, are small and miserable, and are used for conveying wood and other articles; they may sometimes be seen in numerous caravans, which travel together, and bring to Tripolitza the supplies from the neighbouring villages. They sow wheat and almost every kind of grain, without paying any attention to the goodness of the seed. The rice of the Argolide is much esteemed.

The Morea is perhaps the only country in the world which is covered with fine olive trees. The respect of the people for these trees is so great, that they surround and pay them a sort of worship at a time when they are loaded with fruit; and to cut off a branch would be a crime that would meet exemplary punish

ment. These trees blossom generally in March, and the olives are collected in October and November, by beating the trees with long poles. The oil of the Morea is rather green, but of a delicious taste, and without any smell: that of Græcia Magna, which is the best, possesses a great advantage in the principal markets of Europe.

The mulberry-tree is likewise one of the most favoured productions in this country, but its inhabitants pay little regard to its cultivation, though it affords nutriment to an immense quantity of silk-worms, which they cause to hatch in the spring; a practice which takes place without any attention on their part. They merely take the eggs which they have collected during winter in a box, and remove the worms as they are hatched. A drachm of eggs generally affords four or five thousand insects, a great portion of which perish for want of attendance; but the people of the Morea, as soon as they found that the wild mulberry with which they fed their worms, rendered the silk of inferior quality, began to take more care of the tree; and the women to whom the care of the worms is committed, have of late become very sedulous in their attention to them.

The figs of the Morea are perhaps the most exquisite that grow; and as they are eagerly sought after, the inhabitants take much pains to bring them to perfection. In order to prevent the fruit from falling before it is ripe, and also to facilitate its maturity, they practise caprification on the trees. This operation, which was known to the ancients, consists in suspending from the branches of the trees several strings of figs that have fallen before they were ripe, and which become the nest of innumerable insects known by the name of cynips: as soon as these animalculæ are hatched, they leave the decayed fig, and settle upon all the fruit of the tree; they perforate the figs, and a drop of gum issues from the puncture, soon after which they die. The figs thus pierced by the insect never fall, and grow much larger than they would otherwise have done. The people of the Morea insist, from experience, on the necessity of caprification: they sell the figs when dry, and likewise distil brandy from them. The almond-tree is likewise abundant in every part of the country, and never fails to give an annual produce of fruit. It is the first to announce by its blossoms the revivification of nature in the earliest period of spring.

Citrons, orange-trees, and cedars abound in every direction; the pomegranates afford a prodigious quantity of fruit, and the peaches, apricots, and prunes have no where so delightful a smell or so exquisite a flavour. Yet they do not export their oranges; and I attribute the departure, during my residence, of several cargoes to Corfu, merely to the presence of the Russian and Turkish armies.

The mountain flowers, mint, and odoriferous trees in the vallies, impart a peculiarly delightful smell to the honey of the bees of the Morea, and they form their combs in every hollow tree. The avaricious inhabitant, eager for their produce, finds them out, and deprives them of their stores, by which they become fugitives, and are almost starved before the next spring, or else they perish from the severity of the winter. The Morean has no thought beyond his momentary interest, and thus he annually destroys the bees of his country; but of late they have begun to preserve them by hanging out square cages from the cottage windows, to shelter them from the severity of the weather. Notwithstanding the indifference with which they are treated, these insects produce a white honey, which has an exquisite smell, and a quantity of wax, which is sold to foreign nations.

With respect to game, the Greeks are almost the only people in the Morea who delight in hunting, if we except a few Turkish noblemen, who are uncommonly partial to that pastime, and breed greyhounds at Mistra for hunting hares. The Turks do not eat birds, and the Greeks care little about them; both people are in the habit of letting the blood run from the hares, and they never fail to throw away the liver and all the intestines.

The forests produce the following trees in great number: *Quercus corcifera,* and *esculus; Cratgœus azerolus; Platanus orientalis; Rhamnus catharticus minor,* or *infectorius; Pistacia lentiscus; Mimosa linlibrizia;* together with several kinds of chesnut, ash, date, pine, and turpentine trees, of the latter of which on the dry and sterile lands, whole forests are composed.

A botanist might form a work well worthy of modern times, by making a Flora of the Peloponnesus. I was unfortunately not able to give my attention to this subject; and can therefore only name the plants which I found under my feet.

In the Eurotas I observed abundance of those famous reeds which were known in the earliest ages; and all the rivers and marshes are replete with rose-laurels, while the springs and rivulets are covered with white and red striped lilies, tuberoses, hyacinths, the *Narcissus orientalis; Vitex agnus castus;* and *Nymphœa alba.*

Madder and julap grow in every direction; and the viper *(Coluber berus)* climbs up the bowers which are covered with laurel, rosemary, and lavender. In the dry soils I observed the *Verbascum thapsus; Hibiscus syriacus; Scabiosa argentea; Origanum vulgare,* and *majorana (ϛιγαν); Marrubium pseudodictamus; Lychnis chalcedonica; Primula auricula; Convolvulus scamonia; Crocus orientalis; Cheiranthus cheiri; Dianthus caryophillus; Anemone hepatica; Pœonia officinalis,* and many others.

The table already given will explain the nature and extent of the commerce of the Morea. The merchandizes which are received in return for those productions, are cloths, coffee, sugar, indigo, cochineal, and laces of silk and gold. The cloths and coffee form three-fourths of the whole quantity; and they were, previous to the revolution, transmitted by France; but since the ruin of Marseilles, the cities of Trieste and Venice have been enriched by this traffic; and what these cities do not send, is conveyed by Greek vessels. Foreigners pay the difference in money, which is sent to Constantinople as a tribute: so that nothing remains with the inhabitants to enable them to improve their property; which explains why the Morea has so long carried on an advantageous trade without gaining by its enterprizes.

Naupli and Coron are at present the two principal residences of the merchants of the Morea, and particularly of Europeans. The motive of preference for Coron, is the salubrity of the air; and for Naupli, the proximity of Tripolitza, which, having become the seat of administration, is the place where a fortune is rapidly made. Patras has been abandoned on account of its unhealthiness; and this town, which was formerly one of the most flourishing parts of Greece, will soon be little better than a desert.

I have hitherto succinctly related the particulars of our captivity; and I shall finish them, by stating some circumstances which occurred during the last three months of our residence in the Morea. In the month of March the news from Syria greatly alarmed the Turks; and the people of Græcia Magna became in consequence more audacious. Being the implacable enemies of the Mussulmans, they supposed that their empire was at an end; and the cries of war resounded in the Taygetus. The Turks themselves exaggerated their defeat; they believed that a great revolution, which threatened their political existence, was at hand; and that the *prophecies were about to be accomplished.*

At this period, the 31st of March, a meteoric phenomenon increased the general consternation. About two hours after sunset, three luminous globes appeared suddenly over the plain of Tegea, at the height of about fifty fathoms: they moved about with rapidity over each other, in a direction from east to west. In about a quarter of an hour one of them disappeared by passing over mount Menale; and ten minutes afterwards they all detonated within a short interval of each other, and produced a report similar to the explosion of a mortar. This event greatly terrified the Greeks, who till long afterwards considered it as a fatal omen. They were thus engaged in propagating dismal opinions, when a sudden irruption of the Maniats put a stop to their idle conversation.

The captaincy of Vordonia, which is contiguous to the valley of the Eurotas, having received some insults from the delis of the pacha, its defenders took vengeance by making incursions, till they came within sight of Tripolitza. The pacha, astonished at this audacity, sent out a party of his delis, who were too prudent to try their strength with the infantry of Tegea, but contented themselves with firing a few shots at them from a respectful distance. The fierce mountaineers, without returning the fire, quitted their post, and defiled to the number of fifty towards the road to Mount Chelmos, which led them back to Laconia. Some time afterwards about thirty of them being surrounded in a farm by upwards of a hundred cavalry, they defended themselves the whole day, and at night they made a sortie, and repulsed the assailants.

In the month of April an extraordinary tax of a million and a half of silver drachms was imposed on the people of the Morea, towards the expences of the war; while the people in the Greek maritime towns were pressed for the Turkish navy; and besides these measures, the public distress increased daily. Of six thousand men who had come from Macedonia to defend the Morea, most of them had, through misery, been obliged to desert; and those who remained faithful, having sold their arms, and finding nothing more to steal, took in despair the resolution of obtaining justice by force. The garrison of Naupli in Romania, which had mutinied several times before, quitted, in consequence, that important town, to exterminate the pacha, and pillage Tripolitza. Although the revolters had set out the preceding evening, nothing was known of their proceedings till they arrived within a quarter of a league of the town. On this occasion Tripolitza owed its safety to the cries of an old woman employed in spinning cotton on the ramparts. The guards at the barriers immediately closed the gates, the alarm became general, and all ran to arms. The people naturally conceived that another day was arrived for the Albanians to fill their streets with corpses, and raise new pyramids of heads; the women shrieked, tore their hair, and embraced their children as if for the last time; while the Greeks took to the houses of the Turks their most valuable effects, hoping by this means to preserve something. In short, all the inhabitants, whatever might be their sect, armed themselves, and repaired to the walls, if not to conquer, at least to awe the rebels. They shut us up, but in vain, for we wished to see the event, though we expected nothing less than death. The pacha paraded the intèrior of the town at the head of his guards, and sent a flag of truce to the insurgents; the result was, that he assigned them the villages of Steno, &c. where they found provisions. The next day they had permission to enter the town in

detachments; they soon afterwards received a portion of their pay, and then gradually deserted, so that Naupli still remained without defenders.

This month was also a period as afflicting to the poor, as it was humiliating to the whole nation; for the exaction of the caratch was renewed with the utmost severity: in short, we were so disgusted with and alarmed at our situation, that our departure for Constantinople was the object of our most ardent wishes, which were not diminished either by the fear of the dungeons, or the dangers of the voyage. The roads of Romelia were at this time closed by the Haiducs, and we could not expect to perform the journey by land, since the couriers were obliged to come by sea. M. Caradja, who watched over us with much interest, seemed afflicted at the fate which awaited us, and avoided mentioning his opinions concerning it; but the codja-bachis, whose hatred towards the French was too evident, often asserted that we should experience the most rigorous treatment.

These details of dungeons and chastisement induced one of our soldiers, a Zantiot by birth, to turn Mussulman. We were the last to suspect his designs, but the Greeks, alarmed at the circumstance, having apprized us of it, we wrote to the pacha, assuring him that this man was no Frenchman, but only a foreigner in the service of France; and entreating him not to diminish his esteem for us on that account. The pacha, pleased with our frankness, immediately sent for the Zantiot, and the imaum who had undertaken to convert him; he told the former that he would have him beaten to death, if he did not forego his intention, and blamed the imaum for his mistaken zeal: but the people, enraged at the loss of a convert to islamism, murmured openly against the pacha; they said it was a proof that he hated the mosques and their ministers; that he was a dog, &c. and whenever he appeared, the whole town was at his heels. He regained their confidence by an action which I shall describe, and which was, perhaps, unjustly attributed to him.

His brother-in-law, the defter-kiaya, or receiver of the finances, having fallen sick, ordered me to visit him. He was confined in his harem; and I rejoiced at the opportunity of visiting a residence which has been so enchantingly described in romances. An old man, with a white beard and savage aspect, bearing an enormous ring of keys, after making me wait a full hour in an out-house, admitted me into the sacred spot. Taking me rudely by the arm, he pulled me into a passage which led me to a court: it was square, planted with trees, and contained a piece of water, near which some negresses were washing linen; as soon as they perceived me, they shrieked, and ran away. In short, after passing a number of galleries, and entering various

He was lying under a canopy, and was covered by a beautiful skin of a royal tiger, ornamented with elegant lace. The carpet which covered the apartment, and which was spread upon a fine mat, must have been the spoil of an ancient palace of France, as it was replete with fleurs de lis and crosses of Malta. Against the naked and white-washed walls, were hung a curved broad sword, a Turkish musket, a pair of long pistols, and a variety of other arms. On examining my patient, I perceived that he was only troubled with a slight sore throat, for which I wrote a proper prescription. As I wished to make a topical application, I endeavoured to persuade him to cut off a part of his beard; but this he absolutely refused, because, as I afterwards learnt, the Mussulmans think it a sin to cut the beard, from the idea that it is the residence of a number of diminutive angels, who watch over the safety of the wearer. The patient, however, in a few days got almost well; but the anxiety of his relatives induced them to send for one Signor Avramioti, from Naupli, to hold a conference with me; and on his arrival I was ordered before the pacha: I found him in his divan with his selictar. He enquired about the health of the defter-kiaya, and as I told him he still had a slight fever, he proposed to me to administer an elixir which *he* possessed. I made some observations on this head, the justice of which he admitted, and our conference terminated, by his informing me, that he would go himself to visit his relative before night. He afterwards proposed that I should reside at Tripolitza as a physician, and enjoy his protection; but on answering that my fate was inseparable from that of my comrades, he praised my conduct, and gave up the point. The following night Avramioti arrived, and that proved the last of the poor defter-kiaya, who was buried at sunrise next morning. A report was spread that he had been poisoned; but his death was explained without implicating any one; because the pestilential fever which then prevailed, often produced sudden deaths. But here more than any where else, the people refuse to believe that a great personage can die like another man.

The defter-kiaya being a public officer, his property was confiscated, and a capidgi-bachi was sent by the Sublime Porte, to collect the produce. His widow, whom I had seen several times, as she had sent for me into her apartment to take my advice, was transferred to the harem of the pacha; she was young, handsome, and sensible; while her husband, whom she cordially hated, had all the qualities of a tyrant, and was distinguished by his inveteracy against the French. He was abhorred both by the Greeks and Turks; and had drawn upon himself the hatred of the pacha, by doing every thing he could to prevent him from obtaining the pachalic of the Morea. The Turks, who paid their

court to this intendant on account of his power and property, as well as through the fear which he inspired, did not fail to calumniate him as soon as he was no more; and even his brother, who succeeded him, praised the avenging hand of fate for terminating his existence.

At length we heard towards the beignning of May, that the return of the capidgi-bachi to Constantinople, would irrevocably be the period of our departure. A Greek vessel was hired at the port of Naupli for himself and several other passengers, and it was decided that we should embark on board it. I in consequence took leave of my acquaintances, and those who had given me tokens of friendship during my residence in the Morea. The delis of the pacha, his pages, and Idris, the bey of Navarin, came, and made the most fervent protestations to serve us; in short, every one seemed to regret our departure; for though prisoners, we had never suffered an insult without resenting it: and this conduct had created respect. Before sending us to our destination, the pacha assured us, that he had given a strong recommendation of us to the Porte; and if we were not as well off as he had induced us to hope we should be, we must attribute the circumstance to the Greek captain of the vessel in which we embarked, and of whom I shall have occasion to speak.

Seven months had slipped away during our residence in the Morea, and all the subjects which could excite my curiosity being exhausted, I looked forward with pleasure to the new road that opened before me.

CHAP. X.

DEPARTURE FOR CONSTANTINOPLE, AND ARRIVAL BY LAND AT NAUPLI IN ROMANIA.—PRESENTATION TO CASSAN BEY.—DESCRIPTION OF NAUPLI, &c.—ISLE OF SPEZZIA.—ARRIVAL AT THE DARDANELLES, AND SUBSEQUENTLY AT CONSTANTINOPLE.—ENTRANCE INTO THE IMPERIAL CASTLE OF THE SEVEN TOWERS.

THE capidgi-bachi being half dead by the debaucheries he had committed, amongst which drunkenness was not the least, left Tripolitza on the 31st of May, and repaired to Phitea to recover his health, intending to rejoin us at Naupli. Our neighbours having been informed of our intended departure the evening before, by the Zantiot soldier already mentioned, and who had run away: these neighbours seized upon my person—at least a dozen of them assembled in a court, and insisted that I should bleed them; and they paid me by wishing I might experience a good voyage, every time I approached them with the

lancet. I had already proceeded in my occupaion, and the blood was running in streams, when my comrade Fornier came and forced me on horseback.

We left the town by the gate of Calavrita, and proceeded to Naupli, where we found a young Albanian spahi, who was engaged to escort us: he stated that he was the bearer of a letter of recommendation, and of an order respecting us, to Cassan bey, who was the brother of the pacha, and resided at Naupli in Romania. We took our road to the east, towards Mount Artemisius, passing Strata-halilbey, or Trochos, Aglacambos, and Lerna. To specify the route which we pursued would be tedious and uninteresting. Lerna is the principal mart in the plain of Tripolitza and the neighbouring villages, for the sale of corn, wool, and other articles; and the inhabitants are generally of a sallow complexion and bloated physiognomy, being subject to leuco-phlegmatic complaints and intermittent fevers. When the plague appears in the Morea, it makes dreadful ravages amongst them.

We next arrived at Argos, which contains upwards of 10,000 inhabitants, of whom six-eighths are Greeks; most of these are carriers or horse-dealers, for the town is still, as Pindar described it, a focus for the breeding of horses. It is above an hour's walk in circumference; the houses, which are built without order, are extremely neat, and the Turks who reside in them are in easy circumstances, on which account the place is always frequented by the Italian mountebanks lately alluded to.

At length we arrived at Naupli, the environs of which are fertile in the extreme, and generally cultivated; we were obliged to cross in a boat, and were an hour and a half making the gulf. M. Caradja on leaving us, declared that this town contained the worst populace in the world, and the most rude soldiery. Although time weakens impressions, we still recollected what had passed at Andreossa, and dreaded a similar reception; nevertheless we landed without any emotion at the custom-house; and the first person who struck us forcibly, was a sort of consequential character, who, we were informed, was the commercial agent of Great Britain. We refused to enter his residence, where it was proposed that we should remain while our spahis repaired to Cassan bey with the news of our arrival; his house appeared grand, solidly built, and had fine flights of steps leading up to it, which are very uncommon in Turkey. We were therefore conducted to the residence of an Italian physician, where we were to board and lodge: he was called Doctor Siccini, and we found him a clever man, who gave us a gracious reception; while the manner in which his house was fitted up, together with his general behaviour, made us forget that we were

in Turkey. He had a select though extensive library, with chaises and other carriages, a large garden, and a charming prospect from his windows, while the sea washed the walls of his house. As soon as we had entered his house, he went to inform M. Roussel, the French commissary, of our arrival. This gentleman, from the misfortunes of war, was a prisoner in his own house; but he offered us every indulgence which his situation would permit of. We therefore begged Dr. Siccini to use his endeavours to unite us with our countryman; he immediately repaired to Cassan bey, who granted our request, and two hours after we had arrived we found ourselves in a French family. We soon perceived from the state of the commissary's house, that he had been completely plundered by the Turks, nothing having been left him but what belonged to his young and beautiful wife, whom we found suckling an infant child.

Dr. Siccini, who became much attached to me, promised to get me out in the course of the day, in order that I might see the town, which I was desirous of observing; and he kept his word: he took me to a chief of the emirs, who had a quartan fever, a disease very common amongst those who inhale the unwholesome air of Naupli. We found the emir lying in his harem, tormented by the ague, and we remained with him till the paroxysm had subsided. When the heat returned, this officer, who was blind, soon recovered his spirits. His wife, with her face half veiled, sat beside him; and as her duenna was only an old jewess, who gravely kept smoaking a pipe six feet long, she sometimes let her veil fall, which disclosed a young and fresh-coloured face, with large black eyes full of fire, while her black hair divided in tresses fell over her lily-white shoulders. Nevertheless, the flaccidity of her neck, with the palms of her hands, and her nails being painted red, gave her altogether a singular appearance, which could only please for the moment. Siccini seemed, from his manner, to be quite at home with her. She ordered us to be served with coffee and confectionary by a young Athenian girl, whom she called her slave, and whose history I shall relate, as it explains a Turkish custom which is not generally known.

This young Grecian woman, whose name was Tzoula, was born in the village of Lepsina, the ancient Eleusis: her father, who was in low circumstances, died while she was young, and her mother formed a second marriage; a circumstance which very rarely happens in this country, but which was the cause of all the misfortunes that the poor Tzoula experienced. Being by this means at the disposal of a mercenary father-in-law, she was treated in the most despicable manner; and one day having been inhumanly chastised by him, she ran away, and went to seek

her fortune at Corinth, where a powerful aga placed her in his harem to attend upon his wife. Tzoula, from her attention and obedience, gained the affection of her mistress. At length her charms made an impression on the aga, but his solicitations were in vain, as the young girl was a Christian, so that her education had placed an insurmountable barrier betweeen her and the Turk; she therefore ran away, and carried with her the resentment of her master; but before this happened, Tzoula had been obliged to submit to his desires. In the midst of her misfortunes, she gave birth to a child, which died, and she was condemned to slavery; the custom being, that every girl who has an illegitimate infant, becomes the property of the pacha of the district. When I saw Tzoula, she was much beloved by her master, and perhaps before now, some benevolent hand has liberated her, and dried up her tears; for generous sentiments are not unknown to the breast of Mussulmans.

Another custom equally barbarous, made a forcible impression on me: I met in all the streets, men who asked charity, by representing themselves as the slaves of Ali, the pacha of Janina. They were reduced to this state in order to redeem the debts they had contracted to the vizier, who kept their children in slavery, and not being able to get any thing from the parents, permitted them to beg as they quitted his provinces.—But by running into these digressions, I forget that I am sitting by the emir and his spouse.

The jewish duenna tired me out by relating tales about Egypt, and stories in favour of Murad bey, whom she knew: and at length I quitted the harem with great satisfaction. On speaking to M. Roussel when I returned, of the free manner of the emir's wife, he informed me that the Turkish women at Naupli enjoyed a greater degree of liberty, than those of any other towns in the Ottoman empire. Indeed they arrogate to themselves prerogatives which would disgust the partizans of oriental severity; and it is evident that they are more lively and accomplished than their neighbours. On the other hand, their husbands are so dreadfully addicted to jealousy, that when they suspect their fidelity, they do not hesitate to destroy by poison, both the mother and the child in her womb. The women, who feel the oppression to which they are subjected, never fail to come into the views of any conqueror who proposes a change to them; they never conceal their sentiments in time of war; and the wife of Cassan-bey said haughtily, that if the French were to invade her country, she would put herself under the protection of the conqueror. As these scandalous satires are frequently repeated, the Turks in their turn reply, that if an enemy were to gain possession of their town, they would, to prevent their women from receiving injury

from the infidels, blow them up with the arsenal: but this arsenal, at the time in question, was an ideal structure, as it did not contain two cwt. of powder, though it was afterwards supplied in a respectable manner, and the artillery at Naupli was remounted.

I continued to go out daily, and being at the house of Dr. Avramioti, whose wife had requested me to examine her daughter, who was afflicted with hydrocephalus, I there met the commercial consul of Great Britain; he asked me a variety of common-place questions, and offered me his powerful protection, by recommending me to Spencer Smith, the British minister at Constantinople: and then, after a long condolence, which I begged him to abridge, as he was a Greek, he began to boast of his seven or eight flags; which in fact he possessed, as he represented Britain, Ragusa, Naples, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and Russia; and on festival days he used to cover his house with the colours of those nations, as they sometimes do a ship of war.

We had been three days at Naupli, when the capidgi-bachi, for whom we waited, reimbarked; he had put off his embarkation for two days, under pretence that he was fatigued, and that Monday was an unpropitious day to begin a voyage.

The town of Naupli is probably, as different travellers have asserted, the ancient Naupliani; Naupli, which is the modern town, rests against Mount Palamides, and is fortified with batteries, replete with cannons and mortars. One is struck with the strength of Naupli on advancing towards its walls, and terrified on raising the eyes towards the Palamides. The citadel, which is erected on the summits of this rock, is surrounded with clouds, through which the artillery fires, and commands the bay and roads. Two guns fired from this fortress, announced at sunrise on the 5th of June, the arrival of the capidgi-bachi on board the vessel which was to convey us to Constantinople. They laid him dead-drunk in his cabin, and then came to fetch us from the shore. We therefore bade adieu to M. Roussel and his wife, and this time regretted leaving the Morea. We found at the custom-house the Turk who owned the vessel, and who placed us on the deck at the prow, which we understood was to be our station during the voyage. This dissipated the flattering ideas which we entertained; and when they brought us a sack of mouldy biscuits, a pot of olives, and a small cask of water, as the whole of our provision, we saw that we were no longer under the protection of the pacha. We found, in short, that the captain of the ship had undertaken to provide for us: he was a Greek, a native of Spezzia, named Guini, and brother to a man to whom had been decreed the title of French citizen.

As we were at war, he wished to court the favour of the Turkish passengers, by subjecting us to every humiliation; but M. Roussel, who probably foresaw the treatment that we should experience, provided us with a jar of wine, and Dr. Siccini sent me two lambs, with a supply of brandy. At eight in the evening we weighed anchor, and a slight north-easterly breeze carried us from the shore.

I was now melancholy for the first time since my captivity, and I looked with regret on the town which was vanishing from my sight; in short, I bade adieu to the Peloponnesus, which I thought I had certainly left for the last time. The songs of the sailors who kept watch, lulled me to sleep about the middle of the night; and an hour before day-break we were becalmed; but at sunrise a slight breeze sprung up, which, by three in the afternoon, had wafted us into the port of the isle of Spezzia.

Nearly all the passengers landed, as did the capidgi-bachi, who took possession of a house near the shore. The only domestic of M. Roussel, one Georgi, who was going to Constantinople, dared not quit the vessel, because at a village fête at Castri, some time before, he had beaten several of the Spezziots, who had not forgotten the insult. As for us, we remained upon deck, exposed in the month of June to the heat of the sun.

The isle of Spezzia, which was formerly called Tiparenus, is about two leagues in extent from north to south, and three quarters of a league in its greatest width. On the southern shore the inhabitants have within these few years built a new church. The population of Spezzia augments daily; and upwards of sixty belong to different proprietors resident there, who carry on a trade in corn. Just before I arrived, they had sustained a considerable loss: the pirates of Barbary having run in, by using the Spezzians' colours, captured ten or twelve ships belonging to them and the Hydriots, their neighbours, and reduced about two hundred and fifty Greeks to slavery.

The Spezziots are of a more mild and affable deportment than the other islanders; an advantage for which they are doubtless indebted to their frequent communications with the more cultivated European nations. Within the last ten or twelve years they have grown rich and risen from obscurity: they generally purchase their ships at Marseilles; and such is their enterprising spirit, that if the sultan, or rather the despot of the isles, the capoudan-pacha, do not oppress them, they will rival, and even surpass Ragusa.

On the 11th of June, at sunrise, we left Spezzia, passed the gulf of Castri, and dropped anchor at the isle of Hydra. We staid here two hours, and then sailed on a most delightful evening: the Greeks began to sing their charming airs, which they

accompanied on their lyres: a young galiondgi, a name by which they distinguish the Turkish sailors, succeeded them, and drew agreeable sounds from a tambourine; at length uniting his voice with the harmony of his instrument, he sung the exploits of Paswan Oglu, the substance of which was translated to me as follows:

"After a hundred thousand bombs have been thrown against Widdin, I, Paswan Oglu, the dog of the sultan, and the slave of the sultana Validé, have erected the standard of defence. I, Paswan Oglu, the dog of the grand seignior, bark at his ministers. I wish to be submissive to my master, and I kiss the dust from his feet. I, Paswan Oglu, &c."

I was astonished that a Turk should be allowed to sing the praises of a rebel before a capidgi-bachi, who had executioners by his side; and on expressing my surprise, one of the passengers informed me, that every man was the friend of Paswan Oglu, who only fought to relieve the people from the taxes of territorial productions; and particularly from that of wine, which amounted to four parats per ocque*. In fact, knowing as I did, the use which the Turks make of this drink, and the attachment manifested to it by the capidgi-bachi, I did not doubt that the part of the rebel was generally espoused on board our vessel.

We continued our voyage between Macronisi and Zea, and soon advanced towards the isle of Chio. The next day we anchored in the port of Psara. We afterwards arrived off Tenedos, which is considered by the Turks as one of the bulwarks of the Hellespont, and soon after saw the Chersonesus.

It was now moon-light, and we had fallen asleep after a burning day, when we were aroused by the sound of a cannon. We imagined that we had arrived at the Dardanelles, and remained extended on the deck, where the captain had also laid himself at his ease; he supposed, that as he carried a square flag at the mast-head, and had a capidgi-bachi on board, he was conveying Cæsar and his fortunes, and wished to pass without bringing-to: the forts, however, were less respectful; they had already fired several shots, and were preparing to sink us, when we rose and saw the danger, though too late. A ball from the fort of Asia was fired at us, which spread the utmost confusion amongst the whole crew; and before they could furl the sails, a marble ball from one of the lower batteries, fell a short distance from the ship; they therefore, to be more safe, and to give an unequivocal token of their submission, ran the vessel aground in a muddy bottom; the capidga-bachi then put off in the boat to see the commandant of the fort of Asia. The rest of the night was

* An ocque is four pounds, or about two French livres.

employed in towing off the ship, which, after much difficulty, was effected.

I now respired, for the first time in my life, the odoriferous emanations of the territory of Asia. At break of day our boat returned to the town; and thanks to the capidgi-bachi, who this time was not drunk, the captain was let off on paying a few dollars for the guns that had been fired, though he was liable to be hanged for attempting to pass in the night, and creating alarm. All being, however, settled, we skimmed the surface of the currents, which pour into the Ægean sea the waters of the Palus-Meotides, the Pontus Euxinus, and the Propontide.

A spectacle entirely new to us, now attracted our attention. A numerous herd of dolphins playing on the waves appeared to escort us. Confined between Europe and Asia, we saw a variety of towns and hamlets succeed each other; and as some were lost in the distance, others continually arose to excite our curiosity. Indeed, I saw so many beauties this day, that I thought myself in a new world, and forgot the punishment with which I had been threatened. In the course of the day, we cast anchor off the village of St. Etienne, and in the night experienced a dreadful storm, accompanied by thunder and torrents of rain, which wetted us to the skin. Here some of the passengers left us to proceed by land to Constantinople; and the next day we sailed with a light south wind for that city.

It is impossible to express the surprise and astonishment that are felt on first beholding this pompous city, which is worthy of the title of "Queen of the World." Its seven hills, crowned by as many imperial mosques; its amphitheatres, covered with a multitude of houses, painted with various colours; its shining domes, pyramidal cypresses, and elegant steeples, together with its port, arsenal, hotels of Pera, and the palaces of the "Great King," the title of sultan Padischa, all conspire to entrance the mind.

We saw, at the pavilion where the sultan comes out to embark, his caik covered with an awning of purple, embellished with fringe and gold lace; twenty-four sailors of an athletic stature were sitting on the benches, with their silk sleeves turned up, and their gilt oars in their hands, waiting for the sultan to enter the barge; while the artillerymen of Tophana, with lighted matches, were watching his appearrance to salute him with a discharge of their guns. We passed this spot, and anchored at Galata: the master of the ship immediately went to the lieutenant of the grand vizier with the letter of the pacha of the Morea, announcing our translation to Constantinople; and the capidgi-bachi, with his suite, set off for the city.

While we were in the port, we were visited by a clerk of the drogman, who took down our names: and at five in the evening

we were separated from the soldiers, who were thrown into the Bagne, or common dungeon, while we were conducted to the castle of the Seven Towers.

CHAP. XI.

ENTRY IN THE SEVEN TOWERS.—NAMES OF THE PRISONERS WHOM WE FOUND THERE, INCLUDING OUR TWO COMRADES.—PARTICULARS OF THE ARREST OF M. RUFFIN.—EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM THE PALACE OF THEIR AMBASSADOR.—ACCOUNT OF THE ADVENTURES OF MESSRS. BEAUVAIS AND GERARD, INCLUDING THEIR ITINERARY FROM PAXOUS TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

WE thanked our kind stars when we found that we were to be conducted to the castle of the Seven Towers. This Bastile, the idea of which would at any other time have been sufficient to terrify us, now appeared merely as a relief to our misfortunes; and we passed through its massy gates without alarm. The janissaries who escorted us from the port, and whose mildness and frank behaviour had agreeably surprised us, shewed the order for our imprisonment to the commandant; they then held out their hands, and solicited some reward for their trouble, when the guards of the Seven Towers drove them roughly from the outer gate, and compelled us to enter the court-yard without making them any recompense. Our astonishment may easily be conceived, when, on passing the first inclosure, we heard our names called from a window by Messrs. Gerard and Beauvais, who had been six months at this place. they pressed us to their bosom. It is necessary to experience misfortune, and to incur the dangers from which we had escaped, to judge of our feelings on being united, even in captivity.

The first person to whom we were introduced, was M. Ruffin, the French chargé d'affaires: his misfortunes, the mildness of his physiognomy and the white hair which covered his head, prepossessed us in his favour, and his frankness soon gained our affections. There were with him the secretary of legation, M. Kieffer, and M. Dantan, his interpreter. We afterwards paid our respects to General Jasalette, M. Ruhemont, whose wounds, which he received at Prévesa, were scarcely healed; the Adjutant-General Rose, who laboured under a disease which terminated his existence, and M. Hotte, a chef of brigade. I was then called to the outer gate to assist in the examination of a few trunks, which had not been taken from us, and one of which was filled with books. As the Turks were suspicious of every thing in the form of paper or print, they detained my copies of

Livy, Tacitus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and other classical works, which had been respected by the pirates of Barbary, and which had afforded me much agreeable recreation in the former part of my captivity. I fortunately took the precaution of tearing up my journal, and of stuffing it in my pockets, as if it were waste paper, by which I was enabled to continue and complete it, by writing it in an enigmatic style, which would have rendered it unintelligible to any future spoliator.

They now began to provide us with lodging; and a few planks placed upon two tressels, with a miserable mattrass, formed our temporary bed, on which we lay without undressing.

The kiaya, or lieutenant of the castle, who was called Zadig Aga, the next day presented the prize which he had made, to the drogman of the Porte; and Virgil, Horace, Lucan, &c. being suspected authors, were ordered before the interpreter to the sultan. As his excellency did not understand latin, I trembled lest he should take those *chef d'œuvres* for conjuring books, and that I might lose them; but they contented themselves with sealing the trunk which contained them, and at the end of six months they were given me again.

The kiaya, on returning from court, where he had received orders relative to our confinement, put us the next day in a room which was occupied by the domestics of the chargé d'affaires, who had been turned out for our accommodation; and this time I had the satisfaction of being joined to my friend Fornier. But though we were inseparably attached by misfortune, we received the melancholy information, that we should not be long together: our room was dark and unwholesome; but it was supportable, considering what we had endured, though we apprehended that we should not long possess it, as it was intimated to us, that we should be conducted to the Black Sea. Our propensity for travelling, however, was rather diminished by the disgust which we had imbibed from our last voyage.

They mentioned to us several of our countrymen who had preceded us in the Seven Towers, and who, from an inveterate hatred towards the French, had been sent by the government to the fortresses on the Black Sea. We thus learnt the names of several highly respectable persons who had been tyrannically sent to distant prisons by the fanatical Turks; but by an unexampled pusillanimity they took care not to inform us of the miseries they experienced in the prison of Cavak, on the Bosphorus. By the influence of the ministers of the combined powers, the mufti was deposed, and the Porte issued secret orders for watching the conduct of every Frenchman who resided in the empire.

In short, the most arbitrary conduct was now displayed towards every person in the interest of France; and on the 10th o

September, a dreadful system of tyranny was displayed towards the French who resided in the Levant. The principal drogman for France was ordered to court; and the reis effendi, after having overwhelmed him with protestations of friendship, said, that he wished to have an interview with M. Ruffin, and the whole legation. The chargé d'affaires on receiving this news, which many of his suite thought to be indicative of the most fortunate consequences, foresaw what would take place. He repaired to court at the time appointed, and the reis effendi paid him, as well as the whole legation, the utmost respect: he invited them to sit down, and ordered them to be served with coffee; after which, without any preliminary conversation, he read the declaration of war, and concluded by sending them all to the Seven Towers; after which the chargé d'affaires found at the door, for himself and his suite, an escort of eight hundred janissaries, who conducted them all to prison.

The sultan was sitting in a kiosk to enjoy the sight of his ancient allies riding to captivity: they experienced on their route, the silent pity of all whom they met; and a woman having presumed to speak in their favour, was severely chastised by the regiment of janissaries who formed the escort.

Ten months had passed since this event occurred, and the rage of the enemies of the French was still far from being satisfied; for Spencer Smith expelled from the national palace the Frenchmen to whom that place had been granted as a prison. I could say much on the fanatical and ungrateful conduct of this minister, but I shall prefer passing to my companions in misfortune, and shall proceed to state the events which befel Messrs. Beauvais and Gerard, who were separated from us, as I have already related, and whom we found in the castle of the Seven Towers.

The passengers of the tartan the Madona di Monti Negro, who parted from us on the 26th November, remained on board the corsair, which was pursued by a Neapolitan frigate; and they expected to be landed at Corfu, according to the promise which was made them by Orouchs, the captain. At nightfall the Neapolitan ship hoisted its colours, and fired over the corsair to bring her to: the vessels were so near that our prisoners could distinguish the dress of the Neapolitans; but darkness having come on rather suddenly, the Tripolitan changed her course, and by this artifice effected his escape. The next day they found themselves on the coast of Italy, near Otranto, and so near to land, that the Calabrian fishermen, fearful of being taken, took refuge with their barks in the creeks under the protection of the batteries.

Towards noon the captain of the corsair perceived two vessels at a distance; and as he suspected that they were fishing smacks,

he proposed, to attack them. All his crew, with the telescope in hand, examined them minutely, and unanimously determined to run them down: they made all sail with this intent; but what was their surprise, when the supposed fishing smacks proved to be two Neapolitan frigates, one of which was the ship they had escaped from the evening before! They discovered and pursued the pirate, who became thunderstruck, and saw nothing before him but the Bagne, the only place worthy of receiving such wretches, while the Frenchmen were gladdened with the hope of a deliverance, which they conceived to be beyond a doubt. The frigates gained, and began to fire on the corsairs, who, prostrating themselves on deck, invoked God and the Prophet, shed tears, and finally returned the fire of the frigates.

Notwithstanding this audacity, every thing announced that the author of our misfortune would be taken in his turn, and that he could only escape by some event bordering upon a miracle: this event, however, took place: a calm came on, which caused the two frigates to remain stationary, when the corsairs resorting to their sweeps, soon got out of reach; they then left the coast of Calabria, where slavery stared them in the face; but in crossing the gulph of Otranto or Tarranto, they found themselves in the wake of the French packet le Vif, which left Egypt at the same time as ourselves; but they dared not attack this vessel, as it carried cannon. The next day, which was the third of our capture, the pirate came to anchor off the little isle of Paxous, opposite to Parga, in Albania.

By the report of the artillery of Corfu, which was at that time besieged, together with the information gathered from the inhabitants of the isle, the pirates learned of the war between France and Turkey. The fear of being obliged to make restitution, had long rendered the corsair uncertain as to the conduct he should adopt toward his French prisoners; but as soon as he learned the state of affairs, he testified the greatest satisfaction; and his crew, partaking of his sentiments, became overjoyed. They landed to purchase provisions, which they did not give themselves the trouble to cheapen; they regaled all whom they met from morning to night, and were incessantly firing off their guns. The most insignificant fisherman who came on board, was dignified with the title of captain, and they saluted him with their whole artillery, as if he had been an admiral; nothing was heard but songs and the firing of pistols; and Ibrahim Tchiaoux, one of the important personages of the Tripolitan vessel, drank brandy instead of water. In short, they all dissipated with the most ridiculous prodigality, what they had so easily acquired.

Amidst these disgusting orgies, of which the French prisoners were far from partaking, for the pirates scarcely granted them

the necessaries of life, a most afflicting spectacle took place. Several smacks arrived with women and children, who had escaped from the massacre and fire at Prevesa; the remainder of the inhabitants of that town having made off in every direction. What heart would not have groaned for the fate of those innocent victims, who had so severely expiated the faults of their husbands and brothers, who had been foolish enough to betray the French, from the hope of being rewarded by Ali Pacha. These poor people knew not where to seek an asylum; for the little isle of Paxous could afford them no protection, it being in fact only a league and a half in its greatest diameter, and its port being undefended. Indeed it is a matter of surprise, that it is not often plundered by the pirates, as it produces abundance of oil, grapes, and fruits. Its population is tolerably numerous, and their manners differ from their neighbours at Corfu, as the women of Paxous always keep themselves veiled in the presence of strangers.

About a league farther to the southward is Antipaxous, another isle which is uninhabited, but which is fertile and cultivated by the inhabitants of Paxous *.

The prisoners remained for three days in the port of Paxous, while the corsairs, who were incessantly drunk, did nothing but talk of cutting off their heads. At length Orouchs, who proposed to present his prize to the Turkish admiral, sailed for the fleet which was besieging Corfu; he sailed at eleven in the forenoon, and arrived in the channel of Corfu an hour before sunset. As he sailed along the shores of the islands, the French batteries fired on him, which he returned, and a cannonade ensued, by which he lost an angle of his poop. During this action, which might have sent the vessel and all on board to the bottom, the whole crew, as soon as they saw the flash of the enemy's guns, threw themselves down on the deck. The corsair soon kept a respectful distance, and anchored in the midst of the combined fleet: the captain then repaired on board the Turkish admiral, and informed him that he had made a most important prize, having taken the principal officers of the army of the east. At nine in the evening he conducted Messieurs Beauvais and Gerard before the Turkish admiral, Kadir bey, who detained them, and asked them a number of questions; after which he kept them on board his ship; and they heard no more of the other passengers. This was all I could learn relative to the fate of Messrs. Poitevin, Charbonnel, and Bessieres; but from some documents which I collected, I was induced to suspect that they had been landed in Albania, a circumstance which

* These isles are distinguished in the modern English maps by the name of Paxo; they are opposite to the promontory of Chimarrum, now called Cape Parga.—Ed.

was afterwards confirmed. As to the two prisoners, whose itinerary by land to Constantinople I shall briefly touch upon, I have only to say, that they were previously made to pass through every ship in the fleet, and were at last taken before the Russian admiral Outchakof. Amongst the numerous physiognomists alternately honest and severe, to whose scrutiny they were obliged to submit, they discovered a Turk named Mahmoud Effendi, who spoke French, and had lived a long time in London: he was always abusing the French nation; and if perchance he were under the necessity of doing justice to certain individuals, he always added, *but he had the misfortune to be a Frenchman.* As to the Russian admiral, they could not converse with him, because he knew no language but his own, and appeared to be more occupied with his duty, than with insignificant examinations with which prisoners are often tormented; he did not seem to be on good terms with the Turkish admiral, who proposed to him, that after the siege of Corfu, they should go and reduce Toulon, and then proceed to bombard Paris with their fleet. This, according to him, was an affair determined on, and in which he did not wish for the assistance of his Moscovite allies, whom he so much dreaded, that at night he always moored his ships beyond the range of their artillery: for this breach of order, he every morning received a reprimand, and excused himself for quitting the line and breaking the order of battle, by throwing the blame upon the officers under him: but he never failed to repeat the practice.

Messrs. Gerard and Beauvais, after remaining for six days in the fleet before Corfu, were sent on board a Turkish corvette, and conveyed to Patras, in order to be conducted by land to Constantinople. The pirate Orouchs, who had captured us, sailed at the same time for Butrinto, where Ali Pacha was encamped, and carried with him Messrs. Poitevin, Charbonnel, Bessieres, &c. The unfavourable weather, contrary winds, and still more, the ignorance and cowardice of the Turkish crews, rendered the voyage long and difficult; whenever a mist came on, they immediately lay-to, for fear they should run aground; and for the same reason they furled their sails on the approach of night: this last measure was indispensible, as the Turks then confined in their hold a number of Maltese slaves, who, in the day-time, managed the ship. Thus upwards of twenty days past before the vessel had made twenty-five leagues. When a heavy storm came on, the Turkish seamen pretended that it had been occasioned by the French prisoners, whom they had seen throwing some bits of paper into the sea, which they supposed to be filled with magical words capable of exciting the waves. It was necessary to let them maintain their ideas without contradiction;

and the two days which passed from that time before they anchored at Patras, formed a dangerous period for the French prisoners, to whom the Maltese gave every possible consolation.

At length my countrymen were landed at Patras; and after remaining a short time to recover from the fatigues of the sea, they were provided with horses, and sent off to the castle of the Morea, which is builton Cape Rhium. The aga who commanded there, came to a small village to furnish them with the means of passing the gulph, and in half an hour they were conveyed from the shore of the Morea to that of Albania. On reaching this continent, horses were hired at a village to the west of the castle, and the prisoners were conducted to Lepante. Here they were presented to the pacha Achmet, who afterwards became pacha of the Morea: he behaved very kind to them, gave them clothes, and permitted them to go to the baths. As it was December, he ordered them to be supplied with boots, that they might travel the more commodiously to Constantinople; a circumstance which was the more gratefully appreciated, as the cold during this winter proved to be more severe than the inhabitants ever remembered.

The town of Lepante, which the Turks call Enebechte, from the name of Naupacte, which it bore in ancient times, is built on a hill, on which it gradually rises in a pyramidal form, and is crowned by a small square fort, that bears the name of the citadel. The port is a perfect miniature, in the form of a horse-shoe, and cannot receive vessels which draw more than four feet water: indeed it often happens, that, if they do not take advantage of the tides, they stick in the mud, which soon collects and fills them. At the time when our countrymen arrived, this place had a garrison of 150 Albanians, commanded by Ali, the pacha of Messalongi; and these unfortunate men, like all the troops of the empire, were in a most miserable state. The inhabitants of Lepante are about two thousand in number, and mostly Greeks. The commerce of the gulph, excepting in the export trade, is trivial; and consequently the people are very poor.

The two prisoners, after being well received by the pacha, left Lepante for Salona, under the escort of Ibrahim Tchaous, the lieutenant of Orouchs, and two other galiondgis of his vessel. This Ibrahim, whom I have already mentioned, and who may be described as a prince of pirates, was a miserable creature, grown old in services of danger: though scarcely forty years of age, he seemed to be above sixty; his figure was meagre and livid; while the wrinkles of his forehead, and his arched eye-brows which touched each other, but beneath which was a pair of dark eyes full of animation, made his physiognomy disgusting, particularly as his mouth was never opened except to utter imprecations, or

to ask for brandy. Such a man having no moral ties to influence his conduct, being ignorant of virtue, and familiar with vice, gave himself up to bad actions without any remorse, and considered his profession superior to all others. He was born in the deserts of Africa, and possessed all the severity of that barbarous climate. His comrades in vain endeavoured to outvie him; he always made them tremble, and never spoke to them without a pistol in his hand, pretending that this was the only way to command pirates.

The Frenchmen in company with these fellows, left Lepante by the eastern gate, and proceeded through several valleys covered with forests of pines, in which they saw a number of flocks and herds conducted by Albanian shepherds. The costume and rush caps of these people, together with the scrip and crook which they carried, gave them a strange appearance, which did not fail to excite the curiosity of the travellers. These shepherds generally took care of the cattle of the pacha or some powerful aga; for the principal property of all the Albanian chiefs consists, as in the time of Homer, of flocks and herds. The herdsmen receive for their trouble a certain portion of milk and cheese, which amounts to about one fifteenth of the whole produce; they are likewise allowed a few lambs, which they may sell or rear amongst those of their employers.

On arriving at Salona they were presented to the bey of that town; he was a man of much authority, but one who took pleasure in making all who were attached to him happy; he had a numerous family, and was in no respect like those magistrates whom the Ottoman Porte only sends to the provinces to increase their misfortunes; in short, this officer only had about him a well-informed Greek physician, who was his friend and counsellor, and his drogman, or interpreter, who received the French prisoners with the greatest affability.

After resting at Salona, our travellers proceeded to Zeitoun, which is situated at the extremity of a fertile plain, at the bottom of the gulph of the Eubea. The population of this town is about 4000 souls, chiefly Grecks; and its commerce is considerable.

The Frenchmen, as well as their conductors, passed the night at the residence of the bey, who gave them lodging in a gallery. M. Beauvais, who was quite overcome with fatigue was seized with a violent fever, the symptoms of which increased to such a degree, that the pirates came to the resolution of cutting off his head, if he did not get well enough to continue his journey on the following day. Happily, Ali Tchiaoux, though a barbarian, favoured his recovery, by covering him with his cloak; and as the sick man had heard their deliberations, he was not asked twice to get on horseback. The prisoners then traversed Thessaly

till they came to Pharsalia, where they again received a lodging in the house of the bey, but they had no audience of this officer, and therefore passed the night in tranquillity: the barbarians, however, did not seem satisfied with this indifference, as it deprived them of their accustomed portion of drink, for which they importuned all the Turks whom they met in his residence.

The next day they left Pharsalia, and travelled six leagues to Larissa, which may be considered as one of the most important towns in the Ottoman empire, on account of its situation, extent, commerce, and population, which last amounts to 20,000 persons. Ali, the pacha of Janina, who, by his army and political artifices, governs all Thessaly, has rendered it tributary to him; and this illustrious vassal prides himself on its subjection: by means of his powerful protection, it has got rid of a part of the homage which it owes to the Ottoman Porte. In this town the Turks have twenty-two mosques, besides bazars and bezestins.

At the time when our prisoners arrived, the terrific Paswan Oglu, so well known throughout Europe, and whose views have always been exaggerated, had again raised his successful standards of revolt. He had called to his aid the Macedonians, always eager for battle and danger, and it became necessary to check their career. But what sort of people were those who were sent to oppose a horde of troops naturally ferocious and accustomed to warfare! They were only old men, children, and vagabonds, who were all ready to take the part of this same Paswan, the pacha of Widdin. Such was the army sent from Larissa to save the empire and crush the rebels. It was headed by a general totally inexperienced, and who, a few years before, was a coffee-waiter in the service of an agha; he was, however, an equitable man; and dreaded the employment with which he was entrusted, as he knew that he must forfeit his head, if his success did not prove equal to the expectations of his master.

The Frenchmen were presented to him by the pirates, who, according to their custom, held out their hands to receive a gratuity. He sent them to sleep in the khan, which is the ordinary residence of travellers, so that this time they were not treated like slaves, indeed they always observed that the great men in the empire acted towards them in a generous manner. In the evening he not only sent them clothes, but the best dishes from his own table: they were here visited by a kind Greek, who spoke French, and offered to do every thing for them with the pacha, in order to ameliorate their captivity, but the pirates suspecting his good intentions, drove him away with the most disgusting abuses. It is worthy of remark that this khan was in no respect to most of those in Turkey, as it was not only divided into chambers, but furnished with sofas. The prisoners had permission to go to the

bath, and their hopes began to revive. As to the pirates, they seemed impatient to leave a town where they could not steal any thing, nor vex any body, and the pacha of which had received them in a very equivocal manner.

On leaving Larissa, our party descended a valley which the modern Greeks call Lycostomos, and terminated their day's march at a village called Platamona. As it was night when they arrived, the inhabitants naturally conceiving that those who demanded their hospitality were robbers, refused to open their houses; while the barbarians, not being disposed to pass a night of the month of January in the open air, resolved to break their doors; and they accidentally made choice of the house in which the codja-bachi resided. The joy of the pirates may be conceived; they began to treat him in their usual manner, and this unfortunate officer, who would doubtless have preferred a visit from the Haiducks, took upon him to conduct them to another house, which, at his request, was opened to them; but here, fatigued with their journey, and almost perished with cold, they were obliged to climb into a loft, in which there was scarcely a handful of straw, and neither promises nor threats could produce any better accommodation. One of the pirates, who was much in want of a supper, then took up his arms and went out, swearing a horrible oath that he would either procure something to eat, or would never return. In fact he soon came back with some fowls, a maize loaf, a quantity of flour, some wine, butter, and olives, and began to prepare a supper. He was very severe upon his comrades for their resignation, in making up their minds to pass the night without food in a country inhabited by Greeks, who owe respect and obedience to Mussulmans. The supper, as may be supposed, was excellent; they ate it with avidity, and drank bumpers of wine out of jugs: they afterwards smoaked; for it would be no meal among the Turks, if not terminated by this sensuality.

Without taking leave of the codja-bachi, whom in the evening they had severely horse-whipped, they set off before break of day for Catharina, about ten leagues distant. From this town, one may perceive the ships which go to Salonica, and cross the Archipelago. The prisoners were conducted to the aga who commanded in the town, and was a subordinate officer under the pacha of Janina. He was a young man of a revolting foppery, who seemed absorbed with the ideas of his own greatness: he gave a long detail to the prisoners of the unfortunate affair of Prevesa, at which he asserted he was present. He boasted of having done prodigies on that occasion, and particularly of having cut off the heads of fifteen Frenchmen: as a proof of which, he presented his sabre all stained with blood to M. Beauvais; and while he was looking at it, this fellow appeared perfectly tranquil. This rhodo-

montade, however, was not so warlike as it seemed to be; for we afterwards learned from the Albanians in his suite, that he was not responsible for the death of those who fell by his hand.

The town of Catharina, which he governed with much talent and bravery, contains about two thousand inhabitants, and is situated in the midst of a fertile and well cultivated plain, while the people are more easy in their circumstances than those of the Morea in general. There are several considerable villages near it, the inhabitants of which are well made, warlike, and industrious; and employ themselves in every branch of trade and commerce.

It will be unnecessary to trace any farther the itinerary of these two prisoners, who passed through a country which has been described by several celebrated travellers. Suffice it to say, that they saw many instances of the outrages of the banditti of Romelia, and of the disasters of anarchy: they found the French vice-consul of Rodosto groaning in a hovel, and totally despoiled. In short, after encountering innumerable dangers and incessant fatigue for twenty-two days after they left Patras, they arrived at Constantinople, where they were examined by the drogman of the Porte, and then transferred to the Seven Towers, in which I found them.

CHAP. XII.

ACCOUNT OF THE IMPERIAL CASTLE OF THE SEVEN TOWERS, ITS INTERNAL REGULATIONS, TOPOGRAPHY, &c.—GENERAL MODE OF LIFE AMONGST THE PRISONERS.—VISIT OF THE AGA.—PRINCIPAL DROGMAN OF THE TURKS.—DEATH OF ADJUTANT-GENERAL ROSE.—VISIT OF THE ISLAMBOL EFFENDI.—ATTACK ON THE SEVEN TOWERS BY THE LAZZARONI, OR INHABITANTS OF CHOLCIS.—EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE DURING THE FIST YEAR OF OUR DETENTION.—SOME ACCOUNT OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

AFTER the above account of the adventures of Messrs. Beauvais and Gerard, I shall proceed to a description of the castle of the Seven Towers, and its antiquities. This building, which the Turks call Hiedicouler, and the Greeks, Eftacoulades, is mentioned in the history of the Roman empire as early as the sixth century of the Christian era, as a spot which contributed to the defence of Constantinople; the embrasures of some of the towers, and of those which flank the rampart of the town, from the southern angle of the castle to the sea, shew that this place was the principal bulwark of the town on the coast of the Propontis, in the latter periods of the empire.

In 1453, Mahomed II. after an obstinate siege, entered Con-

stantinople, and gained possession of the Seven Towers, the gates of which were opened to him through terror; though the Turks maintain that he sacrificed 12,000 men to gain this important post. But the conqueror, foreseeing that the Greek empire was his own, thought so little of the Seven Towers, that he would not allow the breaches to be repaired.

Since that period this place, which is said to have contained the treasures of the different sultans, has been celebrated by great events; the principal of which is the death of one of the most virtuous descendants of the sultan, Osman II. This unfortunate prince was killed by a janissary, his slave; and every week the Mussulmans solemnly curse, in the barracks of the janissaries, the name of the assassin. I shall briefly describe the misfortunes of this monarch.

Osman II. had marched at thehead of his armies: six times, in a battle against the Polanders, he ordered a charge to be made, and each time the janissaries refused to obey him. From this moment he despised a corps which was only terrible in sedition. In consequence of this reverse of fortune he became melancholy, and devoted his attention to magic, when the appearance of a comet in the year 1618, afflicted both him and the empire: his preceptor, Codja-Omer Effendi, advised him, in order to allay the irritation of the Gods, to undertake a journey to Mecca; but his ministers, as well as all the spahis and janissaries, opposed this pilgrimage; the sultan wavered in his determination, and a dream decided his conduct.

He thought he saw himself covered with his armour, sitting on his throne, and employed in reading the koran, when Mahomet appeared to him, snatched the book from his hand, struck him on the face, and threw him to the ground. New terrors now arose. his perfidious enemies, who wished to overthrow him, again advised him to undertake the pilgrimage, for which he at last gave orders in spite of the remonstrance of his friends. A sudden alarm immediately became general, which produced an insurrection. Mustapha, who was deposed for his weakness, was taken from his prison, and pressed by the populace to resume the throne; while a thousand voices demanded the death of Osman. Far, however, from being intimidated, he quitted the seraglio, and proceeded to the barracks of the janissaries, exclaiming, "let us go to the spot on which kings are made." But here he was overwhelmed with insults, and soon dragged to the Seven Towers, in the way to which a janissary struck him with a stick. At length, on entering the first gate of the castle, the fatal cord was suddenly thrown over his head; but before they could tighten it, he had the presence of mind to slip it with his hand, and knock down the principal executioner, on which his grand vizier seized

him by the most sensible part of his heart, when I found myself struck with pain, and was ready to faint.

Since the death of this unfortunate Greek, the Seven Towers have been the theatre of the most tragical executions, which each stone gives a melancholy proof of. On one side of the tomb of a Turk, who, for his services in command in the isle of Candia, was put to death. On the walls remain several dull sentences, surrounded by Turkish and Greek prices who were murdered at different times, while the towers are filled with chains, funeral urns, tombs, and ruins the "Well of Blood," fearful dungeons and damp vaults, in which are many passages from the Koran, and other inscriptions added to the dismal croakings of vultures and ravens, and the beating of the waves, fill up the melancholy picture.

I shall now give some account of the external form, extent, and signs of the antiquity of this castle, which no other traveller has described.

Besides what I have above related, the Seven Towers are particularly known in Europe as the prison in which the Turks shut up the ambassadors and ministers of the powers with whom they are at war. At the time of which I am speaking, the place contained the French legation and number of officers, amongst whom I was comprised. The persons detained in this prison are distinguished from all other prisoners of war by having a table, or boarding allowed them by the sultan, as well as by the name of hostages, of which the Turks are accustomed to speak very high, according to them it is a special favour to be the more than hostages of the sultan, and indeed, though they are closely guarded, their detention may be considered as a favour, when compared with the situation of the other prisoners of war, whom the barbarians condemn to public labours in the Bagne, or prison for slaves.

The Seven Towers are called in the state papers by the title of the Imperial Fortress, and are governed by an aga, who has a guard with a band of music, under his orders. This appointment is generally an honourable retirement, with a salary of 6000 piastres, equal to about 1000 French francs, arising from certain lands in the environs of Rodosto. The aga who commanded during my confinement, was called Abdul Hamid, he was a venerable old man of Tartarian who had been employed in the seraglio in the quality of mezzo or sexton. On becoming sixty years of age, and being no longer able to sing in a mosque, or summon the people from a minaret he was appointed to the place in question. On the whole, he was a brave and virtuous man, and had none of the features of those who only make an outward show of religion. In the fear of being calumniated by

those who surrounded him, rendered him sometimes severe towards us, we had no right to accuse him of the vexations we experienced. Though possessing the natural avarice of a Turk, he was not insensible to any little attention that was shewn him; and more than once I surprised him familiarly drinking coffee with our scullion, who was a Greek papas from Cerigo. Thus, a difference of condition in life goes for nothing in Turkey, where a porter may become a vizier or general in twenty-four hours; and a Turk who is sure of not being observed, voluntarily treats as his equal a raia, whom he oppresses in public.

This aga had under his orders a kiaya or lieutenant, and a garrison of fifty-four desdals, divided into ten sections, each commanded by a beluk-bachi or corporal. Without mentioning the names of those illustrious personages, I shall merely say, that the lieutenant of the castle was a designer in a manufactory of oil cloth; and that amongst the corporals were the imaun or curate of the Seven Towers, a waterman, a pipe-maker, and others of equal consequence. As to the soldiers, they were a set of miserable creatures, who received a pay of six aspers * per day, and who nevertheless bore the envy of other men for the place they enjoyed. The aga, who is appointed by the Porte, chuses his lieutenant from the beluk-bachis, and generally fixes on the oldest for promotion, he also appoints the beluk-bachis, who are obliged to give him a security of 100 piastres, which he returns to them in case they resign or are deposed.

The advantage resulting to the Turks who form the garrison of the Seven Towers is, first a certain degree of respect in their district; and secondly, that they are exempt from actual service, a duty from which no Mussulman can be excused when circumstances require it. The beluk-bachis also have a pay of twelve piastres per day for their board, and the aga gives them two meals in the time of the Ramazan, or great fast, which lasts twenty-eight days. They form a sort of council, of which he is the president, and in which they consult on the disposal of the spoil made from the prisoners in their power. At these meetings they enter into arguments about discipline, and their disputes often run so high, that the commandant, who sits at the corner of a sofa, is obliged to reconcile them by chastising them all with a stick, or expelling them from his presence, after holding a sort of juridical inquest on their conduct.

The castle of the Seven Towers is situated at the eastern extremity of the Propontis or Sea of Marmora, and its form is a tolerably regular pentagon, each angle of which is flanked by a tower. Its largest face, which is to the west, has, besides the

* The asper is equal to nine French deniers.

two towers which close its angles, two others that form the two sides of the ancient triumphal arch of Constantine, which led to the golden gate. The gate which affords entrance to the castle, opens on the east side of the town, and the surface of the whole building is about 2,000 square fathoms, the largest side, which runs from north to south, formerly had four towers, but at present there are only three. The first forms one of the sides of the first gate of Constantinople, it is round and covered with lead, the wall which joins it, with the first marble tower of the arch of Constantine, is sixty feet high it has a parapet, and contains six pieces of iron ordnance, which command the road of St. Stephen. The first marble tower that is observed on leaving the one just mentioned, is an enormous mass from ninety to a hundred feet high, and has a platform, it is built of polished marble from the base to the top, on the field side, where it forms an angle which runs more than forty feet in the second circumvallation, and the marble is rough on the internal side of this circumvallation. This tower, though much damaged by the shocks of earthquakes, is still in a tolerable state. The frise which forms its finishing, is in a good state, and there may be seen at its northern and southern angles, two Roman eagles, sculptured in a bad style. The wall which runs from its eastern angle to the arch of Constantine, is of an equal height, and retains the frise with which it is finished. There may be seen on it the marks of common shot, the breaches made by which are repaired with brick The eastern face of this tower, which is in the circumference of the Seven Towers, has the aperture of a large gate. but affords on the inside nothing worthy of particular notice.

The triumphal arch of Constantine, which occupies the middle space between the two marble towers, led to the gate made in the wall of the second external circumvallation of the Seven Towers. One can no longer form an idea of the ornaments of that arch, which was upwards of ninety feet high, as they have been pulverized by the artillery, but, on the inside of the first circumvallation, they still present a vast and entire escutcheon, surrounded by a wreath of laurel, with representations of Jupiter's lightning at the bottom, and inclosing the Chrysilon. On both sides of this arch there were two lateral doors of a round form, which are now stopped up by masonry; and the arch itself is obstructed by two ranges of dungeons, built by the Turks upon brick vaults The small lateral aperture to the left, which has been blocked up, has been converted into a powder-magazine, but as it is lower than the surface of the ground, the water drains into it, and renders it a nest of toads and salamanders. From hence to the second marble tower, the rampart exhibits

a continuation of the frise, though partly destroyed by an enormous breach repaired with bricks; and on the inside the wall is covered, as far as the second marble tower, with the kitchen of the prisoners. This tower is in no manner like the first, as it contains nothing but damp and horrible dungeons, in which thousands of prisoners devoted to death have made their lamentations: the principal of these caves is known by the name of the "Dungeon of Blood," and deserves a particular description. The first door which leads to it, is of wood, and opens into a corridor twelve feet long by four wide; at the end of which, is an ascent of two steps, by which you reach another door of wrought iron, that opens into a semi-circular gallery, which is likewise terminated by a wrought-iron door. At length, ten feet farther you arrive at a door composed of enormous beams, which opens into the dungeon, and into which I think no one can enter without being seized with an involuntary shuddering. Into this place of misery, the light of heaven never penetrates, nor was the voice of a friend ever heard in it, to console the victim whom despotism had condemned to death.

The sombre glare of flambeaux cast a deadly light round this dungeon, so much was the air deprived of its vivifying particles; by its reflections, however, we were able to read a few inscriptions, that had been cut on the humid marble; but the eye could not reach to the roof of this noisome vault, which was buried in darkness. In the middle of this sarcophagus is a well on a level with the ground, which is half-closed by two flag-stones that have been conveyed to its mouth: the Turks give it the name of the "*Well of Blood,*" because they used to throw into it the heads of those who were decapitated in the dungeon, from which circumstance it acquired its name. Thus are buried in oblivion the names of many of the greatest men in the empire, whom a mere look of the sultan can cause to be destroyed at his pleasure.

In the tower which contains the Cavern of Blood, there is a flight of steps leading to several other cells, the height of which being greater than that of the ramparts, admits of the prisoners seeing Constantinople through narrow loop holes. Here the persons detained as hostages were formerly shut up; but they are now allowed to hire a lodging, as I shall speedily explain. The same flight of stairs leads to the platform of this tower, and to the triumphal arch, as well as to the second tower; but the entrance to the latter is closed at top by a portcullis, covered with shrubs and ruins, which proves that this spot has been unfrequented for many years.

From the marble tower just mentioned to the southern angle of the castle, the rampart affords nothing remarkable; nor does it contain any artillery. The tower which flanked this angle has

fallen to ruins, and its foundation forms in the second external circumvallation a sort of cistern, or rather inclosure, in which trees have sprung up. The whole of the rampart to the south is without artillery.

The third angle of the pentagon, or the southern angle, is defended by a round tower formed of two parts; the first is seventy feet high, and is pierced with embrasures, that make a gallery round another tower, which seems to rise from the midst of the former. The whole of the roof rests upon the embrasures of the inner tower; and the height of this singular building is altogether at least one hundred and twenty feet. In the space which separates it from another tower, which flanks the eastern angle, the rampart, which is lower than that of the south and west, is furnished with four pieces of cannon, which command the town side, and a part of the sea-shore. The tower of the eastern angle only differs from that just mentioned in its form, which is a kind of dodecagon. Near this is the gate by which you enter the castle; it is made in a small square tower, and in this the prisoners are occasionally kept in irons. It contains nothing remarkable, except its doors, which were formerly of wood, but which are now made of iron, in consequence of a prisoner having effected his escape by burning them down.

From this gate to the last tower that remains to be mentioned, the rampart contains ten pieces of cannon, which command the town. This last tower has fallen to decay, and will soon be entirely in ruins; for the Turks do not know how to repair an old building, as they daily see large fragments of the interior walls fall down, without paying the least attention to the circumstance.

From this description of the ramparts and fortifications, I shall proceed to give an account of the inside of the castle. The gate by which you enter, is painted red, coated with bars of iron, and crowned by a portcullis, which is let down in cases of danger. To the right of this gate, at the spot where the sultan Osman was strangled, is an armoury filled with old shields, chains, and ancient arms; and to the left is a small cabin, which is the station of the kiaya. To reach the second circumvallation, you pass along a paved causeway, and near a small mosque: this space is filled with about forty houses and gardens, some heaps of stones, and several lines of trees, which have grown spontaneously on the ruins. This spot formerly contained some elegant houses; but they were destroyed by an accidental fire about twenty years ago; since which, the Turks have not rebuilt them.

The second space contains the house of the aga, and that of the prisoners who are kept as hostages: it is closed by a length of wall about eighteen feet high, and is entered by a large red gate: to the left is the guard-house of the soldiers, which is a

sort of chamber furnished with a miserable sofa, and not capable of containing more than ten men. No military attributes or arms are to be seen in it, nor any thing but about a dozen sopes or sticks, with which only the guards are armed. Opposite to the end of this pavillion is a wing of a building, which runs about six fathoms from the arch of Constantine: this is the residence of the aga, of which we occupied a part.

The Porte, in its firmans, sentences its state prisoners to confinement in the dungeons, but leaves the aga the privilege of letting out to them a part of his own residence. The division which we occupied, consisted of a ground floor, which we did not use, and of a first and second floor. The pavillion that joined to ours was inhabited by the commandant and his women; there were behind it a small garden, and the opening that led to the first marble tower. With respect to this tower, I ought to state, that our chargé d'affaires having, towards the close of our captivity, hired the pavillion of the aga, for himself and his wife, I had an opportunity of seeing the inside of the tower: notwithstanding its darkness, I could distinguish a wooden coffin; and my curiosity tempting me to take off the lid, on which was sculptured an Egyptian figure with very long ears, I perceived a mummy broken in three pieces, and the head of which I contrived to carry off. I afterwards found, by consulting the Turkish annals, some passages of which M. Ruffin translated for me, that it was a present from the king of France to Charles XII. king of Sweden, when he retired to Bender about ninety-four years ago. The mummy was conveyed from Egypt, but was stopped by the Janissaries who guarded the gate of Adrianople. The caimacan immediately put his seal upon it, and it was deposited in the castle of the Seven Towers, as the relics of a saint. I never heard, what lady Montague has asserted, that the Turks consider it as a palladium, on which depends the preservation of the empire; but this is one of the many pleasant fictions in her work. According to her hypothesis, I have broken the charm, and accelerated the downfall of a great empire.

A small paved street which leads from the gate of the second inclosure to the triumphal arch, separates the house of the aga from the garden, which on this side is bounded by palisades; this garden is partly of a square form, and one of its sides, which is parallel to the second marble tower, is ten fathoms four feet long, by three fathoms wide, while the other which is parallel to the house of the aga, is ten fathoms long, by an equal width. In the first part of it, is the cemetry of the martyrs, which occupies a square surface of two fathoms; it contains the tombs of the Turkish chiefs who fell in the assault on the Seven Towers. They still keep the fosses around the stones,

which are of a gigantic size, in order that they may excite a higher opinion of their valiant ancestors. This spot is surrounded by a small wall about two feet high; and every night a lantern is lighted in it, which the *meuzzin* is obliged to keep burning. The inside of this garden was well planted by the Moscovites, who formed it into landscapes, and built in it two keosks or pavillions; but as every thing goes to ruin in the hands of the Turks, we found nothing but the remains of these embellishments. Our situation was too irksome, on account of a restriction of implements, to allow us to make similar improvements. We therefore contented ourselves with forming grass plats; and one of our comrades engraved on a marble slab in the second tower, the following inscription:

"*To the memory of the French who expired in the chains of the Ottomans,* 1801.

The interior of the Seven Towers affords nothing worthy of observation. I know not why the authors of the Encyclopedie say, that there may be seen in one of the courts the mortar employed for pounding the oulemas; for most of the Turks told me that it was in the seraglio; but the most reasonable amongst them were of opinion, that this instrument was only an ideal object of terror, and that it has not existed for several centuries. In fact, there is nothing in those courts, but heaps of enormous marble balls for loading pieces of a much larger calibre than the artillery of the ramparts; hence I know not by what fatality preceding travellers have been induced to relate in their publications so much of the marvellous.

The Seven Towers are inhabited within the first circumvallation by some poor Turks, who live in the houses with their families: they belong to the guard of the castle; and to make out a subsistence, they are obliged to exercise several professions. The imaun of the little mosque which it contains, lives there, but his jurisdiction extends to the environs; where he performs the funereal service, and other duties of his religion, from which he derives some emolument. The person who filled this office at the time of our residence, bought it for 150 piastres of one of the soldiers, who preferred the condition of a labouring bricklayer to that of imaun, the former profession having been transmitted from father to son, ever since the capture of Constantinople. The imaun who succeeded him, was besides, a belouk-bachi, or corporal of one of the sections of the garrison, and took his turn in mounting guard over us; he read his language tolerably well, and knew the koran by heart without understanding a word of Arabic, on which account he bore the surname of Hafiz, which is given to all who know the holy book by heart, and notwithstanding this qualification he did not possess two ideas.

I shall now give a description of the external circumvallation, which will be found more interesting.

On going out from the triumphal arch of Constantine, you formerly passed under the golden gate, which is now blocked up; but this outlet from the Seven Towers now only leads to the second circumvallation, or external inclosure of the fortifications, which is formed by the space comprised between the first and second rampart: the soil is mostly occupied by a half-cultivated garden. About thirty paces from the triumphal arch, are four cypresses and some sycamores formed in groupes, which present a picturesque appearance, when observed from the village of St. Stephen.

The Turks have filled up the golden gate with solid brick-work, with a view to make it into a cistern; and the commandant has built two pavillions amongst the mass of ruins which still remains there. A fountain has also been formed which empties itself into a square reservoir in a garden before one of those pavillions, and here they repair to smoke. This is also the chief place of repose for the aga, whose perspective is limited by the marble towers.

The sides of the triumphal arch contain a number of Greek inscriptions, written with a red colour, which express the name and glory of God; they are cut on different parts of the marble, and, as well as some Greek crosses, appear to have been the work of some pious soldier while on guard.

Opposite to the first marble tower, on a half moon of the rampart of the second external space, a keosk or belvidere has been built, in which every week they permitted us, for a small remuneration, to enter, and respire the fresh air. The ascent to it is by six small steps: it is divided into two apartments; and that which we were allowed to enter, contained nine windows, and was furnished with a sofa. From this building, the view extends over an infinity of cemetries and gardens, and towards the fertile fields of Thrace; while to the left we could see a village containing a number of manufactories of candles, catgut, &c. Beyond this we could even distinguish the distant isles of Marmara. In the wall of the second rampart, on the outside, are the remains of the golden gate, and there may be seen two columns of white marble, the shaft of which is of a single piece, and from its diameter, gives reason to suppose that they are from thirty to thirty-five feet high; they are, as well as their capitals, in a perfect state of preservation. There are twelve other columns that sustain the entablatures, which formerly contained bas-reliefs; but there do not appear to be any inscriptions.

In this same space appears a melancholy subject for meditation; it is the tomb of the grand vizier who conquered Candia,

with those of his son and wife. Covered with glory, and ennobled for his services, envy drew upon him the disgrace of his sovereign. He was precipitated from the summit of grandeur, and thrown into the Cavern of Blood, where he was strangled. His son and wife obtained permission to unite their ashes with his: their tombs are carefully preserved, and the Turks have even decorated them with a gilt rail-work, which serves for the support of high jessamins and other odoriferous plants. A flaming sword and a simple inscription, keep alive the remembrance of the services of the father, the virtues of the wife, and the premature end of a son of extraordinary promise.

By the aid of chance, time, and bribery, we were enabled to examine the space comprised between the first and second rampart, which continues to extend to the sea-shore, and to which we entered by a door in the wall which cut the space transversely: this space we called the great garden. As soon as we entered, we came to the excavation of the base of one of the towers, which, I have already observed, has fallen down. To the right was the wall, perforated with embrasures, together with bastions; and on the left was the rampart of the city, sixty feet high. This rampart is flanked by seven large, though mean towers, all of an ancient form, and built antecedent to the use of cannon. The embrasures of the towers are black; and the Greeks assured me that this was caused by the Grecian fire which was thrown amongst the barbarian armies. In the interval between the first and second of these towers, is a small column of white marble, indicating the tomb of a tchor-bachi, or colonel of janissaries, who fell at the taking of Constantinople: the Turks revere him like a saint, and chance has placed round his tomb a high laurel, a walnut, a pomegranate, and a fig-tree, which form a kind of arch; indeed it seems as if nature wished to distinguish this resting place of a warrior by the beauty of its vegetation.

The fourth tower is of a square form, and has suffered much by earthquakes; it bears the following inscription, which I give just as it exists, though Procopius has quoted it in a manner which implies a different sense; even Spon and Tournefort have given it in a different manner from me; but though their quotation have the same meaning, neither of these travellers had an opportunity of copying it on the spot, which I had, in consequence of my captivity. It is

ΠΑΓΡΩΜΑΙΩΙC ΜΕΓΑΛΕΙΟΙCΙΟΕ Ο ΩΜΑΝΟC ΝΕΩΝ Ο ΠΑ ΙΜΠΤΙC
ΤΟC ΤΟΝ ΔΙ. ΠΡΤΟΝ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΟΝ.

which signifies "the great, the most great Roman has built for the Greeks, a temple and a tower from the foundation."

The fifth tower is split from the battlements to the foundation. I passed between the cleft in the wall, and found that it led to the neighbouring gardens: this would have been a good place to escape from, if we could have hoped to find an asylum; but a Frenchman had no friend at Byzantium, where every one was set against him.

The base of the seventh tower stands in the sea; it contains nothing inside, but on its front is the following inscription.

ΠΥΡΓΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΝΩΝ

which is, "The tower of the kings, and of the Constantinopolitans." A monogramic cross terminates this legend.

The air of the Seven Towers is in general unwholesome, and may give rise to the scurvy; indeed the north wind only can render the city wholesome: for when the south wind blows, it conveys fogs and stenches from the manufactories and neighbouring slaughter-houses, which would be fatal if this temperature were of long duration. To these inconveniences may be added, that of the insects of hot countries, and a number of yellowish scorpions, which crept even into our beds. The apartments which we occupied, and particularly those on the first story, were constantly damp, and swarmed with reptiles, while in winter they were extremely cold: nevertheless, Providence supported us in this difficult crisis, and our gaiety was scarcely ever diminished, as we lived in constant hope of a better fate. But to give a more complete idea of our situation, I shall briefly relate our manner of living in this prison.

I have said that each of us took to useful occupations; we even had some good books, through the interest of M. Suzzo, the drogman of the Porte; and we contrived means of corresponding with our unfortunate fellow citizens who were confined in the Bagne. We adopted various means to prevent a discovery of this secret correspondence. Sometimes we made use of the minister of the drogman, who took our letters according to their addresses, without having any doubt as to what they contained, he having read, or pretended to read them from beginning to end, but as this method might be discovered, our industry suggested several others, which would be more safe. In order to obtain news-papers, &c. we procured a little trunk, which took entirely to pieces, and contained a number of secret drawers, which none could find out unless acquainted with its principle. We afterwards gradually extended our correspondence, and some of us even transmitted dispatches to the extremities of Asia Minor, whither several Frenchmen had been transported. But if our days passed

away amidst various plans of instruction and amusement, we had our periods of affliction, one of which was the death of a companion of our captivity.

I have already observed, that the adjutant-general Rose was attacked by a disease which led him to the tomb: in fact, in November, 1799, he finished his career. After his death, M. Ruffin in vain addressed the Porte, praying that this officer might be allowed an honourable interment; his corpse, however, was left amongst us: and the Christian churches were not even satisfied with imitating the Turks. The clergyman of St. Matthias not only refused to perform the funereal service, but even to allow a bier to carry the corpse, asserting that he would sooner suffer death, than interfere in the burial of a Frenchman. At length, after we had despaired of obtaining a tomb for our comrade, a decree was transmitted from the caimacan to the aga of the Seven Towers; its substance was a permission to inter the body of a *Caffre*, who had died in the imperial castle of the Seven Towers. One of the clerks of the drogman came at the same time with four Armenian porters, who carried off the body, and buried it in a neighbouring field, by the road leading to St. Stephen's. Thus so much were the bonds of social intercourse dissolved, that not a Christian minister could be found liberal enough to pay the last duties to a member of that benevolent religion, which only commands charity.

A short time after this event, the istambol-effendi, who is the lieutenant-general of the police of Constantinople, visited the aga of the Seven Towers. This was a great honour conferred upon so low an officer as a disdar: and our commandant therefore received him in his best manner, being at the head of his guards, who were under arms; that is, with their sticks in their hands. After being conducted to the kiosk, where he was presented with a pipe and coffee, and paid the customary compliments, the istambol-effendi ordered a dozen piastres to be distributed to the soldiers of the Seven Towers, and then took his leave. Every Turk is avaricious, and the istambol was a Turkish minister. On his way home, he stopped at the shop of a poor grocer, where, pretending to find short weights, he had him nailed by the ear to the door of his shop, and fined him fifty piastres, with which he indemnified himself for his present to the soldiers.

A catastrophe of a serious nature, occurred soon after the visit of the lieutenant of police. A laze, or inhabitant of Colchis, was imprisoned in the Seven Towers by order of the bostangi-bachi, for the crime of assassination, which is considered as a trifling sin by the people in this country. His comrades, who were on board two vessels at anchor under the Seven Towers,

learned that their companion was to be strangled the next night, and resolved to save him. They in consequence landed, and repaired to the castle. The aga in vain endeavoured to treat with them; they paid no attention to his threats of firing upon them with the artillery. In short, they forced the gates: the guard was beaten, and the rebels entered the castle, when some one cried out that there were French infidels confined in it: instead, however, of falling upon us, they thought only of their companion, whom they found and carried off; but scarcely were they outside the gates, before they announced their victory by a general discharge of their fire-arms. They afterwards returned on board, and immediately sailed for Syria.

The aga, who thought his character compromised by this affair, went the next day to the caimacan, and informed him of what had happened; but that officer only laughed at the circumstance, and said that the fellows had acted right. It is thus that, in Turkey, success renders legitimate, actions most contrary to order; while in affairs of greater importance the Porte itself concludes by taking a rebel into its service, against whom it had fought and failed.

After this accident, the aga and his guard never failed to barricade themselves on the slightest report of any seditious movement: they then strengthened the gates by placing against them large beams; and though the commandant was responsible for our persons, he trembled much more for his piastres, of which, if he were to be robbed, his superiors would only laugh at him, as they did on the elopement of the laze. Nevertheless he shewed a slight degree of courage on a critical occasion, which happened some months afterwards. The Haiducks, or banditti of Romelia, descended from the mountains of Macedonia and Thrace in great numbers; their army increased daily, and at length amounted to sixty thousand men. Each little division which the Turks sent against them went over to their ranks, because, in the first place, resistance to so great a force would have been useless; and in the next, there was more profit to be derived as a Haiduck than as a soldier of the sultan.

The Porte justly alarmed, came to the resolution of sending a strong army against the vagabonds, whose object was nothing but plunder. According to the custom, which consists in sending European soldiers if the theatre of war be in Asia, and if in Europe ordering troops from Asia, the legions of Georgia were sent against the banditti: they were commanded by Betal-Pacha; and the greatest success was expected from his operations.

The pacha of Nicomedia was to join the chief of the Georgians with a considerable body of troops; and as he had landed in Europe to the east of Constantinople, he wanted to lodge in

the castle of the Seven Towers, but the aga refused to let him, under the pretence that he had mussafirs or hostages in his possession. At length the affair became serious, when the Porte interfered, and prevailed upon the pacha to fix himself outside the walls of the city.

To follow the events of this memorable year I must add, that the pacha of Nicomedia having taken the field before forming a junction with Betal-Pacha, was attacked and completely defeated by the rebels, who took his artillery and baggage; on which his troops abandoned him, and went over to the enemy. Attributing, however, his want of success to fate, he thought he might shew himself at Constantinople. His first reception by the vizier was of a consolatory nature; he covered him with a fine pelisse, called him by the title of brother, and invited him to prostrate himself before the sultan. The pacha of Nicomedia, transported with joy, took his advice, and followed him to court. They had already passed the first yard, and were entering the second gate, when two executioners, concealed for the purpose, rushed upon him, strangled him, and cut off his head, which was stuck upon the very door he had a minute previously entered full of joy and expectations. The vizier fell at the feet of his master, and was loaded with praises for ensnaring a pacha whom the sultan wished to get rid of.

In this year also a treaty was concluded, which gave a sort of political existence to the Republic of the Seven Islands, by placing them under the protection of the Ottoman Porte.

I shall now give a brief account of modern Constantinople. This city, which, if it were inhabited by a civilized people, would be the glory of the world, is so well known as not to require any details on its topography, or the luxury of its perspective. Many travellers have spoken of its monuments, and the manners of its inhabitants: but I believe no one has described the general appearance of the town itself.

At first the mind of the observer is astonished at the beauty of Constantinople, and the magnificence of its ports; but other sentiments arise on penetrating within its walls. Fatigued by the inequality of the soil of its amphitheatres, which look so finely in perspective, he finds only narrow and unpaved streets filled with dust or mud; and every where closed gates meet his eye, while a wonderful silence prevails, which is not interrupted by the voice of the people or their pursuits of industry. In the parts devoted to commerce one can, on the contrary, scarcely breathe. Here the multitude meet and jostle each other, but without any of that noise which is inseparable from the markets of our own country, and other places of assembly in Europe. If the traveller enter the bezestins, his eye is struck by an immense

quantity of rich merchandize spread without order: here, however, the usual carelessness of the Turks seems to be abandoned; for they have taken precautions against fire: high walls, iron gates, and solid vaults have transformed public warehouses into little towns; but these places are greatly inconvenient at the time of a plague.

The Turk, who here displays for sale the precious shawls of India, arms, jewels, and the finest diamonds, does not appear as if in an obscure shop; he does not seem anxious, or as if caring, to sell his goods: incapable of overcharging, he takes away, without saying a word, the merchandize for which any one offers him a price beneath its value, and he seems to sit behind his counter rather to oblige than to enrich himself, while he may often be seen to quit his shop without leaving any one in care of it. In this bezestin, where every thing excites curiosity, there may be seen, by the side of the phlegmatic Turk, the industrious and active Greek, the deep and reflecting Armenian, and the avaricious Jew, who exert their respective talents and ingenuity. But in the time when the plague afflicts this vast city, every one should avoid those receptacles of commerce: for there the pestilence not only exerts its greatest ravages, but it may be said to issue thence, when the weather favours its developement; because the miasma remains in the pelisses and furs of persons who have died of the epidemy, and which the dealers here heap together without thinking of the consequences.

If from those places we visit another mart, where man does not blush to sell the handsomest and most interesting of the female sex, a singular spectacle affords subjects for meditation. Let the reader conceive the idea of a large square building surrounded by porticos, or rather of a range of stabling with a yard in the middle, and he will thus be acquainted with the plan of the woman-market of Constantinople. Beneath the porticos which lead to the apartments of the slaves, runs a bench along the wall, and here in rainy weather they are exposed for sale.

The day on which I visited this place being very fine, I saw the slaves in the middle of the yard, sitting cross-legged upon mats, in parties of fifteen together: the clothing of white cloth which covered them, bespoke their miserable condition; but they were far from being affected by it, as they laughed, chattered, and made so much noise that one could scarcely hear one's self speak. Some of them who were sitting under the portico to avoid the rays of the sun, were particularly cheerful, and amused themselves with singing. In general I did not consider them as handsome; and though they were between three and four hundred in number, I did not observe one who could merit the high reputation which the Georgian and Circassian women have obtained: they were

mostly fat women, of a pale complexion: and I distinguished some who had blue eyes and light hair. The Turks who came to cheapen them, roamed about from group to group, made them open their mouths, inspected their hands, and examined them as we do animals. I was inclined to follow them, and was already in the middle of the court, when one of the guardians, with a poignard in his hand, came up, and swearing at me for an infidel, ordered me to get out: to such an attack there was no reply; and I obeyed. I afterwards learnt that no person could enter this market without a special firman from the Porte; but my imprudence was of use to me on many subsequent occasions.

From this bazar the traveller naturally proceeds to the church of St. Sophie, to pay the tribute of admiration which every stranger owes to a monument that has been so well described by every traveller, as to leave nothing new to be said of it. On paying an imaun you are admitted without difficulty to the galleries of St. Sophie, and may contemplate with leisure that stately edifice, whose greatest merit is the beautiful marble of which it is composed. The Greeks, however, speak of it with a sort of admiration, which proves that they consider it far superior to either of the seven wonders of the world; and they have transmitted in a common song an account of the riches which it formerly contained. The poet, who was doubtless some good priest that lived about the time of the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II., has informed us that St. Sophie had eighteen steeples, and fifteen bells to call the faithful to devotion; and that the duty was performed by fifty-two head priests, or archbishops, three hundred and two priests, twenty-four deacons, fifty chaunters, and forty-two confessors. He afterwards enters into a detail of the fine candelabras, censors, and gold crosses, which are kept secure; but he does not speak of the luxurious decorations or the beauty of the architecture, the remains of which are still worthy of admiration. He might also have specified the great revenues of this church, which are derived from twelve hundred shops that were given on its foundation by Constantine and Anastacius, and which now form the income of the imauns.

After visiting the mosque of St. Sophie, the traveller will see with pleasure those of Sultan Achmet and the Sulimania, monuments of which the most minute descriptions have been given, and which have been dispersed throughout Europe by the efforts of the pencil.

CHAP. XIII.

ACCOUNT OF CONSTANTINOPLE CONTINUED.—COFFEE-HOUSES.—TERIAKIS, OR TAKERS OF OPIUM.—ANECDOTE OF A TURK WHO DAILY SWALLOWED CORROSIVE SUBLIMATE.—KEBADGIS OR ROASTERS.—COSTUME.—RECREATIONS OF THE TURKS.—DANCERS.—PRIVILEGED DRUNKARDS.—MIDNIGHT GUNS.—FIRES.

TO continue the same subject would be to fatigue the reader; I shall therefore break the thread of my narrative in order to recapitulate the principal dishes in use at Constantinople, which, considered in a dietetic view, must possess no small interest. I shall begin with the regimen of a Mussulman's kitchen.

In the house of every Turk in easy circumstances there are three separate tables, namely, that of the master of the family, who in general takes his meals alone; the table of the children, who, out of respect to their father, never eat with him; and that of the mother, who lives secluded in her apartment. In the harems, in which there are several women, each has her particular cover.

The Turk divides his food into two meals, and the rich man, who lives in luxury, has, besides, a slight luncheon. As they are all accustomed to rise at break of day, the rich Turk carelessly throwing himself upon a sopha, after a short prayer, claps his hands as a signal for the slave to bring him his pipe. Nothing can exceed the delight which he receives from smoking; he burns aloes with the tobacco, and thus sits absorbed in a profound reverie; he is at length disturbed by being presented with a slight infusion of Mocha coffee; in which the grounds remain suspended*, and he drinks it gently from the edge of the cup; his crossed legs on which he sits are almost useless, and he is obliged to be lifted up by two domestics. His abundant clothes, the cushion on which he sits, the voluptuousness of the harem, and other excesses, completely enervate his frame.

The morning of the opulent man is always passed in the way here described, or in mechanically rolling between his hands the tchespi, a sort of chaplet which the Mussulmans play with for pastime. Towards noon they bring his dinner, and on this occasion the greatest simplicity prevails: the table contains neither cloth, forks, plates, or knives; a salt-cellar, some wooden, shell,

* It will be a novelty to many of our readers, to learn that the Turkish method of making coffee has lately been introduced into the metropolis. It is effected by digestion, which supersedes the necessity of boiling, in a machine which contains a muslin bag, filled with coffee, through which the water is poured into the pot, and the grounds remain suspended. ED.

or copper spoons, and a large dish, which is handed round to the guests, form the whole of the apparatus; and instead of a cloth being laid upon the table, the latter is placed upon cloth. The bread is distributed cut into mouthfuls, and the dish is garnished with five or six parcels of sallad, gerkins, celery, and other pickles. Afterwards the sauces and ragouts are brought, which will be subsequently described, and the meal concludes with the pilau, which has been already mentioned. On no occasion do they ever make use of desserts: the fruits of the different seasons supply the place of bye-dishes; and each person eats of them as much as he pleases during dinner. A quarter of an hour is sufficient for the whole ceremony; and the indolent Turk seems to consider it a labour to supply the wants of nature.

The drinks, which, however, they do not use till they have finished their meals, are water and sherbet, which are handed round in a crystal glass that serves all the guests: wine, which is apparently proscribed, is only drunk in the taverns. The Turkish history mentions several sultans who have given public examples of this violation of the Koran; but since the several edicts of Murad IV. his successors have endeavoured to save appearances. It is only the dervises, monks, soldiers, sailors, and the lower order who bear the scandal of drunkenness.

In the the afternoon the rich Turk passes his time in an airy kiosk. Those who reside on the banks of the Bosphorus, delight in looking towards the agreeable scites of Asia, where the remains of their fathers are interred, it being customary for the families of the opulent Turks of Constantinople to be buried in Asia; they therefore contemplate that country as the one which is to be an asylum for the Mussulmans when, according to an old prophecy, *a nation of fair men shall have driven them from Europe!!* A Turk in the situation just alluded to, becomes intoxicated with the vapours of the pipe, and refreshes himself with sherbet perfumed with musk, which the slaves pour out for him. Being distanced from all society, he orders his women to be sent for, and without in the least discomposing his gravity, he commands them to dance before him.

The supper, which is served upon the tables at sunset, is composed with more attention than the dinner; but it is dispatched with equal celerity: the pipe terminates the day, whose monotonous round admits of no variety, nor of any of those accessary amusements which constitute the pleasure of life.

The people of the east are far from enjoying a pleasant existence: their aliments are gross, and in general unwholesome. In summer they almost renounce the use of bread, and feed upon scarcely any thing but gourds, melons, and other aqueous fruits. This season also constantly produces epidemic diseases of the

most terrible kind; it is then that the plague extends its ravages on bodies weakened by abundant perspiration, and which are not restored by proper nutriment. This remark, simple as it may appear, will shew the cause of the return of the epidemic fever, which superficial observers represent, as continually exerting its ravages in Constantinople. It is a fact, that in a year when fruit is abundant and corn is scarce, the climate is fatal to the people, as the hot and moist temperature favours the developement of pestilential effluvia.

Coffee is not to be classed amongst the privations which these people experience: this drink is, like tobacco, in general use; the Turks smoke to excess, and the custom, though it was not known in the east till the year 1605, is now a want even of infancy. Such of the women as are not addicted to smoking, amuse themselves with chewing mastich-root from Chio, which imparts to the breath a smell like that of violets; but the considerable excretion of saliva which the mastication excites, is detrimental to the digestive functions.

Such is a summary of the manner of living amongst the Orientals, whose sobriety affords a striking contrast to the sumptuous repasts of the energetic people of the north. The table of an European, for instance, who resides at Constantinople, is totally different from that of a Turk: the Frank will have at his meals the red wine of Tenedos and those of Asia, and he can vary, according to the season, the rare and delicious fruits that abound in the markets.

The principal species of game which come amongst their animal food, are partridges, pheasants and hares, which are found in the forests of Belgrade; with the woodcocks, wild boar, and rabbits from the isles of the Princes. In the autumn the markets are filled with quails and all species of poultry, alive; but the Turks, instead of taking the trouble to fatten them, merely blow them, and swell the cellular membrane, which makes them appear fat, and thus the buyer is imposed on. The Thracian ox begins to come into general use; and the sheep of Caramania, with a triangular tail, affords a faintish kind of mutton; but the herds which graze on the hills of Macedonia beyond Thessaly, yield a succulent and much-admired nutriment. Fish is likewise abundant; but the Turks prefer the salted carp of the Don, which the Russians sell them in a prepared state. Shell-fish are likewise obtained in profusion; the Franks and Greeks, however, are the only persons who eat them, as the Turks, eject all those species from their culinary system. These wretched people are also unacquainted with the art of the dairy; and though they might make excellent cheese, yet it always has an acrid flavour. It is true that the wants of life are not so great with an inhabitant of the east, who

is naturally abstemious, as with a person from the north, which is proved from a view of the city, in which you only find a few biscuit-bakers, while the cooks are simple kebadgis, or roasters. These are unacquainted with the art of roasting mutton by the spit, but do it by means of an economical oven, which dresses slices in a few minutes. Travellers nevertheless conceive meat so dressed to be the most delicious in the country; and they are right.

A few of the dervises, and other indolent men who abhor activity or labour, seem to measure their appetite by the property they possess; and hence they may be seen passing half a day together over a cup of coffee, and a few pipes of tobacco. The coffee-houses are, in consequence, the resort of lazy people, who smoke, talk about politics, and relate stories, while some of the coffee-house-keepers, in order to draw custom, adopt the profession of barbers, and shave the head and beard.

There are other men who live even cheaper than those just mentioned: being strangers to the luxury of the table, a pill of opium satisfies their hunger, makes them drunk, and throws them into the most pleasing extacy. These men are more decried than real drunkards.

The dervises, oulimas, and lazy fellows in general, are those who make most use of opium: they begin by using half a grain of that substance, and continue to increase the dose till they find it does not produce the desired effect. They take care not to drink water after it, which would give them the most violent colic: but the man who at the age of twenty takes to opium, seldom attains an age beyond thirty or thirty-six years. In the course of a few years the dose is increased to upwards of a drachm, or sixty grains. At this time a pallid countenance and extreme leanness announce a state of cachexia, which is only the prelude to a general marasmus, that can only be compared to itself. The infatuation is so great, that the certainty of death and all the infirmities which lead to it, is incapable of correcting a theriaki, or person addicted to the use of opium; he coldly answers any one who apprizes him of his danger, that *his happiness is incomparable when he has absorbed his pill of opium*. If he be asked to define this supernatural felicity, he only says, that it is impossible to describe it, as it is a pleasure not to be explained. These miserable beings, however, towards the close of their life, or rather of that state of stupefaction into which they are plunged, experience the most severe pains, and a continual hunger; they are tormented by a desperate satyriasis, without the capability of satisfying their desires; in short, they experience pains, which even their delicious paregoric cannot assuage; and having become hideous, deformed by numerous pe-

riostoses, deprived of their teeth, their eyes sunk into their head, and afflicted with an incessant trembling, they cease to exist a long time before their life is at an end.

Such are the effects of opium amongst those unfortunate people, who may be seen collected together daily in one quarter of Constantinople: it would be curious to ascertain the internal state of men who have died of this excess; and the cadaveric autopsia would doubtless disclose some important circumstances. I fear, however, that, in this respect, curiosity cannot be satisfied; for the ideas of the Mussulmans are very different from our own. Woe be to that man who might be surprised stealing a corpse! I really think that, on such an occasion, the whole city would rise, as the Turks would consider it a greater catastrophe than the loss of a province.

There might, however, be mentioned amongst the theriakis a phenomenon of longevity, which forms an exception to the common rule, and which I should be cautious of relating if the fact were not attested by the most reputable persons who are still alive, and some of whom are even now at Paris. I allude to a theriaki, who as late as the year 1800, was known throughout Constantinople by the name of *Suleyman Yeyen*, or *Suleyman, the taker of the corrosive Sublimate*. At the time when I resided in that city, this man was stated to be nearly a hundred years old: he had seen the reigns of sultans Achmet III. who ascended the throne in 1703, Osman, Mahmoud, Mustapha III. Abdul Hamid, and Selim III. In his youth he accustomed himself to take opium, and though he progressively augmented the doses, he could not obtain the pleasure he wished for, which induced him to adopt the use of sublimate, the effects of which he had heard boasted of. This old man had therefore taken it daily for upwards of thirty years, and in 1797, his daily dose exceeded a drachm or sixty grains! I was told that at this period he went into the shop of a Turkish Jew, and asked for a drachm of sublimate, which he diluted in a glass of water, and swallowed in an instant. The apothecary being horribly alarmed lest he should be accused of poisoning the Turk, shut up his shop, and became greatly afflicted at what had taken place; but his surprise may be conceived when the next day the Turk came, and asked for a similar dose of sublimate!!! I intended to find out this man when I regained my liberty; but a variety of important circumstances prevented me from ascertaining a fact, of which, however, I can have no doubt, when it is asserted by every body, and particularly as I have been many times assured of it by Messrs. Ruffin and Dantan.

I shall add another remark which I have no where met with, and which relates to the thickness of the heads of the people of

Constantinople: though a fact, it was mentioned to me in a way of ridicule by M. Ruffin. I mean the hardness of the skull independent of the turban, which varies according to the profession or religion. If a man be pursued by the guard, he is stopped by their adroitly throwing a stick at him, which stops between his legs and causes him to fall; and the janissaries on coming up with him never fail to strike him violently on the head with their sope or stick. After stunning him by this means, they pass their sticks through his waistband, and thus carry him to prison on their shoulders, where without any care or assistance they leave him to recover, and he generally gets well in two or three days. This remark confirms an observation that has often been made relative to the rapid cure of wounds on the head in southern climates.

I shall now return to my view of Constantinople.—An European who has not seen that city, cannot form any idea of a place where the grave and serious people have neither walks, shews, dances, nor any of those amusements which give variety and pleasure to existence, excepting the fêtes of the Bairam, at which the Mussulmans suspend their labour, and take the pleasure of sitting on some elevated spot to smoke and enjoy an agreeable landscape. It cannot be said that they have any shews or dramatic spectacles: for we ought not to give that name to the indecent scenes of the puppet-shew kind, which those men, so jealous of their wives, cause to be represented in their families. "The hero of the piece," said M. Sevin, whose words I quote, "is an infamous wretch whom they call *Caragueuse*, and who appears on the stage with all the attributes of the famous god of Lampsacus. In the first act he gets married, and consummates the ceremony in the presence of the honest assembly: in the second act his wife lies in, and the child immediately begins a very filthy dialogue with its father. In the third act Caragueuse assumes the habit of a dervise, and immediately after taking the sacred oath, comes a terrible dragon, which swallows him up and all his company; but the monster not finding them very digestible, vomits up the monks one after the other. They then sweep the stage, and the audience withdraws."

Caragueuse is always accompanied by a simpleton, called Codja Haivat, who is the jack-pudding of the English, or something like our Giles: he receives the blows intended for his master, and is ridiculed by him for his blunders and stupidity. I witnessed several of these farces, in which I did not observe that the rules of Aristotle were more respected than his morals. Between the acts they often give the representation of a Jewish funeral, the procession of which is closed by a pieman announc-

ing his commodities in the Portuguese language, which is that spoken by the Jews of Constantinople.

Hence the Turks have neither fêtes nor dramatic amusements; but their places of resort are filled with jugglers, who make serpents dance to the sound of the drum, players on glasses, and leaders of bears: there may also be seen bodies of Bohemians or Tchinguenets, who perform the most lascivious and disgusting dances to the sound of gentle music. These miserable wretches, though professing Islamism, are reproved and excommunicated by the Turks, who make them pay the caratch, like the other vassals of the empire; justly refusing to consider them as Mussulmans.

In the taverns, which amount to several thousands in the capital of the faithful, there is a kind of female dancers called jamakis, who are Greeks from the isles of the Archipelago: they are elegantly dressed, and wear valuable shawls, bracelets, necklaces, and long hair; they perfume themselves, use rouge, and affect all the revolting manners of prostitutes. The indolent Turks are continually feasting them, giving them money, and sometimes are so enraptured, that they fall foul of each other for the honour of their society. The guard, who then runs to the aid of the combatants, separates them by rolling between them the full or empty hogsheads which stand in the place, for here the casks and the drinkers are together; the tavern is then shut up, and the owner cannot get leave to re-open it till he has paid a fine of some dollars. The grand vizier, in order to fill his coffers, commands, during the festival of the Bairam, and in times of calamity, that the taverns, which are licensed like the gaming-houses in Europe, shall be shut; and soon afterwards he receives a petition from the Greeks accompanied with a present, which settles all difficulties.

The news of the opening of the taverns spreads joy amongst the drinkers, who form a numerous class, though they are often chastised for their breach of decorum. A Turk found drunk in the streets by the guard is condemned to the bastinado, which punishment is inflicted three times if he as often commit the offence; after this he is considered incorrigible, and receives the title of an imperial or privileged drunkard. The next time he is arrested and in danger of receiving punishment, he has only to tell his name and prove his privilege in order to be released.

This singular manner of branding a drunkard is not the only one employed. If a man, from any cause whatever, acquire the hatred of his neighbours, ten or twelve of them go to the cadi, and state that they have a complaint against him; if the cadi insist on farther explanation, they merely say that he is a good sort

of man, but that they cannot consent to have him for a neighbour: they then mention his name, and the judge is, according to custom, obliged to make him change his quarters. The punishment does not end, however, with this expulsion, for the culprit carries with him a sort of scandalous certificate; and if fresh complaints be three times made from the place of his new residence, the government then interferes, and the individual is banished. Such a censure renders the Turks and all the inhabitants of Constantinople extremely circumspect, and excites an emulation in every quarter of the town to support its own reputation.

When justice adopts its forms for the punishment of condemned criminals, it always assumes a horrid character peculiar to barbarous people; but it is never so terrific and dreadful as on the execution of the decrees of the vizier in the middle of the night. I never recollect an occurrence of this kind which took place during my captivity, without feeling my hair stand on end. It was after the autumnal equinox when I went out during the night to respire the fresh air which circulated through the garden within the walls of the Seven Towers; the moon shone uncommonly bright, the Bosphorus was calm, and all was buried in death-like silence: I could not refrain from giving way to melancholy ideas; at times I anticipated the happiness I should enjoy by returning to the bosom of my family, when I was roused from my reverie by the report of the artillery of Hissar, which resounded across the canal in tremendous echoes. I at first thought that it was a signal from some shipping in distress; but being alarmed by a second report, I asked our guards what it meant, when they informed me, that it announced to the vizier who was asleep in his harem, the execution of his orders. Some janissaries who had been capitally convicted, had just suffered death, and their bodies been thrown into the sea; the number of cannon fired was equal to that of the persons executed.

But though this signal of death be dreadful, the rolling of the drum to give notice of a fire is not less so, as it is heard from the ramparts of the Seven Towers, where it is beaten to alarm the inhabitants of the environs: this signal, however, does not commence till the janissary aga has began his tour; when a thousand confused voices are heard, and particularly that of the watchman, who strikes the ground with his feruled stick, and announces the event by crying in a lamentable tone, "Yangun war, there is a fire:" the janissaries then repair in crowds to the spot under pretence of preventing its ravages; but their general object is plunder.

The inhabitants of Constantinople, who are so often the victims of conflagration, never attempt to save their goods; they

even consider the calamity to be necessary to the city they inhabit. Each family is in the habit of keeping its most valuable articles in a certain box, which is placed every evening on a table, in order in case of accidents to enable them to carry it off. When they go to take a walk, or when the whole family goes out, they carry it with them, and nobody would leave it in a house for four and twenty hours. There may, however, be seen speculators offering to purchase a building when the fire is approaching towards it; and it is not rare to find an owner so infatuated, as to prefer losing his property, rather than make such a bargain. From this circumstance we may conceive how dear rent must be in a city which changes its appearance every fifteen years in consequence of fires, and where the progress of the flames is so rapid, that the inhabitants often have scarcely time to jump out of window. For this reason the people are obliged to be always on the alert; most of them sleep in part of their clothes, as do the women with their bracelets, jewels, &c. on their persons; nevertheless, many of these unfortunates, and great numbers of children, perish in the flames, or are buried in the ruins.

When these accidents happen, the sultan does not fail to repair to the place of danger, where he distributes money to encourage the people to exert themselves, and punishes those who plunder, by causing them to be thrown into the fire; but all their care and assistance are unavailing, as they know not how to subdue the fire, which makes dreadful ravages in a city built of wood, and painted with oil of spikenard. The pumpers use their pumps more frequently to souse those who are present, than to stop the progress of the flames. Every person makes a point of offering his house to the Grand Seignior, but he takes up his residence in that which is most secure from danger.

Such is a rapid view of this city, inhabited by a people, who belong in no respect to Europe, except by the spot which they occupy in it; a city in which there is no post-office, where the streets have no particular denomination, the inhabitants no family name, but are only distinguished by equivocal sirnames; and lastly, where nobody knows his own age, as there are no registers to prove the civilized state of the people. There reign oppression, licentiousness, despotism, and equality; a system of laws, and another of terror; there the assassin is punished, and applauded; there may be found an assemblage of virtue and vice, of civilization and barbarism: nothing, in short, seems at Constantinople in its place. The observer who goes there for meditation, will find incessant food for his curiosity; for much remains to be known and published relative to the Turks, whom a modern writer has described to be a people of *antithesis*.

CHAP. XIV.

THE BAGNE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.—TREATMENT OF THE FRENCH PRISONERS IN IT.—HOUSE OF SELIM III. HIS FAMILY, &c.—SOME ACCOUNT OF ISAAC BEY.—STATE OF TURKEY IN THE YEAR 1800.—CONTINUATION OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED DURING THE AUTHOR'S CAPTIVITY.—LIBERATION FROM THE CASTLE OF THE SEVEN TOWERS.

I SHALL here make a short digression to describe the dungeon in which my unfortunate countrymen were imprisoned. After a forced march of fifty-two days, the remains of the brave garrison of Zante entered Constantinople, but in such a state that they could not be seen without shuddering.

The pacha of Albania had just sent to Constantinople, the heads of the Frenchmen who were found dead on the field of battle at Prevesa, and they were exposed at the gate of the seraglio as the monument of a splendid victory. The populace put forth cries of joy and fury on seeing the captive soldiers, who were exposed to them like a show; and they made them file off before the heads of their late companions: but with such sights they were familiar; they had themselves been obliged to bring these horrible remains, and were treated by their guards as outcasts of the human race. They even obliged them to cut off the heads of their brothers in arms; and any one who might have refused to perform this revolting operation, would have been instantly butchered. On arriving at the Bagne, the officers were stripped of their arms, the prisoners were counted, and they were all shut up together.

They were soon loaded with chains, the soldiers fettered in pairs, while the officers had an iron ring fixed on their leg as a mark of distinction. Their surprise and misery were increased on finding themselves among a number of their countrymen, who had been living peaceably at Constantinople, but had just before been seized and thrown into the dungeon for the crime of being Frenchmen.

The Bagne is a part of the arsenal, and, as in all the countries of Europe, the place of confinement for malefactors who are con-

demned to the gallies. Here are also imprisoned those Greeks of distinction who are sentenced to death, or are left to be redeemed by their families; as likewise the Turks who are to be secretly executed. It also serves for holding the prisoners of war taken by the Turks, as well as the slaves captured in Maltese vessels, with which the Porte is always at variance.

The capoudan pacha, or grand admiral, is the supreme head of the arsenal; there are besides an intendant, and an effendi, who is a sort of police officer, and has the power of ordering the prisoners to be enchained, or liberated and beaten, but not to put them to death; he has under his orders the tchiaoux or hussars, and the executioners who strangle the criminals: these butchers are all of Maltese origin, and think they do a meritorious action when they murder a Turk; they are both in size and athletic structure, true descendants of Hercules; the Turks choose them from amongst the slaves, and they voluntarily consent to follow such an infamous employment: they enjoy, in consequence, the privilege of doing commissions for the captives; they are married, and have their houses out of the prison, whither they go to pass the night with their families.

The police, or rather the torments of the Bagne, are inflicted by the guards of the bachis, who are Greeks; they always appear with sticks in their hands, and strike the prisoners indiscriminately, whenever they please; they go round the prison at night, preside at executions, wake the prisoners, and send them to their work. They also take an account of the slaves morning and evening; for if any of these effect their escape, an equal number of the guards must forfeit their heads. They often get bribes for unchaining the prisoners, which they divide with the effendi.

The Bagne is situated on the eastern shore of the port or gulf of Ceras; its form is nearly that of a parallelogram; and the wall which is contiguous to the sea, follows the windings of the shore. The spot appropriated to the slaves, consists of a vast hall, above which is a floor or entresol; it contains field-beds, on which the prisoners sleep, though without being released from their irons. The officers have obscure niches in which they reside; and they, as well as the sick, are exempt from labour. There are several other divisions for different classes of prisoners. In the last war with the Turks, the Russians built a handsome pavillion in this prison, which still remains. There is also a chapel, in which a Greek papas celebrates mass every Sunday. On solemn festivals a kind of procession takes place in the Bagne, at which the Christians who are imprisoned give their assistance. Around the court-yard are several shops kept by the guards, who sell provisions, wine, and brandy.

Our soldiers were in the end treated far better than the other

prisoners. The Turks no longer confounded them together; and though barbarians, they knew how to respect misfortune; they not only separated them from the slaves, but they did not fatigue them by excessive labour. Between six and seven in the morning, they called them over and sent them to work; they laboured in the port, in rigging and equipping ships; and those who were too weak, remained in the court of the Bagne, where they were employed in beating junk into oakum. Towards noon they had a meal, and at four in the afternoon, their day was finished. The captains of the Turkish ships instead of ill-treating them, often made them a compensation. At six o'clock the guards again mustered the prisoners, who were afterwards shut up in their cells. A voice then addressed them to the following effect: "Christians, eat and drink in peace; do not quarrel with any body; and to-morrow, if God wills it, you shall be at liberty."

After this brief exhortation, the guardian bachis began their nightly service. This was also the period for executions, which were frequent in the first year of the war; it had scarcely broken out three months, before the capoudan-pacha sent to the gallies a Greek named Ianaki, who was nephew of Cangierli, prince of Wallachia: this young man, the favourite drogman of Hussein Pacha, after having followed him to Widdin, suddenly fell from the greatest honour to the depth of misery; but his good education, general knowledge, and innocence, rendered him an object of interest and commiseration.

Being resigned to death, he expected to meet his end on the day in which he was put in irons; but this period passing over, he began to hope, and came to find consolation amongst the Frenchmen. He soon attached himself to the susceptible M. Richmont, to whom the young Greek developed the series of intrigues which had drawn upon him the vengeance of the capoudan pacha, and the plots which had a few months before caused his uncle Cangierli to lose his head, which was demanded by Paswan Oglou. In short, he disclosed to him the secrets of that inveterate policy which was employed against France.

During the time of his detention, the relations of Ianaki applied to the capoudan-pacha to obtain his pardon, and transmitted to the captive such intelligence as might tend to tranquillize his mind. The guardian bachis, a barbarous and cruel race, paid him some respect, because they considered him only as a favourite under a temporary disgrace. The solicitations of the afflicted family, after a month's application, were at length heard by the wife of Hussein Pacha, who paid them a favourable attention, and the pardon of the prisoner seemed certain, because the niece of the present sultan, who was Hussein's wife, had interested herself in his behalf. In short, Hussein answered her

last solicitation by saying, that Ianaki should come out that very evening; but with a duplicity that a coward could only be guilty of, he sent a secret order for his strangulation.

The unfortunate Ianaki began to suspect the fate which was reserved for him, by the defection of the guardian bachis, and the imprisoned Greeks who used to pay their respects to him; but his hopes entirely vanished, when after the usual nightly call, instead of letting him re-enter the Bagne, they took him into a coffee-house within the walls, whither the condemned persons are generally conducted. He saw M. Richmont, and saluted him for the last time; but the ferocious guards would not allow him the consolation of approaching his friend. As soon as the day was closed, the cord terminated his existence, and his body was thrown into the port. Such was the reward of the fidelity and devotion of Ianaki, whom Hussein sacrificed, in order to bury with him the secrets which he feared he might divulge.

Such was the prison in which for nearly four years, Frenchmen of all classes were confined, who in 1799 amounted to 1200 in number, and a great part of whom fell victims to disease: they were attacked by a pernicious fever, which generally succeeds the plague, when the air has been deprived of its elasticity. All the prisoners were subjected to its violence, and those who had not yet recovered from the fatigues of a long voyage, expired under its influence.

During this horrid catastrophe, the prisoners maintained a degree of order and good conduct which did them the utmost credit. When they entered the Bagne, the effendi carelessly took their names, but did not afterwards inform himself about those who died; which obliged the French to keep amongst them a sort of necrology; and they afterwards kept a journal, which shewed the removal of the prisoners, who were often transported merely on suspicion of conspiring to effect their release; though from the following facts it will appear that such plots were often in agitation.

On arriving at the Bagne, the prisoners directed their attention to the ministers of the European powers who were at Pera, and invoked their good offices, to prevent them from the rigours of their dreadful condition. Those, however, who were inclined to to serve them, had no interest with the Porte, being subjected to the will of its allies; and the prisoners soon learned that even at Pera, the sofas were crouded with intriguing females, who at their coteries disseminated a deadly hatred against the French name. Our comrades, therefore, in a sort of desperation, conceived the project of dying with glory at Constantinople: and two means offered themselves for this purpose. Near the Bagne was a considerable depôt of arms, which they reckoned on sur-

ing possession of, and eight hundred of our brave fellows could, with these means, force themselves a passage over land to Germany, certain as they were, that that generous nation, though at war with France, would have done honour to their valour. The other resource was, to seize an armed vessel at anchor in the bay, turn the guns upon those who should oppose them, and afterwards sail for the Dardanelles; but if in passing this strait, they might happen to run aground, they would burn the ship, and proceed by land to the frontiers of Germany. This plan, which was discussed by well-informed officers, and known only to themselves, was not to to be communicated to the soldiers till the moment of its execution. But the scheme was frustrated, for the officers being altogether objects of fear to the Turks, were soon transported to the castles of the Black Sea, or dispersed in the towns of Asia Minor.

Selim III. son of the sultan Mustapha, ascended the throne in 1789. This prince has an agreeable physiognomy, and his countenance is more serene than that of Mussulmans in general, who have something insidious in their looks. He is distinguished from among the best formed persons at his court, by his large features, a black and strong beard, and a well-proportioned head; though, like all the descendants of his imperial family, his legs and thighs are badly proportioned, which causes him to look well only on horseback. According to a law of the empire, which enacts that every man shall learn a trade, he has studied the art of weaving muslin. Having been reared at court in his infancy, and only shut up during the reign of the weak Abdul-Hamid, who ascended the throne in 1775, the people augured favourably of a prince, who had seen something more than the walls of his prison; but none of their great expectations have been justified. Though just and humane, this sovereign has before his eyes, nothing but ideas of a sinister end; and during the last ten years he has been known often to shed tears at the situation of the empire which he governs: he feels that his subjects are inferior to Europeans, who every day prove by their encroachments, that his state is verging towards destruction. The Haiducks, or banditti of Romelia, have never let him rest; the last war kept him in continual alarm, and he is frequently agitated by an afflicting irresolution, which is always disastrous for a sovereign.

He had by different mothers, three sisters, who are still living; they are also married. The eldest, who is called *Shak Sultane*, or Princess Royal, espoused *Nochandi Mustapha*, the old pacha of Salonica. As this prince is without ambition, and incapable of giving umbrage to the court, he is suffered to live peaceably with his wife in a house near the suburbs Eyub, at Constantinople, the inhabitants of which are in decent circumstances: in this case they have deviated from the ancient

custom, which does not allow a pacha either in or out of office to reside near the capital.

The second sister, known by the name of *Beyham Sultane*, is the widow of Selictar Mustapha Pacha, a late caimacan, or lieutenant of the supreme vizier, who died pacha of Bosnia.

The third, named *Hadidgé Sultane*, is the widow of Seid Achmet Pacha who died pacha at Van, on the frontiers of Persia. They call her at court and in the empire, *Baiuk Hadidgé*, or the great Hadidgé, to distinguish her from the Hadidgé Sultana, daughter of Sultan Abdul Hamid, and wife of the late Capoudan Pacha.

These Princesses, as has been shewn, become the wives of the Pachas or great officers of the empire: they enjoy the prerogatives of liberty, and command over their husbands, who must not keep a plurality of women: those docile husbands are not admitted to the beds of their wives without permission, and never speak to them without the qualifying appellations of *my sovereign*, or *sultana*. Alas! such titles and distinctions are but feeble prerogatives, for these poor women are destined to decline like the barren tree. Condemned at their birth to pass a life of sterility, a thousand horrid practices are adopted to prevent them from becoming mothers, and to which they often fall victims. If, notwithstanding, they happen to become pregnant, the midwifes, who receive their infants, are obliged to let them die of hemorrhage and want, as they could not, without criminality, otherwise destroy them. Thus are perpetuated the barbarous customs of the kings of the east, whose blood must only mix with that of slaves, in order to give successors to the empire.

It was to that class that the mother of the reigning Emperor, the *Sultana Valide*, owed her existence. She was in her youthful days, a slave of Veli Effendi, a former grand Mufti, who made her a present to Sultan Mustapha. As she was handsome, a good dancer, and acquainted with all the frivolities which constitute the glory of the harems, she triumphed over her master, whose favours she obtained, and had the happiness to produce him a son. It is impossible to form a just idea of the tenderness of these women towards their children, whom they rear themselves; and thus the sultans become penetrated with respect, attachment, and gratitude towards them. The high favour which the *Sultana Valide* obtained, she reflected on the son of her former master, *Vatizadé*; he lives in high honour at Constantinople, where he is at the head of the law, is very rich, and has extensive power. This same man was the master of the Circassian Murad Bey, of Egypt, whom he bought when a youth.

Such is the family of the reigning sultan, who is allied by marriage to no other powers, and who has no children. His two

cousins, the sons of Abdul Hamid, one of whom is twenty-three years old, and the other eighteen, are, according to custom, sequestrated from society, and live in the obscurity of a prison, whence they are taken only once a year, at the fêtes of the Bairam, in order that they may kiss the hands of the sultan.—One of them, however, will in all probability, be taken from his prison to the throne, without having acquired any of the knowledge necessary for a sovereign; for they are taught nothing but the Koran and a hatred of the name of a Christian. The government thinks it renders them sufficiently happy, by giving them women condemned to sterility, and by encouraging amongst them propensities revolting to nature. But the Ottoman empire is a vast colossus, which the hand of time will overthrow, and whose fall can only be retarded, but not prevented.

After this account of the family of the grand seignior, it will no perhaps be uninteresting to hear some particulars of certain persons who make a figure at the Ottoman court, and from amongst these I shall select Isaac-Bey: they will prove, that the career of a Turk is often more diversified and turbulent than that of an European; for the life of Isaac-Bey would rather seem like the reveries of the imagination in describing the hero of a romance. What I publish, however, is not fabulous, and I defy contradiction of any of the particulars which I am about to state.

Almost all the French who were comprised in the expedition to Egypt, knew Isaac-Bey, or have heard him spoken of; those who have seen him on the subjects of amnesty or negociation at Alexandria, unequivocally praise his urbanity, good humour, facility in speaking French, and his sagacity in treating of the objects of his mission. At the period to which I allude, he was the chief agent and spokesman of Kutchuk-Hussein, the capoudan-pacha who commanded the Turkish fleet.

Isaac was brought up as an icholan or page in the grand seraglio, during the reign of the sultan Mustapha, the father of Selim III. The education received in such a place could not, as has already been shewn, draw the young Isaac from obscurity and his hair might have grown grey in the sequestered life of the palace, without an opportunity of making himself known. Fortunately, however, for him, the sultan Selim when a child, was particularly attached to him; for which advantage he was probably indebted to his physiognomy. When the Turks ran to arms in 1770, in order to fight the Russians, he made a campaign by land under the orders of Moldovangi-Pacha, the vizier Azem. Disgusted by the ill-success of the Mussulmans against disciplined nations, Isaac-Bey, returned to Constantinople and entered into the navy. Kassan-Bey whom M. de Tott has called the last of the Romans, who was always found under arms, and

accompanied by a lion, had just been promoted to the rank of Capoudan-Pacha with him Isaac passed about two years, but during this period there was no opportunity for any man to signalise himself, as the Turkish fleet had been removed at Tchesme. In 1773, he entered into the naval mathematical school, which was at that time under the direction of Baron de Tott, who omitted no means of promoting his pupil.

In the following year he got acquainted with the Russian Major Zorik, who had just come out of the Seven Towers, where he had been detained prisoner, and whom he furnished with money to return home. In 1776, Isaac-Bey communicated to Baron de Tott his project for going to Russia, in order to get paid by Major Zorik, who had become a general and a favourite of the empress. M. de Tott dissuaded him from the scheme, and removed him to go to France, principally that he might not be exposed to the hatred of Kassan Bey who had taken a dislike to him on account of his intimacy with Europeans. He had a fruitless interview with M. de St. Priest, then the French ambassador at Petersburgh, who gave him a passage to Marseilles and an introduction to M. de Vergennes. On reaching Paris he was placed under the care of M. Ruffin professor in the College of France, and made some progress in the French language.

In 1777 he accompanied his benefactress to Poitou and embarked for Marseilles, whence he was to return to Constantinople but on changing the manner of the Hegira, his views prevented him from proceeding, he therefore went to Lyons and thence to Adrianople, to examine his ground. In 1778 not being satisfied with the prospects he received, he went a second time to Constantinople, and his brother employed in the seraglio, received him on board, and disembarked for Genoa. He then travelled through Tuscany and Naples afterwards returned by Trieste to Vienna, and thence reached Petersburgh. He found Zorik in disgrace and living on a estate near Smolensko, but he remained with him only till 1782, a period of nearly four years during which time he passed the most miserable life, but did not receive the money which he had come to demand. The empress however granted him some assistance, which enabled him to return to London, and after visiting that city, he returned to M. de Vergennes, at Paris.

He again quitted Paris in 1784 and repaired to Constantinople with M. Chevalier Gouffier, who procured his pardon from Kassan-Pacha. He then formed an intimacy with Kahil Hamid Pacha, at that time grand vizier, and remained with him till that prince was deposed and strangled. Isaac-Bey, however, commanded to give proof of his attachment to the disgraced vizier, even

in his prison; and on returning to Constantinople, he found the Capoudan-Pacha raised to the rank as caimacan. Not feeling happy under this terrible pacha, he embarked for France, where he arrived in 1786, and was well received by the minister. Having at length heard of the death of the sultan Abdul-Hamid, and that his former master and patron, Selim III. had ascended the throne; he thought this the most advantageous time to go home, as since 1787 the Porte had been at war with Russia. On reaching Constantinople he found himself slandered by the courtiers, and the sultan refused to see him: soon afterwards he was arrested, and put into a boat under the care of a tchiaoux guard from the arsenal, who had orders to cut off his head on arriving at Lemnos. Thus the fate of Isaac-Bey seemed fixed, and his wandering life would have been terminated, if chance, which caused the fatal boat to stop at the Dardanelles, had not discovered to him two Jews, drogmans to the French vice-consul; he told them the melancholy fate which awaited him, and through the interference of the Algerine officers, who commanded the auxiliary fleet stationed at the Dardenelles, Isaac-Bey was carried off. He went with his liberators, and demanded the protection of M. Amoureux, the French consul-general at Smyrna, with whom he remained two or three years. At length in 1792, when Kutchuk-Hussein Pacha, who had been a page with him in the seraglio, and afterwards raised to the rank of bachtchoadar, was promoted to the rank of capoudan-pacha; this old friend let him know that nothing would be done to him; he therefore returned to Constantinople, and since that period has been the constant friend and companion of the pacha in question.

I might add to the history of Isaac-Bey, which is perhaps already too long, that of several other great men of the empire, who are no less famous for the persecutions they have experienced; but every one knows to what danger distinguished personages are exposed under a despotic government. The sultan, whose hand prodigally disperses favours, destroys with a breath the man whom he has raised to the highest rank and fortune. At his voice the ministers are changed, his court takes a new face, and flourishing countries are metamorphosed into solitudes.

An empire torn by insurrections, and in a state of war, always affords great subjects for reflection. The state of the Turkish dominions in 1800, may be conceived, when I observe, that ignorance, a supposed security, and ridiculous fatalism, have paralysed the arm of a nation individually brave, though partly ferocious. Rendered enthusiastic by the remembrance of their early victories, and terrified at the same time by pretended prophecies, the Turks are proceeding with rapid steps to their ruin;

they have neither discipline in their armed bodies, the means of defence in their towns, nor good ships in their infant navy.

I shall allude more particularly to the last war, in order to make its object better known. The army which had just set off to re-conquer Egypt, was like a burning lava, which destroyed every thing in its passage, even the hopes of future amendment. Its disorder in all cases, cannot be described: always discontented because undisciplined, it is ready every moment to revolt; and more than half the soldiery would quit their colours before coming in sight of the enemy.

The invasion of Egypt displayed more and more the weakness of the empire. On this news, Constantinople was thrown into alarm; the divan hardly dared to speak, and the mufti refused to answer: it was necessary for the allies of the weak-minded sultan to prevail on him to act, and the whole force of his empire was not sufficient to oppose to a few brave men, who occupied one of his provinces.

Nevertheless the edict was published; and the Greek patriarch fulminated his anathemas against the French. The principal object of the Turks was to deliver the holy places; but the danger which menaced the sacred cities of Medina and Mecca, was not eloquent enough to effect a spontaneous armament, and orders were sent to the pachas to cause the whole of Asia to rise, and exterminate the infidels who had invaded Egypt. From that time nothing was heard of but the immensity of the preparations. The report of arms resounded from all parts; and both the sea and earth seemed to vomit soldiers into Syria. The pacha of Bagdad led on an army raised on the banks of the Euphrates; Aleppo furnished her legions; the pacha of Damas, a sworn enemy of the French name, commanded considerable forces; the barbarous Dgezzar had collected twenty thousand men; and the banks of the Jordan were to contain all these warriors, united under the orders of the supreme vizier.

Mecca, Medina, the Arabs of Yemen, the wandering hordes of the desert, and the people of Yambo, armed themselves, crossed the Red Sea, and when joined with the Nubians and Sheiks of Upper Egypt, prepared to attack the French with the rest of the Mamelukes, commanded by the bravest of the Mussulmans, the Circassian Murad Bey.

A debarkation was attempted by a third army under the orders of a pacha of Asia minor; but Buonaparte was as much aware of the designs of the enemy as if he had assisted at their councils; and knowing the slowness of their preparations, he passed with a part of his army, a desert supposed to be impassable, made himself master of Gaza and Jaffa, and entered into Syria as a conqueror. On this news, the empire was thrown into the utmost consternation, and the people of Constantinople already sup-

posed the successful general to be at their gates. These alarms, however, subsided as soon as it was known that the French had returned to Egypt; and though the defeat of the Turkish army at Aboukir, was considered by the Turks as deciding the fate of the world, it did not affect the joy of the people on finding that the French had in all probability abandoned their intention of besieging the capital. The Porte, however, gained nothing by the retreat of the French from Syria: for no sooner had Dgezzar seen them at a distance from his ramparts, than he resumed his ordinary principles of insubordination, and became, as before, a subject of uneasiness to his master. In short, the pacha of Bagdad sent only feeble subsidies, and the rest of the empire not shewing any greater zeal, it was not without the greatest difficulty that a second army was collected, which appeared at Heliopolis only to be dispersed and destroyed.

The most remarkable events which happened at Constantinople during the last year of my captivity, are, though not numerous, worthy of notice, as they display the intentions of Russia. A few ambassadors arrived, and were saluted by the artillery of the seraglio, a circumstance till then unknown. Lord Elgin and his lady appeared before the sultan, and were treated in the most sumptuous manner; after which his highness covered them with the richest pelisses. But still more important was the return of Buonaparte to France, and his dissolution of the Directory. Paul then found it his interest, after having lost his best troops in Italy, Holland, and Switzerland, to order his squadron to return to the ports of the Black Sea; in doing which it anchored to the number of eighteen ships before Constantinople, and remained there nearly a month. The Turks, astonished to see such a fleet, began to murmur and testify their alarm; they saw nothing but Russian officers riding on horseback through the streets of Constantinople; and we could even talk with some of them from the top of our ramparts. At length the fleet having revictualled, sailed for its destination; but it carried with it the resentment of the people.

Two of these ships on leaving the Bosphorus ran aground, and were obliged to return to Constantinople to repair. The captains who commanded them, wishing to land and pass every leisure hour in the city, were received, as their boat approached the shore, by a volley of musquetry from some galiondgis: both the officers were killed, and the sailors would have shared the same fate, if some Sclavonian marines had not run to their assistance. This event excited some sort of astonishment, and the sultan himself was not without alarm; he ordered the capoudan pacha to find out the authors of this crime, while M. Tamara, the Rus-

sian ambassador caused funereal honours to be paid to his unfortunate countrymen, and informed his court of what had taken place.

Kutchuk-Hussein, then capoudan pacha, in obedience to the orders of his master, caused two galiondgis to be hanged; but these men were already in prison for offences which they had committed, and were perfect strangers to the event that had taken place. Their comrades who witnessed the execution, indignant that Mussulmans should be punished for having assassinated Christians, assembled afterwards, took them from the gibbet, and buried them contrary to orders, in a magnificent manner; thus doubly insulting Russia. This power might have demanded satisfaction, or have taken vengeance for such conduct; but the moment was not arrived, and it contented itself with taking possession of Georgia, of which the divan might think as it pleased, but dared not manifest any discontent. Scarcely, however, had the first impressions of this event begun to subside, when a second insult was offered to some persons of distinction.

M. Tamara and his spouse, with the envoys from Naples and Sweden, had obtained a firman to visit the mosques: they had already seen several; but on arriving at the Suleymania, they were insulted by the students. Perhaps the visitors might have acted improperly by refusing to conform to certain established customs; but in vain did they present their firman, when the young Turks had become enraged; for they spat upon it, and began to deal their blows at all who were near them, by which several ladies of the party were injured. The fermentation was at length propagated out of doors, and the commotion instantly acquired a seditious character. The Turkish women excited them from the windows to assassinate all the Christian dogs and b—ch—s: no lives, however, were lost; and after many blows had been exchanged, each person of the party regained as well as he could the suburb of Pera.

The Sultan, afflicted at this catastrophe, for in his situation every thing is a cause of uneasiness, displayed a terrible vengeance towards those who had despised his orders, and insulted his allies. He wrote to the drogmans of the offended ambassadors; and in their presence caused four of the principal mutineers to be strangled; while upwards of thirty others were severely bastinadoed, and sent into exile. In short, this prince, who is really a lover of peace and justice, exerted every means in his power to appease the persons who had received the insult.

An event which took place shortly after the above-mentioned execution, would have seemed to justify it, by proving that he was not sure of being better respected himself, or seconded by

the guard engaged in the police of the town, provided he should have occassion for its assistance. A barber, who was condemned to death for an assassination, had nearly escaped from the punishment to which he had been sentenced. He entrenched himself in his shop, and fired upon the janissaries who came to apprehend him, till having killed several, the rest were afraid to approach his fortress. To bring cannon against a hut would have been ridiculous in the extreme; they therefore resolved to undermine it. After surrounding the premises, and digging a hole, they rolled into it a barrel of powder, exploded it, and blew up the shop. But what was the surprize of the besiegers! The barber, who was aware of what they were doing, had wrapped himself in a bundle of wet linen; and after the explosion, he might have escaped, if the bostandgis, who observed him, had not rushed upon him, and cut off his head.

This event, though it diverted for a time the public opinion, did not prevent the ambassadors from informing their courts of what had happened; and Russia would this time probably have taken vengeance on the Turks, but for the unexpected death of Paul I. What had passed was then forgotten: with the accession of Alexander affairs took a new face; the preparations for battle which had been made, were put a stop to; and the temple of Janus was closed.

The hopes of our liberty were as distant as ever; we had even lost them entirely, when we learned, that Lord Elgin was closely connected with the Russian Ambassador; for though this minister had never acted against us, yet we dreaded lest any alliance should prolong our captivity. Things, however, took a fortunate turn; and firmans were issued for recalling the prisoners who had been transported to the fortresses of the Black Sea and Asia Minor. We were less watched over, and at length, after a seclusion of twenty-five months, the dawn of liberty seemed to break upon us; the gates of the Seven Towers were opened; and though my firman was only an order for removing me to the house of correction at Pera, I knew that I should soon be liberated. My subsequent observations will shew how I employed my time, and profited by my residence in the east of Europe.

CHAP. XV.

SUBURBS OF PERA.—FIELD OF THE DEAD.—ARMENIAN MARRIAGES.—FESTIVAL OF THE CIRCUMCISION OF INFANT TURKS.—GREAT MEN OF THE EMPIRE.—CUSTOMS.—TURKISH MUSIC.—SELIM AGA.—TURKISH NAVY AND DOCK.—EXCURSION TO BELGRADE.—CASTLE OF THE BOSPHORUS.—BOHEMIANS OR TCHINGUINETS.

WHEN I left the Seven Towers, I bade a melancholy adieu to Messrs. Ruffin, Keiffer, and Dantan. On quitting the prison it was necessary to pay a sort of ransom to our guardians: and on the money being counted down, it was followed by benedictions, and wishes for our prosperity and speedy return to France. I came out with M. Paul, the Danish drogman, who was the bearer of my firman, and my comrade Fornier, who had quitted the prison a few days before, with whom I embarked at St. Matthias. On this day they celebrated the festival of the birth of Mahomet, and instead of disgusting dervises and a fanatical populace, such as are seen at Cairo, you enjoy at Constantinople a spectacle truly noble.

On this occasion a procession takes place of all the constituted bodies in their pompous costume, the janissary bektadgis with their large sleeves, the bostandgis and oulemas, and lastly the sultan, surrounded by a multitude, or tchorbadgis, whose magnificent casques and feathers form a sort of forest, on which he seems to be mounted on an undulating throne; while the casques occasionally by moving aside, exhibit the fiery courser on which he is mounted. By the mildness of his physiognomy, and his majestic form, rather than by the luxury of his clothes, one may recognize Selim, the best and most unfortunate of princes. After repeating a prayer in the mosque of Sultan Achmet, he remounts his horse, and returns to the seraglio with the same pomp in which he has proceeded.

While this ceremony is passing on the hippodrome, the occupations of the city are by no means suspended; and I was astonished at the activity which prevailed at the eastern side of the

port; but we were obliged to be continually on our guard against hordes of vagabond dogs which flew at us; and I observed that they only attacked Franks, who probably by ill-treatment have incurred the dislike of these hideous animals.

On setting off for Pera, I first directed my steps to the residence of my friend, M. Fleuri, the consul-general of Wallachia, to whom I owed my liberty, and who was the protector of all the French prisoners in the Levant. I afterwards had ample opportunity of examining the suburb of Pera, of which the part called the Champ-des-Morts, or burying-ground, is most worthy of notice: it is at the end of the principal street, and is frequented every evening by innumerable crowds, who make it a public walk; and not any of the most frequented streets at Paris contain a greater concourse of people, or present a similar degree of affluence. From this spot may be seen at one view the plains of Asia, the town of Scutari, the Archipelago of the Princes, the sea of Marmara, and the whole of Constantinople. Here the hours pass with rapidity, as it is difficult to become tired. The ladies seated upon small stools form circles, where each society or family is united. At the southern extremity is a sort of a shed, which is embellished with the name of a coffee-house, and in which some barbarous musicians play on the drum, or Turkish mandoline: they also sell coffee and some bad refreshments. Sometimes the Sultanas may be seen walking here with but few attendants, as well as some of the first ladies in Constantinople, who on a Sunday, which is the principal day for promenading, take care to have their veils of muslin particularly thin and clear; and they affect to let their bosom be seen, though in general this is not the part of their form for which the eastern females are most celebrated. Prudence requires that the company should quit this promenade before night, when several of the streets of Pera are unsafe.

The same may be said of those which were contiguous to the house of arrest for the French, which was surrounded by taverns, khans, and public places frequented by the galiondgis, who are the enemies of good order. Indeed the fear which these people excite, as well as the Sclavonians, who sleep under sheds and in the open streets, appears to be well-founded. In general the Turks of Constantinople retire as soon as the night has set in, and from that time no person goes out, except on a visit, when he is preceded by a domestic with a flambeau.

The ceremonies that take place occasionally in Pera, deserve attention for their singularity. I once saw a strange procession pass by, which they informed me was an Armenian wedding; and I took care to have the characters explained to me, so sor-

rowful and grave did they appear. The march commenced by fiddlers and flute-players, who made a most dreadful and unharmonious squeaking, with dancers, who sang and tripped it at the same time: they were followed by a groupe of relations; and next came a body of men with torches of yellow wax, who seemed as if escorting a funeral. Immediately afterwards the bride was seen supported by two of her nearest relatives: she was placed from head to foot in a sack; but in order to prevent her respiration from being checked, they had the precaution to put a wooden-platter or tea-board upon her head, to which the ends of the sack were attached, and thus kept off from her mouth and nostrils. She was separated from the bride-groom by a party of guests. He then came alone, enveloped in napkins, with his arms crossed and placed on his breast; his head was covered with a silk shawl, and inclined on the left shoulder; while his long whiskers and lamentable appearance, gave him rather the attitude of a criminal about to receive punishment, than of a bride-groom on the point of obtaining the hymeneal crown.

Behind him, I know not for what reason, came two Armenians holding in their hands two rusty sabres, of which they appeared to be in dread, and raised them from time to time in a menacing attitude towards heaven: the rest of their relations followed at a slow and melancholy pace. As the ceremony took place in my neighbourhood, I had an opportunity of observing that the good Armenians did not lose their time in vague ceremonies: for the banquet degenerated into a most scandalous orgie, which lasted without interruption for three days and three nights.

The form of a Turkish wedding which I witnessed some time afterwards, afforded me more amusement by its variety and the events with which it was attended. The procession passed through Asia into Europe, in the elegant caiques or barges of Constantinople, which scarcely seemed to touch the waves. The young bride, covered by a veil, and surrounded by women, occupied a boat with four pair of oars: several others were filled with instrumental performers; and in those which led the van were two buffoons, who were seated on the poop: they blew a kind of horn, frisked about, and often made high jumps, which occasioned the boat to heel in a manner that may be easily conceived, till at length it upset, when in an instant the mimics and their company were ten feet under water; a circumstance which did not give the least concern to the rest of the procession. They, however, soon re-appeared at the surface, and in the most ludicrous manner imaginable vomited up the water they had swallowed: they then contrived to cling to the boat till it gained the shore, where they arrived with downcast looks. As

to the watermen, having succeeded in putting their boat in equilibrio, they cursed the buffoons, the wedding, and their own ill-luck, and followed the procession in order to get paid for their trouble.

Nearly about the same time a fête of a different kind offered itself to my notice. Its object was rejoicing at the period of circumcising the children of some great men of the city. The procession was led by buffoons, and after them came gladiators striking their shields: these were the pioneers or advanced guard of the procession, which was opened by a body of janissaries, of whom the saka was not the least curious personage; his dress, which was of black Hungary leather, and more fit for covering the trunk of a carriage than for clothing a man, as it contained enormous metal buttons, was supported by two other men, which enabled the wearer to bear its weight. After this groupe they brought an artificial tree made of gilt paper, painted and loaded with streamers: it was as high as a first story; I counted five of the same kind, which separated the dervises, the oulemas, and a body of cavalry. The children, who were mounted on horses magnificently caparisoned, appeared stupified by all this ceremony, which had something in it ludicrous as well as grave. The procession, after having been above an hour passing through Pera, of which it was about four times the length, established itself in the vicinity, where tents had been prepared for the purpose. In the evening there was a dance of bears, the exercise of the dgerid, marionets, music, and other diversions suited to the taste of the country.

The court of the sultan forms, in Constantinople, a distinct society, which has its peculiar customs, language, and fashion. Amongst the great men of the empire may be found a degree of urbanity, willingness to oblige, and politeness carried to the highest possible point. It is only from a few fanatics and the populace, who are the same at Byzantium as at London, that foreigners receive vexations and insults: for the stigma of *keavours* or *kiopeck*, is as frequent in the mouths of the people at Constantinople when they wish to insult a Christian, as the appellation of French b—— is amongst the people of London. Nevertheless the modern people of rank must be acquitted of this charge of brutality, notwithstanding that the vizier Jussuf was originally a rice-merchant; the capoudan pacha a poor Georgian slave; and the other personages of the court, of an equally obscure origin. The lowest waterman might to morrow be created pacha; and wonderful to relate, the meanest Turk on being suddenly elevated, assumes a dignified and attractive manner, which is so astonishing that one can hardly believe the metamorphosis. These men know all the artifices of politics; and delay, which is their fa-

vourite maxim, often ruins their calculations of European diplomacy.

I despise the Turkish music, though several learned writers have highly praised it; but God keep an European from hearing it when he repairs to take an evening walk in the environs of Pera. One of these walks is amidst a grove of trees in the quarter called Dolma Backché; and here the Grand Seignior has a pavilion, to which he often repairs for the purpose of witnessing the spectacle of the dgerid, which is performed by his pages, and where, before his eyes, the young ichoglans kill each other without pity, while practising this exercise. The holes with which the keosk or pavilion is perforated, attest the force with which they throw the stick or dgerid. Thus it often happens that many of the performers are obliged to be trepanned, and the major part retire with contusions.

The palace of the sultan, which is called the palace Bechiktasch, is built on the sea-shore, from which it is only separated by a narrow quay: this edifice is a perfect miniature, on account of the façade, and all the walls and lattices being painted so as to represent an unlimited landscape. On the inside are seen uncultivated gardens and barren land; and I was informed by M. Mellinge, who had worked in the apartments, that every thing is there of a mediocre and wretched kind. In the year preceding the war with France, the sultan wished to witness the performance of a comedy in this palace, and for that purpose a number of Italians who were at Pera, were engaged to get up a piece. The mildness and charms of the Italian music did not appear to produce any effect upon Selim; nor were the European dances more to his taste; but when he saw the rope-dancers, he praised the sagacity of the Christians, and he could not find sufficient terms to express his admiration at a man who walked on his hands. They afterwards amused him with a ballet-piece on the subject of the banditti of the Black Forest, which was represented in his harem, and pleased him exceedingly.

During one of my walks at Dolma Bakché, I became acquainted with an Englishman, known to all the Europeans who have been at Constantinople, by the name of Selim Aga: he was employed as an officer of engineers at Jamaica and in India; but from motives of discontent or some other reason, he was induced to embrace Islamism, of which he has only the turban. His information soon gained him the notice of the great men of the empire; and in 1801, he was in the service of the caimacan, to whom he acted as secretary. When I saw him, he was occupied in translating several scientific works into the Turkish language. His beard and physiognomy rendered it easy to distinguish him from the Mussulmans; he often attended at the pa-

face of the ministers, as well as on the French at Constantinople; but the latter had a prejudice against him, which I conceived to be ill-founded.

The prisons of the Black Sea were opened at the same time as the Seven Towers; and I soon met in the vicinity of Constantinople with the Frenchmen who had been confined in them. We were convinced that the period of our liberation was near at hand, and I redoubled my zeal to see all that could excite my curiosity.

In 1801, the Turkish navy consisted of twelve ships of the line and fifteen fine frigates, besides which, there were on the stocks two ships of the line of 80 and 120 guns, and two others were nearly finished in the ports Synopus and Rhodes. A Swedish engineer, M. Rhodez, with a company of workmen of his nation, had formed a dock for ship-building, which I visited; and I found every department so amply supplied with materials, as to excite my astonishment how the Porte, without any regular finances, and with revenues which the revolts of the pachas always render uncertain, can defray such expences without raising a loan.

I afterwards visited the drawing school, which is on the eastern bank of the port: it is under the direction of M. Ricard, a Frenchman from Toulon; his pupils, who are all Turks, were ingenious and decent; some of them were employed in designing maps, and others in engraving them upon copper. In this same building is a printing-office, conducted by Armenians, and in which we were shewn a Greek grammar, with some sheets of a folio dictionary of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages. There were six presses, and a vast number of French, Turkish, and Grecian types.

Shortly after I had thus amused myself, I received orders from M. Ruffin, our chargé d' affaires, to go and visit M. Beauchamp, who was ill at Fanaraki in the Black Sea. I had known this gentleman in Egypt, where he was a member of the commission to which I belonged. The government sent me an order for the pacha of the Seven Castles to open the dungeons of Fanaraki, and a firman which gave liberty to the prisoner. Thus, accompanied by two janissaries, I set off from Constantinople, and proceeded over land on account of the road to the Black Sea by the Bosphorus being closed by contrary winds. After a short journey we arrived at a small creek, and passed through one of the Seven Castles which depend on the pacha just mentioned: I saw on the ramparts several mounted 36-pounders. Shortly afterwards we ascended a steep hill covered with scoriæ into which our feet sunk. I saw a few oaks which bear the kermes; and observed that the farther we advanced towards the Black

Sea, the more the soil became rugged and steril. Towards evening we arrived at a village near the Pont Euxine, the population of which was about 600 in number, all Albanian Turks. I found a great part of them employed in smoking in a keosk near the shore. Some of them began to abuse me, on which I spoke to them in their own language, and complained of their conduct. Surprised to hear an European express himself with such facility, and particularly without fear, they invited me to sit down amongst them, and changed their murmurs into professions of friendship. We soon afterwards reached the castle which contained my unfortunate companion; and on the appearance of the firman, the gates flew open. I found M. Beauchamp afflicted with a burning fever and a violent pain in the side. A barber had opened a vein, but unfortunately too late. I had, however, the satisfaction to perceive that my company and care had produced a favourable alteration, when, from the mephitism of the dungeon, I was myself taken so ill as to faint away. The guards carried me into the open air; and when I recovered, I begged that M. Beauchamp might be brought out of the cell. But the pacha being absent, the Turks were inflexible, and I was even obliged to return and pass the night in his miserable abode.

Towards midnight, the patient felt himself so much relieved by a blister which I had applied, that he insisted upon giving me a history of his misfortunes.

M. Beauchamp was sent from Egypt by General Buonaparte with propositions of peace to the Grand Seignior; but he had scarcely left the old port of Alexandria before his vessel fell in with an English cruizer commanded by Sir T. Troubridge. This officer, having no respect for the flag of truce, thought it his duty to detain the French envoy, whom he caused to be conveyed on board his own ship, and overwhelmed him with ill treatment. Not content with the injurious appellations of spy, &c. which he lavished on him, he threatened to hang him at the yard-arm, if he did not reveal the secret motives of his mission; and being irritated by the cold and reserved conduct of his prisoner, he had the audacity to seize him by the throat. After having thus ill-treated him, Captain Troubridge took from him what he possessed and then sent him on board Sir Sidney Smith's flag ship. This officer, who seemed to be stationed in the Mediterranean to have the whole credit of supporting the honour of the British flag, received him with attention, consoled him for the injuries of Troubridge, and by his civility endeavoured to do away the odium which the conduct of the other commander had cast upon the British nation. Unfortunately Sir Sidney was

only subordinate. In a few days he was obliged to deliver M. Beauchamp to his superior, who caused him to be embarked in a small vessel, and sent to Constantinople. They then restored to him two letters addressed to the sultan, and the money which was taken from him at the time of his detention.

The Frenchmen who accompanied him, as well as the crew of the vessel, were sent off for the same destination; and on arriving they were all thrown into the Bagne. M. Beauchamp, who was sent upon an honourable mission, arrived like a criminal, and was immediately confined in a little coffee-house on the Bosphorus, under a guard of galiondgis: here he passed three days, and was then taken out to be conducted to Bebek, the place where the European ambassadors hold their conferences with the ministers of the court. Here he found the drogman of the Porte, and Spencer Smith, the latter of whom interrogated him; and as the letters which he bore did not furnish him with sufficient information, he wished to get some confessions from M. Beauchamp, who only answered by insisting on being presented to the divan, and heard by the Grand Seignior. Spencer Smith then flew in a rage, seized him by the throat, and treated him just as Troubridge had done before, vociferating: "*you d——d rascal, you shall be hanged, and serve for an example to the banditti of your nation and your general Buonaparte, who cannot escape us much longer.*" In short, this envoy proceeded to such extremes, that, as a matter of prudence, they took M. Beauchamp from his presence, and shut him up in the dungeon of Fanaraki, where he remained *twenty-eight months*. On the news of our victories in Italy, the Turks consented to let him respire the fresh air, and he was allowed to go into the court-yard once a week; but the unhealthiness of the place in which he was confined, had altered the system of his organization; and before he regained his liberty, he received a mortal stroke. In a few days after my arrival, I removed him to Constantinople, whence he set out for France, and on arriving at Nice, terminated his career*.

M. Beauchamp finding himself better on my return to Constantinople, I employed the rest of my time in making farther observations on the environs of that city, as I had learnt that our restoration to liberty had been definitively settled; and M. Fleuria, one of the drogmans of France, having invited me to visit him at his residence in the burgh of Prinkipo, I accepted his polite offer with pleasure. Suffice it to say, that during the time I remained under his hospitable roof, I received every possible gratification.

* The singular adventures and great talents of this learned astronomer, including his correspondence with M. Lalande, are to be found analysed in the "Journal des Savans," and "Memoires de l'Academie," from the years 1781 to 1790. Tr.

After a stay of four days, prudence induced me and my companions to return to the city, as our final departure might take place sooner than we expected. We left the shore of Prinkipo in a vessel managed by Greeks, who, on a contrary wind springing up, wished to return; and it was only by the dint of prayers and promises that we persuaded them to go on, and land us at fort de l'Epée in Asia, opposite to Prinkipo. From hence we got to Chalcedonia, where we hired horses to go to Scutari.

On our way we fell in with a numerous horde of Tchinguenets, or Bohemians, encamped in the fields: these people, who belong to no distinct place or society, wander through the Turkish empire, where they live despised as the paharias are in India; being mixed and confounded, fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters. They apparently profess the Mussulman religion, which, however, does not exempt them from the tribute of the caratch. They employ themselves in amusing the Turks by their lascivious dances, and a tolerably agreeable music by which they are accompanied; and their features possess a vulgarity which clearly shews their immoral mode of life. In fact, they seem to be the lowest of the human race, and appear ignorant of any of the principles by which human society is connected. There are amongst them, a number of almahs, or Egyptian dancing-girls: but the Turks, to their credit, so much despise these vagabonds, that they consider their very name as an insult, and their profession as an opprobrium. They never approach the large towns, but establish themselves for many days together in a field, living alternately upon game and the produceof robbery and prostitution.

Scutari is so well known, that I can say nothing new about it, except in praise of the fine new barracks that have lately been erected. On reaching Constantinople, I obtained the privilege of visiting the interior of the palace of the Sultan, of which I shall give a brief account.

CHAPTER XVI.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GARDENS OF THE SULTAN.—ACCOUNT OF THE SUMMER HAREM.—PREPARATIONS FOR OUR RETURN TO FRANCE.—DEPARTURE.—BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PASSAGE TILL OUR ARRIVAL AT SARDINIA, AND SUBSEQUENTLY AT MARSEILLES.

I HAD formed an acquaintance with the gardener of the Grand Seignior, M. Jaques, who was a German, a native of Rastadt; and he promised me and my comrade Fornier, to shew us the gardens of the Sultan. I was indebted for this valuable opportunity of satisfying my curiosity to M. Mellin, who was

the gardener's intimate friend, and painter to the Hadidgè Sultana*. We, in consequence, repaired thither by invitation on the morning of the 10th of September, accompanied by M. Mellin, who introduced us. On landing at the point of the seraglio, we proceeded to the entrance of the palace, which is near Dermin Capi, or the Mill Gate, situated on the sea-shore. As our guide was known to the bostandgis who guard this gate, we were suffered to enter after the usual ceremony, which consists of a present of a few parats. M. Jaques, who was waiting for us, came forward, and invited us to his house. The apartment to which he introduced us was a pavilion divided into three rooms, which were painted with taste, but had no other view than an old pigeon-house.

After resting a few minutes, we went to see the gardens, and again passed a post of bostandgis. We were then between the first and second rampart of the city, which form the natural fortification of the seraglio on the sea-side: for the palace, which is in fact a separate town in the interior of Constantinople, has its walls furnished with battlements, bastions, and gates, similar to the works of an old fortified place. The distance between one rampart and the other, to me appeared about two hundred feet. To the north I observed a paved way, which leads to a gate made in the second rampart, and which affords entrance to the Hasné, or imperial treasury: this is a vast edifice, built of blocks of marble, and situated near the column of Arcadius. On the right of this path rises a parting wall, which forms the western side of the garden. In front is a place of the same width as the space between the two walls, in which the guards of the sultan range themselves when he descends on this side, to enter or leave his palace. To the left is a considerable space, surrounded on three sides by palisades; while the second rampart forms the square, which incloses a sort of garden filled with rose-bushes and other odoriferous shrubs, interspersed amongst old beams and heaps of rubbish. Between the first rampart and the palisade, a sort of road has been cut, which communicates with Odessi; and there are several posts dispersed at the gates, which may be seen as far as the extremity of the sultan's palace, that terminates to the west by a transverse wall.

There is nothing more remarkable, except the wall of the

* M. Pouqueville observes, that as a traveller who asserts that he has seen the inside of the palace and the harem of the Grand Seignior, is not likely to be believed, such inspection being almost unprecedented, he will appeal for the truth of his statement to M. Mellin, who is now at Paris, M Jaques, who has returned to Rastadt, and his friend Former, now the secretary at war. He adds, that M. Mellin has in the press, his interesting Travels in the Eastern Countries; a work embellished with a number of beautiful engravings: we hope speedily to present a translation of this Work to our Readers.——Ed.

second inclosure, which is covered with ivy from top to bottom, and some shafts of marble columns, scattered about and half buried. At about forty paces from the post of the bostangis on the path that leads to the Hasné, is the garden gate: it is of white marble, fifteen feet high, by four wide, and decorated with columns of a bad style, which support a flat lintel, on which are the initials of Selim III. Here we were received by six Armenians, who were the pupils of M. Paul, who, in order to accompany us, had taken the precaution to put on the Turkish dress before leaving his pavilion.

An arbour, twenty-five feet high by fifteen wide, massively built, in the form of a cross, extends from this corner of the ground, which is commonly called the Garden of the Sultan: it rises in the centre of the cross which it makes, and forms a dome over a small marble basin, about the size of an ordinary tub, in which there is a fountain. M. Jaques having ordered his boys to make it play, it threw up a few jets, which rose nearly six feet, and produced an effect even below mediocrity. In the four squares formed by this cross, I counted the same number of basins with jets d'eau in miniature, and I saw that flowers had been cultivated; but what appeared to me the most singular, was the first fountain to the left on entering: it spread at the height of four feet into a sheet of water, which represented a parasol; and the sides of the basin into which it fell, were tastefully covered with shells to make the water sparkle and divide, which it did into an infinity of ramifications. I had the pleasure of observing the effect for a few minutes, and conceived that this chef d'œuvre is well enough to amuse children.

The arbour, a work truly German in point of solidity, seemed as if built to defy the injuries of time; it was a mass which rested on a base of oak-beams, well-shaped, and a fence of hurdles covered with a triple coat of green paint. This fence was supported by branches of a jessamine which covered it entirely, and perfumed the narrow inclosure of a garden, in which the air could scarcely circulate. To the right on turning in to the part of the bower which extends towards the sea, is the keosk of the Grand Seignior, called Jeni Keosk, or the new pavilion. The ascent to it is by three circular steps, which embrace half of its circumference that projects into the garden: these steps are of white marble, three feet broad, by six inches high. A vast cere-cloth painted in the form of a curtain, which is suspended from the roof, serves as a door to this keosk, to which it gives, on this side, the shape of a tent. We moved it on one side before we could enter, and I was agreeably surprised at the elegance and beauty of this charming pavilion: its form is elliptical, and its greatest diameter, taken from the curtain

to the sofa, which lies beneath windows perforated on the sea-side, is thirty-six feet. Some European painters have depicted a colonnade round its sides, and its ceiling and wainscoting are richly painted and gilt. From the middle of the dome hung a crystal lustre, presented to the Sultan by Lord Elgin, on the part of the King of England. In the spaces between the columns which are painted al fresco, the walls are ornamented with mirrors, and some designs of flowers which appear to be tastefully executed. There were also some cages that contained canary birds, which had been taught to sing, and two little handles to raise the water, and lastly, we saw a crystal spring, from which a pure water issued for the purpose of ablution.—The sofa of the sultana was now a remarkable, and as I expressed my surprise at not seeing the floor, which was covered with an oil-cloth, M. Mellin informed me, that this mode began to prevail in the seraglio.

The view from this kiosk is delightful, and the Sultan loves to repair hither to enjoy the charming spectacle of a sea covered with ships and barks, moving in a thousand different direction.

About fifteen paces from this kiosk on the same rampart on which it stands is a terrace covered with flowers which is about thirty feet long, by twelve feet wide, but which has latterly been converted into a hot house, and at its extremity is a embrasure from the top of which one may look into the port without being perceived on the outside, at the same time, the view extends over the harem, but it is impossible to see the women.

On quitting the terrace (which has not existed for these last two years) to return into the garden, I asked whither the stairs led which I saw running under ground, and which were terminated at the depth of eight feet by an iron grating. I learned that the subterraneous gallery in which they are cut, and which I can only compare to the sewers at Paris, was the secret way by which the sultana descended to a watched kiosk beneath the Jewish kiosk, and whither he repaired to smoke. These steps also lead to several small wooden doors which may be seen along the quay, but of the use of which nobody could inform me. It is, however certain, that by these means the sultana may, alone and unobserved, throw herself into a vessel and escape from any danger with which she may be threatened, while they would also enable him to fall unexpectedly upon a body of rebels, as vast corps of troops can be concealed in the subterraneous passages, and could issue out as if they were vomited by the earth.

To conclude the garden which I have described, and which is the finest of any in the Grand Seignior's possession, would not be

worth the acceptance of the meanest gentleman in France, as its utmost extent is only a hundred paces long by fifty in width.

On returning, an excavation in the rampart of the second wall enabled me to look towards the interior of the palace, and M. Mellin pointed out to me the column of Arcadius, which has been mentioned by P. Gyllius: it is about sixty feet high, of white marble, in a perfect state of preservation, and has a capital of the Corinthian order. M. Mellin, who has made a complete drawing of it, informed me that it is covered with Greek inscriptions. I observed in the excavations, a sort of inclosed ground where they break in horses, and which I took to be an hyppodrome in the time of the eastern empire.

At a short distance from this column are the winter lodgings of the grand seignior, the treasury, and also certain places which are known only to the sovereign and his black eunuchs. As I was near those spots which are separated from the whole world, the idea of the library of the emperors of the East, which may still contain some precious manuscripts, so forcibly struck me, that I should have exposed myself to the greatest danger in order to enter it, provided I could have succeeded at my personal risk.

I now left this miserable garden, the Hasnah-Padishah-Kiosk, with my mind undecided as to the character which I had heard of it. I had long before read the works of Lady Montague, and I really believed that I should have seen all manner of wild emeralds and sapphires, pavements enamelled with flowers in mosaic of the voluptuous palace of Armide, and I accused the relations of that writer, who drew the materials for her tales from a brilliant imagination. But M. Jaques modified my ideas, by telling me that he knew how to procure the key of the summer harem, as the women were not there on account of the residence of the Grand Seignior at Bechiktasch, in consequence of which he could shew us their apartments. We instantly supported the intelligence, and my companion forgave me my resolutions, though not without accusing me of indiscretion, we set out from the burning garden, with which we had been so dissatisfied, in order to visit the harem, the haunt of the sultan, the promised paradise. It was impossible but that we were enchanted, and Lady Montague would doubtless triumph at last.

A black eunuch who ought to have been at the gate of the harem, would have punished our temerity by a hundred strokes of a pormard, but the wretched guardians were absent, as they had followed to the palace of Bechiktasch, the victims by which they are justly authorized. Notwithstanding this advantage, M. Jaques recommended silence, but permitted me to make notes of what I wished to recollect. We were introduced into the

harem by the vast iron gate called Kutchuk-Harem-Capoussi, which is to the right of the green-house lately mentioned. The enormous size of the key, and the noise which it made on rolling through the wards, added to the idea of the sacred place into which we were admitted, at first almost overcame me. A second door of wood presented itself to our view at a distance of twelve paces, and our conductor having opened it, pushed us back and closed it immediately, as he perceived some Turks in the court-yard: having watched their motions, he even thought it prudent to make us enter the apartment of the female slaves, in order to provide for our safety by concealment.

This apartment, which fills the space between the two gates, was to our left, but as its door was inside the court, we were obliged to let down a shutter, and creep through a window on the ground floor.

During this time I visited the apartment of the slaves, which is on the first floor: it consists of a vast gallery three hundred feet long by forty-five wide, perforated on both sides by a multitude of windows, and divided in its whole length by a double row of presses, which form two distinct galleries. Near the windows from which the light penetrates into the double galleries, some small spaces have been surrounded by a ballustrade about three feet high, and furnished with sofas, on which the odalisques repose in parties of fifteen together. Between these sofas and the presses in which each of the women keeps her things, there is a corridor or rather a foot-path, about six feet wide, by which you pass along the gallery. As several of these presses, which were painted red, blue, and white, were open, I inspected their contents, and a few miserable trappings of Aleppo stuffs gave me no great idea of the luxury of the odalisques. I deplored their fate the more feelingly when, on calculating the number of compartments, I saw that upwards of 350 women could be heaped together in these galleries. In short, I examined all the details of their unfortunate life, and the meanness of their apparel, which doubtless is not compensated by the sumptuousness of their tables.

At the two extremities of this double gallery are stairs, which close at the top by two kinds of traps, which are very difficult to raise on account of their weight, and which are closed by transverse bars. The floor, the walls, and the ceiling offer nothing remarkable: and in the evening a few candles of yellow wax in chandeliers placed at a great height, scarcely spread through the place their dim and lugubrious reflection.

The Turks who were perceived by M. Jaques, compelled us to remain above an hour shut up in these apartments. As soon as they were gone, we got out at the window on the ground floor by which we had entered, and opened a second time the wooden

door by which we descended into the court of the harem, but which our conductor pressed us to quit, lest we should be perceived. He then led us into the apartments of the sultanas, which I shall describe, after giving an idea of the internal form of the harem: it is built on a large square, but I could only measure the side next to the sea, which is nearly two hundred and sixty paces. The chambers in this wing of the edifice, which is handsomer than the three others, are supported by an order of columns which form a gallery: these columns are of white Paros marble, are about fifteen paces from each other, regularly proportioned, and terminated by Ionian capitals; they rest upon circular bronze pedestals, which were formerly gilt, and in the intervals, instead of elegant lustres, we saw a parcel of wretched lanterns, which just give light enough for the people who attend at night to follow their occupations. The pavement and the walls do not correspond with the elegance of the columns, which probably owe their present appropriation to chance.

The part of the harem which is opposite to that with the columns, is built against the second rampart whose direction changes: it contains three pavilions belonging to the sultanas, which are separated from each other and are painted differently These pavilions do not form isolated residences, but make a part of the general whole; and either etiquette or jealousy has regulated the admission to them. The side of the garden through which we entered is appropriated to the lodging of the slaves, and contains the kitchens. On the opposite side there is nothing but an embattled wall, with a gate which gives entrance into a second court, in which are the apartments of the black slaves, and of the kislar agassi, or chief of the eunuchs. Some of these beings, who belong to no sex, sit curved up near this gate, and those who are in the interior court scarcely ever quit the mosque. The space comprised in this square is filed with wretched gardens, which M. Jaques was sometimes with difficulty allowed to enter, to put them in order, and the remaining space is occupied by a terrace which divides the court from east to west. It was in this court of the harem that they celebrated the festival of the tulips, which has long been abolished in the seraglio. From all appearance it must have been but a very contemptible ceremony. But what will not romance-writers invent to embellish their productions! A few bowers of lilacs and jessamine, with some weeping willows, form a canopy over a basin, which, together with some mulberry trees, are the natural ornaments of this imaginary Eden, which even the women who inhabit take a pleasure in despoiling as soon as any appear to excite their curiosity.

We ascended the stairs in the middle of the colonnade which I have mentioned, and first entered the apartment of the principal

sultana; for the wives of the sultan, who are seven in number, are distinguished in numerical order, and have no prerogative but that which they derive from becoming mothers. This apartment was a vast square chamber, having a view over the court, the ceiling of which was covered with silk work, and the walls with mirrors. I saw in it some mahogany commodes, but nothing else, all the sofas having been removed to Bechiktasch, for the use of the first mentioned princess, which proves that the palaces of her highness are not very abundantly furnished.

From the chamber of the sultan we proceeded along a narrow and winding corridor, lighted by several small loop-holes which faced the sea, till we reached the apartment of the Validé Sultana, or the mother of the Sultan; it is built partly over a keosk, known by the name of the keosk of the Validé-Sultana, the marble columns of which are seen and admired from the quay. The part which is over the court differed but little from the chamber we had left, except in the furniture. I observed in it two secretaries ornamented with fleurs des lis, a large crystal lustre of an ancient and gothic style, some sofas covered with Lyons brocade, several porcelaine vases for containing flowers, and the walls covered with mirrors. We ascended to that part of the room which is over the outside of that part of the keosk by six steps covered with scarlet cloth, embroidered at the edges At top was an alcove, and an oratory closed by a gilded grating, in which the sultana said her namaz or prayers. We went up, and I examined at my leisure innumerable little ornaments, which it would be useless to describe. On the side of this oratory is a small gilded minaret, which is seen from without, and from which one has a magnificent view of the whole of the Bosphorus. But I must declare that every thing which regards the decoration of the harem is ridiculous and pitiful in the extreme; and many of our modern yeomen would not think the apartments themselves worth living in. This proves that lady Montague had never been in the harem; for she had too much discernment to be so deceived as to give such a brilliant description of a place so mean and wretched.

From the apartment of the Validé-Sultana we went to see a bath which is formed totally of white marble: this bath of the sultan is assuredly not a work of the Turks; it has rather the appearance of an antique sarcophagus, or of some article employed in the ancient temples, to which they have given its present distinction. The apartment which contains the bath is not in the oriental style, but more like those in Europe. The inlaid floor is so level and compact that it seems as if formed of a single flag of finely polished marble; and the walls are not less elegant, and the dome is sculptured after a good model, though

without figures. I could not learn by whom this building had been constructed, nor to whom to attribute the columns of the lower gallery. As to the bath, it may well be boasted of as the thing most worthy of attention in the scraglio. The water is let in by gilt cocks, and forms at the pleasure of the bather a body of any specific depth. In this bath nothing is respired but an atmosphere of odours, which makes it very different from the baths of Constantinople, where the dense vapours of the soap and perspiration strike the olfactory nerves the moment of entering. In short, I admired this spot, which I considered as something worthy of the arts; and its solidity gives me reason to hope that it has nothing to fear from the ravages of time.

The apartments on the other side of the terrace, which divides the harem, contain nothing worthy of mention, except a keosk of the sultan's, called the keosk of the Mirrors, in which there are five beautiful pier-glasses, being the remains of a much greater number.

During this perambulation my guide entertained me with an account of the manners and customs of the harem, and the unhappy fate of the women, who linger in a spot where the passions exercise all their violence, to gain by artifice and intrigue the unstable heart of the sultan. It is here that those women who are blessed with an ardent imagination, deify the phantoms of their amorous delirium; they become the lovers of each other; and often when despair takes possession of their faculties, the life which they detest is terminated by suicide or consumption. Each sultana has a residence to herself and her own slaves, but these unfortunate girls live all together; their mistresses sometimes come amongst them on a visit of ceremony, and occasionally give them little fêtes, at which the sultan assists. On these occasions they display the charms of their voice, and they cause the slaves to execute voluptuous dances, in which they bear a part.

When the sultan honours a woman with his presence, he generally repairs to her apartment, where they are left alone; but the reader must not suppose that this is in consequence of the distinction of the handkerchief, a fable as ridiculous as all the rest which have been published concerning the harems. He comes after causing himself to be announced by a black eunuch, who prostrates himself before the princess, over whom he tyrannizes at other times by incessant watching.

Selim III. prefers to these interviews the amiable society of his mother, whom he respects and cherishes with the greatest tenderness*. When he comes to the harem it is do her homage

* The Sultana Validé, who has already been alluded to, and whose history is given in a preceding chapter, died in November last at Constantinople, aged 74, and was buried with the greatest pomp, the sultan being the chief mourner.—Ed.

and unburden his cares on her bosom; for though this prince is too weak to take any great resolution, he has all the virtues and qualities of a well-informed private individual. He is, however, accused of a vice peculiar to the nation, which is that of witnessing the practices with which his women amuse themselves; but this is one of those popular reports which cannot be proved; and even if true, it is not surprising, when we consider that this prince has been enervated even from his infancy. Let us therefore pity a monarch who has no other bad qualities than what arise from his own simple good nature, and from the disgusting ignorance of a nation which no human art can restore to a level with the powers of Europe.

We left the harem on tip-toe, after taking every precaution that we were not perceived. Our conductor assured us that we were the only Europeans who had hitherto entered that building.

Before we separated, M. Jaques took us to his house and gave us some refreshment; when he declared how greatly he was tired of the service of the sultan, though he received six thousand piastres per year: he stated his intention of shortly returning to Rastadt to pass the remainder of his life, and where, as I have already observed, he has arrived.

I now come to the most agreeable part of my adventures, the period of my return to France. As the Porte had consented to the liberation of the French prisoners and their partial embarkation for France, some of them obtained leave to organize a sort of council, designed by the name of the Commission of Assistance, and of this M. Ruffin was the president. The object of this institution was to afford the French prisoners the assistance which the government allowed them, according to their rank. We were indebted for our enlargement principally to the influence of Russia, who had openly declared herself in our favour, since the First Consul had sent home the Russian prisoners without exchange.

Thus the power which had the greatest influence at Constantinople covered us with its ægis; and the commission hired a vessel under the Russian flag which was to sail with our countrymen early in September. The passengers encumbered themselves with provisions for the voyage, and the vessel was to take whole families of men, women, and children; but though I sincerely regretted the inconvenience of such a society, it nevertheless afforded some amusement, from the pretensions of every person to appear of importance. The Greek sailors were by no means the last to perceive this assumption, and profiting by the anarchy, they deferred their departure from day to day, sometimes under the pretext that water was scarce at Constantinople, and that they had great difficulty to procure it; sometimes from

another motive; but their real intention was to embark different articles for speculation in France.

At length the day arrived to quit the Turkish shore, but which I think would never have taken place had it not been for the great exertions of Messrs. Fleury and Fonton. There was always something wanting; and when we were under sail off St. Stephen's, one of the best sailors continued to lament the loss of a cold pie which he had forgotton to put in his box of provisions.

On the 9th of September the order of the caimacan came down for us to quit the shore of Tophana, and in the morning I came on board to take my place on the deck, which was humbly designated by a No. 17. Being seated, I had the pleasure of seeing the families file off with their boxes, hen-roosts, fruit baskets, and provisions, which made our vessel appear like a floating isle, or rather like a fair. The secretary of the drogman of the Porte came to visit us, for the purpose, as he said, of counting us; but as I represented to him that the Frenchmen who were going off, might make game of him during the operation, he consented to dispense with it, saluted me, and returned to Constantinople.

At two o'clock a gun fired for us to get under weigh; but as there was not a breath of wind, we were towed out by six shallops till we got opposite Dolma Bakché, where the north wind began to blow, when hoisting our sail we began our voyage. The cartel flag of France and Russia was then raised, and our captain, on saluting the seraglio, fired a gun loaded with ball, which sunk a galley and struck against the walls of the palace. The next day we came to anchor at Nagara, about half a league from the Dardanelles, where we staid only to procure water. We here inspected our salt provisions, which we found fit to throw overboard, and it was agreed to replace them by some half-starved sheep; but woe to those who attempt to make purchases at the Dardanelles, where every thing is much dearer than at Constantinople. We then left the Hellespont, and with the greatest emotion I again saluted the plains of Troy.

In forty-eight hours we were conveyed to Cerigo; and the wind being contrary, it took us eight days to reach the channel of Malta. We met several cartels bringing the French garrison from Cairo to Marseilles, who informed us of the entire evacuation of Egypt.

Nothing worthy of mention occurred till our arrival at Porto Conte, in Sardinia, where we anchored, and I landed with my comrade Fornier, to observe a tower which commands the entrance of the harbour. We found the shore covered with rocks and totally steril. On coming within twenty paces of the tower,

we heard a voice call out to us to stop, and soon afterwards the commandant of the tower descended from his aërial palace, by means of a rope-ladder. He said that he was an alcaide in the service of the King of Sardinia, and that he was commandant of the port in which we had anchored. I must confess he did right to inform us of his dignity, for he had more the appearance of a magician than an alcaide. In fact, who would have supposed an alcaide to be a man scarcely covered with a pair of white breeches all over patches, with no stockings on his legs, and only a pair of old slippers on his feet, which had lost their colour by age: his waistcoat was without sleeves, and the fronts, which were once black, had now acquired an amber colour, while the back of it seemed to be made of a piece of old sail cloth. We, however, paid our respects to Monsieur l'Alcaide, who, according to his own account, was one of the most illustrious personages in all Sardinia. In return for our salute, he took off the portion that remained of a hat.

After the usual questions relative to the plague, we told him we wanted to buy provisions, and were informed, that we could only get them at Algieras, a town about four leagues distant; but on learning that even there they could not be sold to strangers without an order from the governor, we resolved to apply to that magistrate, through the medium of the Russian consul. The alcaide having left us, reascended into his chamber by the rope-ladder, and we were having a pleasant conversation with him from thence, when two artillerymen, who formed his garrison, joined him: they were dressed in coarse cloth, and had a sort of black petticoat instead of breeches. We could not forbear laughing at the awkwardness of their motions, and at the enormous ruptures which disfigured them; and the good alcaide was far from being offended at our presumption, but came down again to accept of a few sea-biscuits which we offered him: for bread, as is known, does not transmit the plague.

In short, after writing several letters to the Russian consul, he came in his barge to our vessel, followed by a boat filled with provisions. The next day we sailed, and soon arrived at the lazaretto of Marseilles: here we learned that preliminaries of peace had been concluded with England, at which tears dropped from every eye. We also found that the second cartel which sailed from Constantinople six days after us, had arrived at Toulon, and that the third, which sailed twenty-two days after us, was performing quarantine at Marseilles: here my voyage was at an end.

CHAP. XVII.

ADVENTURES OF MESSRS. POITEVIN, CHARBONNEL, AND BESSIERES, BEFORE CORFU.—SIEGE OF THAT TOWN.—ARRIVAL AT BUTRINTO.—PORTRAIT OF ALI PACHA, AND HIS SONS.—SITUATION OF THE FRENCH IN HIS CAMP.—ACCOUNT OF HIS ARMY, AND MANNERS OF THE ALBANIAN SOLDIERS.

AFTER the account of my personal adventures, and of those who were detained with me, I shall pass to a relation of the events which happened to those respectable officers who were separated from us, when taken by the pirates. They have confided to me the care of publishing the notes which they collected; but if their time were not occupied in the camps, or in fulfilling other important functions, this doubtless would not have been reserved for me, and the reader would have had the advantage of observing in original colours the pictures which they intended to lay before him.

Messrs. Poitevin, Charbonnel, and Bessieres remained in the power of the corsairs, who entered the canal of Corfu, and not seeing Messrs. Beauvais and Gerard return, but finding that the pirate had delivered them to Cadir Bey, the commandant of the Turkish naval forces, and supposing that they were more fortunate than themselves, they demanded to be conducted before this chief. But Orouchs became enraged at their request, forced them into the hold, loaded them with irons, and chained them to the well. What words can represent the horror of their situation, on finding that they were reduced to a glass of fetid water, and a piece of mouldy biscuit per day, while the crew never spoke to them without insults in their mouths, and a poignard in their hands! To complain was a crime, and M. Charbonnel was on the point of having his throat cut because he made himself, by means of a penknife, a cord to support the weight of the chain round his loins, which fatigued him, and chafed his leg. But notwithstanding the precautions of the Reis Orouchs, and his sailors, the report that he had other prisoners in his possession, whom he wanted to turn to advantage, was soon spread abroad. The fishermen who sold the sardinias, and who had been so liberally regaled by Orouchs at the port of

Paxous, asserted that he had in his possession some prisoners of distinction, whose trunks were filled with sequins. The story increased in proportion to the distance it travelled, till at last it was publicly said at Constantinople, that the miserable tartan which had us on board, was laden with gold dust from Abyssinia.

The siege of Corfu continuing with some success, and the presence of a number of ships at anchor in the channel, obstructing the objects of the Russian admiral, who directed the operations, he ordered them to retire to the ports of the continent; in which order the corsan being included, he obtained what he ardently wished for, and immediately sailed for the little port of Butrinto, opposite to Corfu, where Ali-Pacha was encamped with an Albanian army. This Pacha, whose hands still smoked with the blood of the Frenchmen who were killed in the battle of Prevesa, and with that of the inhabitants of the town, whom he had immolated to his resentment, did not see without a real uneasiness, the Russians such near neighbours to his pachalic. To cover therefore the frontiers against any unexpected invasion, which he dreaded on their part, as well as against the Turks themselves, whose disposition towards him he suspected, he had sent a corps of observation to the port, who at the same time took part in the operations of the siege, while the number of his soldiers, who took their duty by turns, amounted to six thousand. He had at the same time secured to himself an important point by the possession of Butrinto, which the French had evacuated at the commencement of hostilities. He was inveterate against our nation, with whom he pretended to have proposed to make a common cause; and it is true, that before the appearance of the combined squadrons in the Ionian sea, he had offered an alliance, if we would give him up the posts of Terra-Firma and San-Maura, and admit some of his troops into Corfu, to assist in its defence. Whether this overture on the part of Ali was only an artifice, or whether it was contrary to the instructions of the French officer in the Ionian Archipelago, they would not come to an understanding with him. Perhaps at that time, this was a misfortune. It was impossible to guard such a number of scattered points; and if he had been allowed to occupy them, he might have declared himself independent, or at least have caused a diversion by the confusion which he would create in the principal point threatened by the coalition.

Events, however, having taken another direction, Ali, irritated, and wishing to dissipate all suspicions of his fidelity, began hostilities by an act of perfidy, in seizing, without any declaration of war the Adjutant-General Rose, whom he had called to a rendezvous on the continent. This officer having been loaded with

honours at his court, where he had been received with the greatest distinction, and prevailed on to marry a young Greek named Zoitza, was far from suspecting such conduct on the part of Ali; but after the most amicable reception, he found himself loaded with irons, and sent to Janina, whence he was afterwards transferred to Constantinople. These facts were known, and the ferocious character of Ali did not fail to be exaggerated, though the blood which he had just shed rendered him an object of terror; but this was the man into whose hands the French officers chained on board the corsair, were about to fall.

Scarcely had the vessel cast anchor in the road of Butrinto, when the report of the capture of an important personage reached the camp of the Pacha, who immediately set off in his kirlanguitch, or cutter, to ascertain the fact. He questioned Orouchs, who undeceived him, and offered to shew him the prisoners in his power. This proposition being accepted, he brought up M. Guerini, because he knew Arabic, and could make himself understood with advantage, not by the Pacha, but by the corsair, who knew that language. Soon afterwards the three officers and M. Bouvier were unchained, and delivered up by Orouchs. As a reward for this conduct, Ali loaded him with praises, and gave him the command of his kirlanguitch to make a cruize, asserting, according to the reputation of Orouchs, that he was a good seaman, and capable of rendering him service. As to the French, whatever might be their fate, it could not be otherwise than preferable to their situation while in the hands of the pirate. They found a friend in the secretary of the Pacha, who spoke their language with great purity, and for a long time supported their interest with his master: but the Pacha being inured to fatigues and privations, had no idea of the wants of his prisoners, who were sick and convalescent. The Pacha at length ordered the domestics of the officers to be released from the vessel, and the papers to be sent to him which Orouchs had taken from us, amongst which was the letter of M. Boursier, the French agent at Tripoli, delivered to Orouchs when he set out on his cruize. This proved that our capture was illegal, as the Dey was at peace with France; a circumstance which was afterwards a source of humiliation and misfortune to the pirate.

The French officers, who remained a fortnight in the camp at Butrinto, having been stripped of their property, suffered greatly from the severe weather that had just set in; they were indeed delivered from their fetters, but they were deprived of clothes, and were lodged in a wretched hovel, where they were obliged to sleep on a few planks, below which water was almost continually running, which caused their limbs to be so stiff, that

instead of sleeping at night, they were obliged to walk about and agitate themselves, to promote the circulation of their blood.

The army of Ali-Pacha, composed of Albanians, accustomed to the cold temperature of the mountains, and clothed in thick cloaks, did not feel the rigour of the season, being occupied all day with wrestling in the camp, or with singing and dancing; their sobriety caused them to think excellent a small ration of maize, or wheat bread, a few black olives, and some pickled sardinias. Far different from the Turks, whom they call Osmanlis, whose greatest happiness is to live in indolence, the Albanians are seen always in action, and when they were called on to take a part in the siege, their joy always became outrageous: they were eager in pursuit of danger, and tried which could first get to the shore; but whatever might be the result of the enterprise, they never failed to attribute success to themselves. When they were repulsed, they contented themselves with saying, that they had not been vanquished; but if they cut off a head, they talked loudly of the advantage they had gained. They slept at night in their thick clothing, hung round with their arms, were contented with their fate, and there were not twenty sick in their whole army, which was upwards of six thousand strong. As it is known that the Albanians never complain without reason, it should be added, that no soldier is forced to stay under his colours; for when a man finds himself unwell, he retires to his family; but thinks it a point of honour to return to the ranks as soon as he has recovered.

Proud of his profession, the Albanian soldier thinks himself honoured by the scars which cover him, and makes a pride of shewing them. In short, with such men, if properly disciplined, a general might do wonders, and perhaps change the whole face of the east.

The Albanian officers are generally accompanied by a sort of squires, who, when they march, carry their arms; and by their customs and manners, remind us of our ancient knights.

It will here be proper to say a few words relative to Ali-Pacha, who has some pretensions to the reports of fame. He was born in a village near Tebeleni, about twenty-four leagues to the north of Janina, and his father was said to be a Pacha of two tails; while his mother, who possessed the courage of the Amazonians, gave him valour with his existence. His father died while he was too young to defend his domains, of which he would have been deprived, if his mother had not taken the government into her own hands, and put herself at the head of the Albanians, with whom she gained many advantages over her enemies. At length Ali, who had signalized himself almost from his infancy by deeds of bravery, succeeded his mother

he was often very unfortunate, and at one time was expelled from Tebelini, with the loss of nearly all his villages; but by his address, he so inflamed the Albanians, that he returned and carried every thing before him.

After this success people flocked to his standard from every quarter, till at length the last Pacha of Janina being decapitated for want of energy, Ali was appointed to the pachalic of Albania, and took possession of Janina, the present seat of his power. Being prudent in the midst of his prosperity, Ali wished to maintain the ensanguined post which he had acquired, and in consequence thought to aggrandize himself by the subjugation of the rebels whom he placed among the number of his subjects, and particularly by favouring the Greek religion. He made alliances with Thessaly, and associated his two sons in his government, after making them Pachas. At length, after successes which surpassed his hopes, he received the three tails on returning in 1798 from the expedition to Widdin.

He is now about forty-eight years old, but he exhibits no traces of premature age; his visage is noble, open, and strongly expressive of the passions; he is brave in the extreme; his stature is tall and athletic, and his body is covered with honourable scars.

Ali, at the end of the fortnight, thought of the French officers, his prisoners; and as he intended to remove his camp to the interior, he resolved to send them before him to Janina: he, therefore, dispatched for that town, Messrs. Pouqueville, Bessieres, Bouvier, and Guerini, but kept with him M. Charbonnel.

Nothing much worthy of notice occurred during the route. The Frenchmen in stopping at Delvino, a town which contains about eight thousand inhabitants, were lodged in the khan, pell-mell amongst the animals and goods which they carried, a circumstance which happens to all persons travelling in Turkey. Soon afterwards the Pacha sent off M. Charbonnel with his secretary for the same town, though by a different route.

The population of Janina, which may be divided into the upper and lower town, consists of above forty thousand inhabitants, who are perhaps the most industrious of all Greece; and the commerce which they carry on, extends through all parts of the empire, while the vineyards and olive trees, sufficiently prove the richness of this district.

The Pacha placed M. Charbonnel at the head of a school of artillery which he had in this town, gave him the command of all that part of his army, and made him adopt the Albanian costume. Indeed so satisfied was he with his conduct, that he released all the French officers from a state of seclusion in which they had lived nearly a month. As for M. Charbonnel, he lived

almost entirely at Bonila, the palace of the Pacha, or with that vizier himself, whom he accompanied on several expeditions.

CHAP. XVIII.

MONASTERY OF THE PROPHET ELIAS. RESIDENCE OF THE FRENCH OFFICERS WITH THE MONKS.—SAGORI AND ITS INHABITANTS.—EXTENT, REVENUES, &c. OF THE PACHALIC OF ALI.—TRAGICAL END OF M. DE LA SALLE.—EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN ALBANI.—TRAGICAL DEATH OF THE CORSAIR OROUCHS.—WAR WITH THE PACHA OF DELVINO.—GUERINI TURNS MUSSULMAN.

ON leaving Janina to enter the province of Sagori, in which is situated the monastery of the prophet Elias, the road lies to the north. It is impossible to describe with adequate justice, the delightful climate of this district. The sublime mountains, and the charming fragrance which they exhale, claim the incessant admiration of the traveller: indeed they soon made the French officers, who were sent to the monastery of the prophet, forget Janina. The Pacha had caused them to be dispatched thither for the following reason, which shews how much this man, who is represented as a tiger, devotes his attention to the people whom he at first considered his slaves.

A barbarian vessel had anchored in the gulph of Arta, and, it was reported, that one of the crew had died with symptoms of the plague; it was also supposed that several persons who died at the same period in Janina, were infected. Ali, in consequence, gave orders for a cordon to be placed round the spot with which the barbarian vessel had communicated, and to put under quarantine, on an elevated scite, all the prisoners supposed to have had communication with the infected individuals. But not relying on these measures alone, he sent for Messrs. Poitevin, Charbonnel, and Bessieres, and asked if they feared the plague: as they answered they were not alarmed at it, he replied, that he was afraid of it, and proposed to them to pass some time at the monastery of the prophet Elias. "You will," says he, "have some recreation, for the fête of the prophet is at hand, and there will be plenty of good wine."

The French officers therefore set off, and had a charming journey. The monastery is about eight leagues from Janina, and is built on the summit of one of the high mountains of Sagori. The monks received their new guests with pleasure, and were incessant in their kindness while they resided amongst them. The fete of the prophet took place, as the Pacha had stated, and a rich merchant of Bucharest, called Polychronos, a native of

Sagori, did the honours of the banquet; wine flowed in abundance, and every day the officers were invited to some new festival in the vicinity, where the hospitality and frankness of the people made them imagine themselves in the golden age. Indeed the Sagorians are the most mild, social, and honest people in all the Grecian countries; they have the reputation of being courageous, and in short possess every dignified virtue, without any traces of vice.

The fear of the plague having subsided, and the Pacha having no longer reason to watch over the health of the prisoners, recalled them from the monestery, whence they returned much better than when they set out. They now resumed with cheerfulness their usual employments; M. Charbonnel returned to his school of artillery, and the Pacha took M. Bessieres to Tebelini, his native town.

The territory which Ali Pacha governs, comprises Epirus, Acarnania, the mountains of Pindus, the Phocida, a part of Etolia, Thessaly, and some cantons of Macedonia. The pachalic of Ali, in which several other subordinate pachalics are comprised, ought to be considered an absolute little state; it is bordered forty leagues to the north of Janina, by the territory of the Pacha of Ochrida, who is one of his creatures. Above Tebeleni, it extends to the valley of Drino, and to the valley of Ermo, and to the frontiers of the Pacha of Scutari. To the west it comprises a very extensive tract, a part of which has been disputed by the Chimariots, and in which Margariti, Paramithia, Phalati, Parga, and Prevesa are independent. Lastly, at the mouth of the Achelous, in the gulph of Lepante, is the pachalic of Messalonghi. Lepante or Enebechte, a pachalic of three tails, forms a territorial division independent of Ali, but the forests of Janina, the banks of the Achelous, and the country within Ambracia, are dependant on his authority.

The revenues of Ali are composed of timars, numerous herds of cattle, and some taxes which are levied with less severity and vexation than in the other parts of the empire. If the produce of his resources be calculated, and the advantages added which arise from the sale of wood and wool, as well as from commerce, (for he is one of the first merchants, and the principal monopolizer in the country) his total revenue will amount to eight millions of piastres. With this sum he supports his different establishments, pays his tribute to the Porte, and keeps his troops, which, in their ordinary state, amount to between six and eight thousand Albanians. Sometimes, however, he is obliged to increase his army, and consequently his expences. The support of 25,000 men during his expedition against Paswan Oglu, and in the late war, must have cost him considerable sums: he was

also obliged to buy cannon and musquetry, but these disbursements are far from being lost, as the Porte has granted him several demands on the security of Albania, and has put him on a respectable footing.

Ali-Pacha combines with his powerful means the policy of making friends, or of ruining those whose designs he fears. Far from vexing the agas by checking their exactions, he lets them alone, from a conviction that dishonest people can gain nothing by a change from a state of things in which they act with impunity; and hence it is that some of them are fanatically devoted to his interests. He never suffers himself to remain in a fatal security, but examines every stranger who enters his dominions with a view to acquire political information. Indeed every thing seems to predict that the Pacha will be one of the firmest supporters of his master, after he has inspired him with alarms.

Such is the Pacha of Janina, whom I have endeavoured to describe only by his actions which are known. He has a particular liking for the French, and his regret at the death of the unfortunate Lasalle, a French merchant who resided at Janina, is a proof of his friendship for those with whom he is acquainted.

M. Lasalle, according to Mr. William Leake, was guilty of an original sin, on account of the pretended treason of his ancestors, who ought to have delivered the Morea to the Turks at the time it was occupied by the Venetians. M. Lasalle was assassinated in the city of Janina by an officer of the squadron of Ambro. The English author says, that this was an expiation for the supposed fault and attachment to his country: but history will avenge our countryman. I will, however, mention the fact, and repeat names. One of the pirates who belonged to the staff of Ambro, after the destruction of that chief, whose ship was sunk by a French frigate, came to reside at Janina, where he passed an apparently retired life. Every year in the mild season he was missed, but the gold which he brought back and spent with prodigality, awakened suspicion, and it was ascertained that he crossed the mountains of Macedonia, and joined a band of pirates who infested the coast. In short, his crimes being established beyond a doubt, Ali-Pacha had him seized, and availing himself of the first spot that offered, he caused his head to be cut off in a garden belonging to M. Lasalle. The partisans of the pirate who shared the plunder, accused the French merchant of having assisted in the punishment of a defender of the Greeks, and the unfortunate Lasalle was assassinated by another officer of Ambro's squadron in a street of Janina.

The Pacha sincerely regretted Lasalle, and made every effort to detect the assassin, but he escaped.

To return to the French prisoners, the Pacha knew how to

employ them to advantage; thus he made M. Pouqueville draw him plans of fortifications, with which he covered the town and some points of the lake, under the inspection of M. Besseres while M. Charbonnel organized artillerymen and mounted his guns; he also laid out the garden of the Pacha at Ioannina. At length, as he intended to make war upon Mustapha, Pacha of Delvino, and the Suliots, against whom he had to complain, he wished to know if Charbonnel was a good engineer, being already acquainted with the rank he held in the army. In the course of the day he had a private interview with him, and without the aid of an interpreter, as they both understood Greek, he took him to the harem, in which his artillery was kept, where he desired him to pick out a mortar, and let him witness the throwing of bombs, at which his own people were by no means expert.

In compliance with the orders of the Pacha, the colonel was introduced at the harem, and picked out a mortar of gladdening calibre, which they were obliged to roll down the staircase belonging to the ladies. During the operation the colonel, who still wore part of his European clothes, was accosted by a French-woman, who was a slave of the Pacha's mother, and this unfortunate creature was so overjoyed as to rush out suddenly upon him from the apartment. It is certain that the love of one's country cannot be justly appreciated except by exiles, or at a great distance. At the very unexpected sight of a woman the colonel stood amazed, hesitated, and scarcely believed his eyes. The unfortunate woman entreated him to give her some intelligence about her husband, who had perished in the terrible rencontre at Prevesa, but of whose fate she was ignorant. She was almost overcome with anxiety, when Mouctar the eldest son of the vizier, who was going to see his mother, interrupted them. Astonished at seeing in the harem a woman in conversation with a stranger, he approached the colonel, and without the least emotion, said to him, "*Go on, my friend, be quick about your business*," words very different from what we would expect to find in the mouth of an Oriental, who the harem is a terrible place, but it proves that the Albanians are less ridiculous in what relates to their women than the Osmanlis, or Turks of Constantinople and its vicinity.

The mortar having been conveyed to Bouka, M. Charbonnel constructed a platform and water according to the appointment of the Pacha to fire off the bombs. The French bombardiers, whose skill was to be put to the proof, and who compared with that of the colonel, had contented themselves with having the billets and other materials for the platform on the ground without troubling themselves about the level.

At length the day arrived for giving a chief to the corps of

artillery who wore great black caps, (for the most expert was to obtain this rank,) and the vizier, with the two pachas, his sons, the agas, and the whole garrison of the capital, repaired to Bonila. Ali caused a little tent to be erected as a mark, at the distance of about 600 fathoms. The first two bombs were discharged by M. Charbonnel; the former fell beyond the mark, the latter within it, but both in a right direction. He was about to rectify the piece for a third discharge, when Ali ordered some of his bombardiers to fire it; they began by dragging the mortar off the platform, and fired at random, by which not one of the bombs touched the mark, but they fell in all directions, so that at the sixth discharge the vizier ordered them to stop, and after abusing them for their ignorance, he made a sign to the colonel to begin again. In the mean time the colonel had loaded a bomb, and put a fusee in it which he had prepared himself; and having calculated from the first two fires the quantity of powder which should be put into the mortar, his bomb fell on one of the pickets of the tent at which he aimed, and on exploding, it blew the whole into the air; an event which had never before been witnessed in that country. This produced a general shout of applause, and every body rose spontaneously, Ali excepted, who remained sitting with his physician. Veli-Pacha, by the direction of his father, took the colonel by the hand, and brought him before the vizier, from whom he received congratulations and a pelisse. He gave him at the same time the appointment of chief of his cannoniers and bombardiers. The next day M. Charbonnel received a complete Turkish dress, and was ordered to instruct some young Greeks and Turks belonging to the Pacha's body guard of artillery.

These functions caused a constant intercourse between the colonel and Ali-Pacha, and the former was frequently at the palace, where he often met the corsair Orouchs, who was the cause of our captivity: this pirate, the last time the colonel saw him, had come to give an account of his cruizes, the success of which was far below the great hopes which his own boasting of his abilities has given rise to. He behaved in the most respectful manner to the colonel, whose ascendency filled him with astonishment, and made him be always at his heel, when one day M. Charbonnel, who wished to get rid of him, said in a prophetic tone, "Get out you scoundrel! see what I have become through your villany! you shall be hanged!" Never was an oracle more true. Orouchs, on making another cruize, lost the Pacha's kirlanguitch, which was run down; and being imprudent enough to appear again at court to give an account of the transaction, Ali ordered him to be strangled.

A short time afterwards war was declared by Ali against Mus-

[illegible]

[illegible] account of his faith, [illegible] had appeared to him and opened his eyes. He [illegible] attempted to convert M. [illegible] and told him continually that if he would become Turk, he might be a pacha in less than two years. To conclude, [illegible] made a public profession of his new faith, was circumcised, and took the name of Mahomet.

Soon after this event the pacha gave liberty to M. B[illegible]

the naval officer already mentioned. Seeing that he could derive no advantage from him, and that he was so affected at his captivity as sometimes to behave quite ludicrous, he allowed him to return to France without even taking his parole. He also wrote to the other prisoners, promising them a speedy deliverance in rotation, in order that the Porte, who knew of their captivity, might not take offence: at the same time he made them protestations of friendship, and never expressed a wish that they should embrace Islamism.

CHAP. XIX.

AFFAIR OF PREVESA AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE MASSACRE OF THE FRENCH.—HEROIC ACTION OF CAPT. RICHEMONT.—TREACHERY OF THE SOULIOTS AND THE GREEKS OF PREVESA.—CRUELTY OF ALI TOWARDS THE TOWNS-PEOPLE.—WAR OF THE SOULIOTS WITH ALI.—MODE OF LIFE OF THE ALBANIANS.

THE little town of Prevesa is situated along the shore, comprised in the mouth of the Gulph of Arta, formerly the Gulph of Ambracia, and occupies a line of about three hundred paces. The soil which rises to the west renders the shore on the sea-side difficult of access; but the fortress of Prevesa being totally ruined, leaves the cape undefended. The sea which separates it from the Promontory of Actium, or Cape Figalo, does not begin to deepen till opposite Prevesa; for between Santa Maure and the continent, the navigation can only be performed in a canoe made of a single trunk of a tree. There are many antiquities in its neighbourhood, particularly Nicopolis or the town of victory, which was founded by Augustus after the battle of Actium, and which he peopled with inhabitants from Anactorium. The French were well recompensed for the excavations which they made amongst these ruins, while they were in possession of Prevesa, but the territory of Nicopolis became the theatre of a dreadful event. Buonaparte, on hoisting his colours on the Pharos of Alexandria, dispatched an aviso to France to announce what had occurred, and as it was foreseen that war would take place with Turkey, prudence rendered it necessary to make preparations. I cannot enter into the particulars of what passed at Prevesa; but I know that to the latest moment we were deceived as to the dispositions of the Pacha of Janina.

Ali being obliged to give proofs of his fidelity to the Sultan, had raised an army of twenty thousand Albanians, at the head of which he placed himself, and went against Passwan Oglu, who was

shut up in Widdin. The expedition, however, terminating in favour of the rebel, who received the three tails from the Porte, Ali returned to Epirus at the time when the expedition to Egypt took place. Being witness of the defeat of the Capoudan-Pacha and Alo-Pacha, who had perished in the snares of the grand admiral, he wisely resolved not to risk himself any longer in the midst of camps, and he owed his preservation to the resolve he had taken of remaining surrounded by his Albanians; but he had scarcely deposited his arms, when he learned of the events which had taken place in Egypt, and for some time remained undecided.

From residing in the vicinity of Corfu he formed an acquaintance with the adjutant-general Rose, whom, as I before observed, he caused to marry a Greek girl of Janina. He assisted at the wedding, and received him every time he came to court, with the same honours as he bestowed on the pachas. Rose, seduced by these attentions, persuaded himself that there could be no duplicity in the Pacha, and was even so credulous as to suppose that the latter intended him to act an important part under his auspices. Nor did his opinion alter, when in August 1798, some vessels bearing the French flag were seized in the Gulph of Arta; the cunning Ali, however, was well aware of our strength at Corfu, though we had but confused ideas of his preparations. It was nevertheless resolved to abandon Butrinto in case of danger; but the general of division wished to keep Prevesa, as if an isolated promontory was of the greatest importance. The designs of the pacha, whose eye embraced the whole maritime frontier, were still unknown; he wrote to demand payment for some hundred of oxen which he had supplied to the French fleet while in the road of Corfu, and even held out the possibility of an alliance. On this ground he invited his friend Rose to a conference, which the unfortunate Frenchman eagerly attended: he received him with the greatest politeness, asked him to dinner, and a few minutes afterwards sent him off in chains as a hostage for the Porte.

After this event war was considered as inevitable; the French began to raise redoubts for the protection of Prevesa, and the captain of artillery, Richemont, was appointed to direct the operations, while general Lasalcette came to take the command of the few men it contained. Our resources were so limited that we had only two pieces of iron ordnance for the redoubt which had been constructed; yet every measure was taken for a rigorous defence; and the garrison accepted the offer of the Souliots who proposed to act under the orders of the French, and sent them arms and ammunition. Our corps being thus furnished with un-

expected means of defence hoped to be able to check, and even to conquer the Albanians for what might not a body of Greeks perform who were animated by the double desire of vengeance and liberty, and united to six hundred French soldiers.

Scarcely, however, had Richemont placed his two pieces of cannon on the redoubt, when information was received of the march of Ali Pacha. The Greeks, who let Ali know what was passing, informed the French officer of his movements. On the night of the 20th of October, we heard the shouting of the Albanians as they ascended the mountain, and towards midnight general Lasalette ordered the armed troops to form in extensive line, put the municipal guard of Prevesa under arms, and made every preparation for battle.

The Souliots, however, did not appear. A sinister wavering manifested itself among these auxiliaries, and at three in the morning, when the retreat was commenced, the general repaired to the redoubt.

At break of day Ali Pacha with his two sons, at the head of nine thousand Albanians, rushed with impetuosity down the mountains, in which a part of the Souliots who had joined themselves to the French, continued to fight. The Greeks of the main body retreated into the village, and the Albanians pressing by the direction pointed towards the redoubt, which alone kept the field was covered with their furious hordes, while the two pieces of artillery mowed down whole ranks. The few detachments of French that could be collected to resist for some time the whole force of the Albanians, with fourteen rounds for each piece which they had to combat on both sides, when they were ordered to withdraw, musquet balls and grape shot, their resistance was useless, they left the redoubt and collected almost the whole of the crew which manfully recovered the pass. Thus the Greeks were covered by the superior number of the Albanians, and general Lasalette was with the pacha, who began about with the retreat, amused by the fury of his soldiers who were bent on the destruction of the prisoners. The dreadful day of Prevesa was succeeded by a brilliant act, which covered Richemont with glory.

To form the plan of the operations that he aimed himself with, it was of importance to reconnoitre islands, and step by step till he reached the mass of the ruins of the amphitheatre of Nicopolis he was accompanied by the young Gabium, who was renowned through the army for his beauty and bravery. Richemont proposed to him to kill a few of the French, who were dropping one after the other, but scarcely had Gabium left his friend

when he was attacked by an Albanian horseman, whom he killed, but was immediately overcome by a number of those who followed him. At this sight Richemont resolved to mix his blood with that of the Albanians, and dearly to sell his life.

His musket being loaded he examined the space which separated him from the Albanians, who were rushing about like tigers, when one of them perceived him, and came towards him at full gallop. Richemont seeing him alone, ran out to meet him, when suddenly avoiding his blows he ran him through with the bayonet: a second who came to avenge his comrade fell by the discharge of the musquet. Richemont now seemed to possess double courage, and the enemy were so terrified that they let him have time to reload it. But at length a whole squadron fell upon this brave warrior, who reserved his last fire for the son of the Pacha: he saw him, took aim, and fired; but the ball changing its direction, broke the thigh of his squire. A shower of bullets was then poured upon M. Richemont, but without wounding him severely: his bayonet still sparkled, and made the cavalry retreat as fast as they approached him. At length overcome with the struggle, he rushed among the barbarians, when his bayonet striking in the head of a horse he was left disarmed at their mercy. In a moment he was covered with wounds: a blow from a sabre made a deep gash in his arm, and they had begun to drag him by the hair, with a view to cut off his head, when Mucta interfered, and caused them to respect his prisoner. He had witnessed the bravery of Richemont, and made him march by his side till he had placed him out of danger.

The torrents of flame and smoke now shewed that the unfortunate inhabitants of Prevesa were expiating their disloyalty. It was in vain that they had turned their arms against the French, as they had hoped that their perfidy would leave them secure; their women were violated, and their houses destroyed. Ali, however, ran about with the utmost anxiety, to check the carnage and save the few French who were scattered through the town; but he could not prevent the Albanians from cutting off the heads of the dead and wounded, and night alone suspended the effusion of blood.

The next day, however, developed a scene of cool and premeditated barbarity, and proved to what an extent the resentment of Ali-Pacha could be carried. He came and installed himself on the smoking ruins of Prevesa, where, in a high gallery which the flames had spared, he commanded three hundred Greeks of Prevesa to be brought before him, and had them inhumanly butchered in his presence. Thus terminated this un-

fortunate affair, and the next day the French prisoners, about two hundred in number, were sent to Janina, whither they were obliged to convey the bleeding heads of their comrades, and at the town of Laroux, at which they first stopped, they were driven to a pond, like so many cattle, to slake their thirst.

The unfortunate Richemont had new dangers to encounter. The wound in his arm began to mortify, and the gangrene threatened to invade the shoulder, when a physician of Janina, ignorant that gangrene has its limits, resolved on amputation; but before M. Richemont submitted, he wrote several letters to France, which he considered as a last adieu. The day fixed for the operation was thus protracted, and when it arrived, the doctor did not know how to perform his duty, so that the patient was saved. About six weeks afterwards this officer was sent to Constantinople with M. Rose and others, where he was thrown into the Bagne.

I have already spoken of the people who inhabit the mountains and villages of Souli. The wars of the Souliots are famous, and the people have been represented as a race entirely devoted to the cause of liberty. Souli was the Pharos of Greece, and its rocks were the asylum of eight thousand inhabitants, amongst whom were about two thousand warriors of different ages. They had signalized themselves by several prodigies of courage, and often descended like a lava into the plain of Janina, though they could not keep an inch of the soil which they seized on. Ali who observed their conduct, employed alternately policy and force; but his attempts led to no advantage, and if he succeeded in producing anarchy, they still laughed at his object. As in these wars the Pacha acted without any plan, contenting himself with an impetuous attack, or blockading the defiles for some time, he always finished by disbanding his army, and by the Souliots renewing their communication. Sometimes each party made truces, with the reciprocal intention of breaking them on the first opportunity, while the interest and ambition of the vizier dictated the extermination of the Souliots, and the latter by their quarrelsome disposition were always bringing him to battle.

The Porte, however, was far from requiring the destruction of Souli; because it considered that nation as a counterpoise to the power of Ali; and the Souliots might have turned the disposition to their advantage, if they had solicited the protection of the Grand Seignior; but they were too proud of their courage and too confident in their positions, to extend their views beyond their own horizon.

The exterior villages which Ali-Pacha had ruined in 1796 had deprived the inhabitants of Souli of the resources which they used

to obtain from them; but he had in vain endeavoured to force them among their rocks. Having been vanquished in several attacks, in which he saw his best troops fall beneath the stones and trunks of trees which were thrown on them from the fortified peaks, he was not even able to prevent his own territory from being occasionally laid waste: he therefore now took the resolution of terminating this long quarrel, which he might much sooner have decided, if the French officers had assisted him in his projects.

He began by causing towers to be built in the defiles, and the year 1803 was the last for the tribe of the Souliots. Being incessantly pressed and attacked by an enemy a hundred times their force, they found themselves obliged to abandon the most advantageous posts in the mountains, after soaking them with the blood of their opponents, and were compelled to retire to Parga. The position of Agia-Paraskevi, which was the last that gave way, was occupied by 300 Souliots, under the orders of one Samuel, a caloyer or monk, who had commanded the tribe for three years. They saw without alarm the advance of the Albanians, whom they never ceased to fight and exterminate for six days; but their provisions and water beginning to fail, they were obliged to capitulate, and were allowed to retire to Parga.

The hostages being given on each side, the post was evacuated, and the caloyer, with four of his soldiers, were all who remained to deliver up the ammunition to the two beluk-bachis who were sent by Ali-Pacha. Being introduced by Samuel to the depot of stores, he set fire to the powder, and blew up himself, his four companions and the Mussulmans who attended him. The Pacha on hearing this news, thought himself absolved from his treaty, and wished to avenge himself on the Souliots who had retired with their wives and children; but the unfortunate Souliots in a state of despair, made a vigorous resistance, till they reached their mentcd refuge, in the hope of one day returning to their homes.

Having said so much of the Albanians, I shall add a few remarks on their manner of living. They may be called the Scythians of the eastern empire. Their wants are few: in general their houses contain only a ground-floor; and they sleep on mats covered by their thick great-coats. They are unaffected by the variations of the atmosphere, and pass a life of continual labour; their food consists of milk, cheese, olives, vegetables, fish, eggs, and, occasionally, meat in small quantities. Sometimes they eat bread, but in general they are satisfied with boiled wheat or maize. Their drink is various, but in general it consists of wine.

The people of the towns have better houses than those in the country parts, and their regimen is much superior, as they eat lamb, roast pigs, poultry, and game, while their oil and wine are

excellent. They also use much coffee, and the monasteries of the caloyers abound in the rich liquors of Corfu and Cephalonia.

The Albanians, whether shepherds, warriors, or farmers, wear a coarse kind of woollen cloth, and either have no linen under it, or when they do, they never change it till it drop off in rags. A dirty shirt is considered as a sign of bravery, and a soldier prides himself upon wearing it, because he deems it a proof of the privations he can undergo without murmuring. Being sedate and active, they content themselves with a little diluted flour or with rice mixed with butter; while singing, dancing, and gaiety, seem to repair their fatigues.

The inhabitant of Upper Albania cultivates vines and olives, and employs himself in the forests in cutting down oaks for ship-building, which are conveyed to the nearest part of the coast. In winter this part of the country seems buried beneath the snow; but the people appear insensible to the severity of the season, and having then little occupation, they amuse themselves with hunting. The inhabitants of the towns are far from enjoying a similar degree of vigour. The Greek in winter covers himself with clothes, and burns a chafing dish in his apartment; while the apathetic Albanian shrugs himself up, and sustains the severity of the elements, because he is unable to do otherwise.

The women, who give birth to these vigorous people partake of their hardy organization; they possess strong constitutions, and know nothing of the voluptuousness of the harems; on the contrary, they labour in the fields, and frequently share the dangers of their husbands and children. They are thus less subject to diseases, and preserve the regularity of their features for a length of time; they also become mothers till as late a period as that of the females in the northern parts of Europe.

These women sleep upon the same mat as their husbands, wear the same kind of coarse cloth, and often walk with bare feet and legs during the most rigorous weather. They have also more than once gone out with them to war; and when the mother of Ali-Pacha has taken up arms, the women of Upper Albania have run to place themselves in the ranks, and exhort the men to perish in their general defence.

Besides the bravery which is natural with the Albanians, they have a decided frankness, which is not common with the Orientals: for they express without reserve their esteem or their disdain. If they speak of the Osmanlis or eastern Turks, it is only to express their contempt of them: thus they are incapable of that perfidy which the Mussulman displays; for they never load with caresses the person they intend to murder, or whom they hate from the bottom of their hearts; they declare an open hatred, and never fail to state their intentions. From these traits in their

character, it is evident that they are not zealous Mahometans; indeed, they practice the external ceremonies of their religion so negligently, that they believe as little in their prophet as in Jesus Christ; and they more frequently swear by the latter, than by their own faith, in verification of what they assert. I regret to add, that these people are liable to reproaches which outrage morality. It appears that certain infamous propensities are the result of their state of barbarism: for the Albanian is dissolute without suspecting the enormity of his fault, as he sees it practised and patronized by his chiefs; and perhaps the brutal passion to which I allude arises from their residence in camps, and the wandering life that they lead.

Being little addicted to jealousy, the Albanian does not lock up his women; and in the mountains they are found unveiled and unrestrained. Interest has no share in the alliances that they form; and when a marriage is once consummated, it is rarely broken by divorce, so common among the Mussulmans. It is seldom that a man keeps more than one woman; the instances to the contrary being only amongst the opulent, who submit to the custom rather from luxury than voluptuousness.

I shall terminate my account of the Albanians, with observing, that every where they are uniting and forming a distinct body, whose name causes terror; they obstinately preserve the Sclavonian language; and though they are in a great degree expatriated, they are proud of the name of Albanians, their national appellation.

CHAP. XX.

NEW TROUBLES IN ALBANIA.—ESCAPE OF THE FRENCH PRISONERS.—REWARD OFFERED FOR THEIR HEADS.—PUNISHMENT OF THEIR GUIDE.—CAPTURE OF M. POITEVIN.—SECOND ESCAPE OF THE PRISONERS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—THEIR TRANSMISSION TO CONSTANTINOPLE AND THEIR DEPARTURE FROM THAT CITY FOR FRANCE.

I HAVE already stated how highly the French officers were in favour with the Pacha; but by two years residence in his capital, they learned that they could not depend on his word; as he incessantly promised to set them at liberty, without having the least intention to do so. Hence considering themselves bound by no engagement or parole of honour, they resolved to escape at the first opportunity. While this project was in contemplation, different reports were circulated in Albania, and that province was supposed to be in danger of an invasion from the French, while

the pacha received new insults from the Souliots; Ali therefore collected his troops, and after consulting with their officers, he resolved to build some new forts in the defiles, and ordered M. Charbonnel to collect a small park of artillery, of which he gave him the command. This gave him an opportunity of facilitating the escape of his comrades; and it was agreed that M. Bessieres, who perfectly understood the Greek language, should first go to Corfu, and appeal to the Russian officers and commercial agent; he therefore quitted Janina in company with a Greek who hired a carriage for him. In short, he arrived at Corfu, and was well received by the Russians, who promised to give his friends an honourable reception. Soon afterwards colonel Charbonnel arrived, and the Russian commandant promised to send them to Italy, as soon as they should be joined by M. Poitevin. The only fear was, that through some indiscretion of the muleteer who had brought the officers to the shore, their refuge might be discovered; but at length three days after the arrival of M. Charbonnel, and eleven from the departure of M. Bessieres, M. Poitevin arrived, but in a very bad state of health.

What the French officers apprehended, took place. They were recognized on their route, and Ali-Pacha finding himself deprived of their abilities, became extremely enraged, and swore he would have them again. Not thinking they had quitted his territories, he dispatched couriers in every direction, and offered a liberal reward to any of his subjects who would bring back the prisoners, either living or dead. All the defiles were instantly guarded; but the vigilance being ineffectual, the Pacha caused the unfortunate guide, who had contributed to their escape, to be hanged. He then turned his rage against the French prisoners who were still at Janina, and caused them to be closely confined; but in a few days he relented, and restored them to their former liberty.

The Souliots profited by this event, as it caused the termination of the expedition which was to ruin their country. The Pacha, however, was determined not to lose the prisoners; and learning they were at Corfu, he addressed the commanding officer of the Russian force; when not obtaining an explicit answer, he applied to the Turkish commander in the island. The latter, unawares to the Russian officer, sent a capidgi-bachi and three hundred men to take them. The prisoners were told by some of the people that they were pursued, on which Messrs. Charbonnel and Bessieres sought the protection of the Russian commercial agent; but M. Poitevin being confined to his bed by the fever, fell into the hands of the Turks, who, it must be stated, treated him with respect and humanity. This event excited a considerable fermentation in Corfu, as it was an insult to the Russian commander,

who had taken the Frenchmen under his protection; and the Russian agent sent the two gentlemen who had come to him, on board a frigate of his nation, at anchor in the port, whence in the course of a fortnight they were conveyed to the citadel, as was M. Poitevin, who had been taken from the possession of the Turks. Here finding their fate uncertain, they again planned their escape.

The bastion in which they were incarcerated, looked towards the sea; and the prisoners often observed a number of boats near the shore, which were not guarded. The Russians soon ceased to watch over the Frenchmen with rigour; and the latter waiting their opportunity, made a line from the sheets of their bed, and fixing it to the carriage of a gun, let themselves down from the embrazure to the rocks on which the citadel is built, from which, by the assistance of a Greek, they went to the interior of the island. The Greek, who well knew the alarm and search which would take place when the escape of the prisoners became known, concealed them in a small church, dedicated to Saint Dimitri, persuaded that the holiness of the place would have contributed to the good action which he had performed; but as soon as the flight of the prisoners was discovered, the Greek was arrested, and loaded with irons; and the senate had an extraordinary meeting, to declare that the island was in danger, because they feared that the Frenchmen might put themselves at the head of a disaffected party, who were already numerous. The senate therefore offered a reward for their heads; and forty respectable persons in the different villages were arrested as hostages, and threatened with death if the fugitives were not reproduced.

The Frenchmen were far from suspecting what was in agitation, and remained forty-eight hours shut up in the church without food; when, not seeing their guide, they became uneasy, till one of the friends of that generous man came and informed them of what had happened, supplied them with provisions, and made them over to a chief of the party. When this news reached the senate, they resolved to punish the hostages; but the Greeks, faithful to the religion of hospitality, remained unshaken. The Frenchmen, however, fearing that innocent blood might be shed, proposed to surrender themselves in order to save the hostages: they wrote to this effect to the governor of the town, and stipulated that he should pardon their colleagues, and send them speedily to Italy. The chiefs of the place agreed in the most solemn manner to what they asked, and ratified a capitulation of quite a novel kind. The Frenchmen then delivered themselves up, and were driven at the point of the Russian bayonets to the citadel. After some time, they were taken from this dungeon, and put on board a Turkish frigate, to wait till some vessel should sail for Constantinople; they were at length transferred to a kirlanguitch

which carried dispatches to the Sublime Porte, and sailed as soon as the prisoners had embarked. They were uninformed of their fate, and at the time that they arrived at Constantinople, were in a state of absolute nakedness. Immediately on landing, they were presented to Kutchuk-Hussein, the capoudan-pacha, who, without regarding their wretched appearance, heard them attentively, entered into the particulars of their adventures, and then sent them to the house of arrest at Pera, where the French commercial commissaries were confined.

This was the last prison to which I was committed, and here, after a separation of two years and a half, I received the letters of my friends Bessieres and Charbonnel, giving a detail of their adventures. This news was so unexpected, that I could scarcely believe but that I was in a dream. Here my companions in misfortune procured new clothes, through the kindness of baron Hubsehs, the Danish agent; and instead of being considered as prisoners, they were subjected to no restraint, but suffered even to ride on horseback round the country, and to frequent balls. In short, from this period, the horrors of a long captivity vanished; and detailing their long persecutions to the English and Russian ambassadors, the former procured them their liberty; indeed lord Elgin, who enjoyed great credit with the Ottoman Porte, was the first person who undertook to repair the injustice and injuries which the French officers had received. He examined their petitions, and afterwards claimed them from the Porte as English prisoners. They then prepared for their departure, and formed a caravan which was composed of Messrs. Poitevin, Charbonnel, Bessieres, general Lasalcette, who came out of the Seven Towers on the 1st of January, 1801, M. Hotte, the brave Richemont, and M. Beauvais, who were all to proceed to Ragusa, under the guidance of a Turkish courier; but the two last-mentioned officers not being ready at the appointed time, went by a different road. The caravan left Pera on the 8th of March, and after an agreeable journey reached on the 12th the superb city of Adrianople, where M. Poitevin, in consequence of a violent fever, was obliged to leave them and return to Constantinople, in order to sail from thence to Italy. The caravan then proceeded through Bulgaria to Scutari, whence they sailed for Ragusa, and after performing quarantine at the well-regulated establishment there, they had a pleasant passage to Ancona, from which place they arrived safely in France, grateful for the good action which had been displayed towards them by the generous ambassadors.

O ye, who have the power to do good, never omit an opportunity of putting your intentions in practice! Often will he, from whom you expect least, be the most grateful; and however obscure may be his situation, the pleasure of rendering a service to a fellow creature, can only be appreciated by him who confers it.

END OF POUQUEVILLE'S TRAVELS.

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TRAVELS

IN

HANOVER,

DURING THE YEARS 1803 AND 1804,

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

FORM OF GOVERNMENT,

RELIGION, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE,

AND

NATURAL HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY.

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PREFACE,

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

THE following work, we are informed by the Author, was originally written for the information of the Philotechnic Society of Paris.

Hanover is a country respecting which very little is known in England; and it became, about the period when our author visited it, particularly interesting to Englishmen from the recent invasion of the French.

M. Mangourit describes in animated language the scenes he visited, as well as the customs and manners of the inhabitants; but his attention seems principally to have been directed towards their political and religious institutions, the state of learning and the fine arts; in fine, to the agriculture, commerce, and natural history, of the country. On each

of these topics he has collected much useful information; which the translator hopes may afford amusement to the general reader, and be perused with satisfaction and improvement by the philosopher and man of science.

Hanover, it is to be hoped, will speedily be rescued from the rapacity of its invaders, and be restored to the mild and paternal government of its ancient princes;—in connection with whom it cannot fail to be an object of peculiar interest to the loyal part of their English subjects.

London, October 1805.

TRAVELS IN HANOVER, &c.

CHAP. I.

DEPARTURE.—OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE CITIES OF EAST HOLLAND.—JOURNEY FROM BENTHEIM TO OSNABURG.—ARRIVAL AT HANOVER, TWO DAYS AFTER THE OCCUPATION OF THIS CITY BY THE FRENCH ARMY.

LIKE the sailor who longs to re-embark after having been some time ashore, I felt an eager desire, after travelling in North America, and the South of Europe, to visit Holland and Westphalia; and to pass the summer in Hanover, an electorate already celebrated by MM. de Soubise and De Contades, and the mareschal De Richelieu. I wished to behold the French flag in a country where it had not been displayed for forty-six years: but I was still more anxious to examine the manners of the Saxons; and to become acquainted with the literati of Germany, of whom such a strange idea is formed at Paris.

Leaving France, I proceeded on my journey by the way of Breda and Bois-le-duc, and arrived without accident at Nimeguen.

I passed hastily through the cities of East Holland. This singular country is better known to Frenchmen than even France itself. We have written, and still continue to write, on the manners of the Batavians, their laws, their dikes, and on their political history, from the period of their insurrection, till the union of their efforts with ours for the invasion of England.

The signs of the Dutch apothecaries are the same as those exhibited by our cutlers: the finest stag-horns that can be procured, indicate the shops of the most celebrated members of this profession. The master-pharmacopolist, clothed in a night-gown ornamented with flowers of poppies, and fastened with a girdle of the same stuff, his head covered with a night-cap surmounted by a tuft in the form of a large cabbage, is scientifically placed over his door: such is the dress worn by the Batavian apothecaries during the whole day. If they have escaped Moliere, I present them to Picard; and in an age when attention to cos-

tume is so scrupulously cultivated, I challenge all those most conversant on the subject to introduce a Dutch apothecary on the stage in any other garb than that I have described, without outraging propriety.

The Batavian horses are not fed for two or three hours, as is customary in France: after having performed a journey of some leagues, their conductor takes a glass of Geneva or some other ardent spirit; and the horses, entering a shed with two openings, receive a handful of hay, a certain allowance of bread, a bucket of water, and a small quantity of beer. I was assured, that by means of this regimen they are able to undergo twice the fatigue of our horses.

Posts placed at the corners of the fields, and supporting little wooden pictures, have also their merit. Let the reader figure to himself a man tied to a tree by the fingers, and half-naked, whom a zealous farmer lashes with rods. This is, as I was given to understand, a threat held out against whoever may destroy ditches, cut down trees, or pillage the produce of the fields; and every proprietor has a right himself to punish the offender. It is astonishing that in their cities they have not erected similar pictures against calumniators.

Nothing can be more delightful than their country-houses; particularly those which are situated on the sides of the roads, and the banks of the canals. Hedges of the horn-bean and linden-tree are highly esteemed, and are reared under the most severe discipline. The periwig-makers who are alive to the perfection of their art, cannot dispense with a tour through the thickets of Holland. More leaves and shoots are not suffered to grow on one side than the other, and all the linden-trees are made to extend their branches in the same direction. The horn-bean fences are nearly impenetrable; and the roots are planted so that they lean towards each other, forming a net-work kind of palisade. Great care is taken, after the plants have attained a certain age, to interweave their tender branches; which are kept in their place by means of osier-bands, and after the lapse of a short time it is almost impossible to separate them. Most of the parks and gardens in this country are surrounded by such fences; which are as strong as a wall, and much more agreeable the eye.

If France and Belgium are fertile and well-cultivated, Holland is not destitute of a particular kind of verdure; the manners however of the inhabitants, and the colour of their houses, disgust by their uniformity. But beyond, and even a little way on this side of the boundary of East Holland, nature assumes a barren aspect. Here the traveller encounters only extensive marshes, or lands covered with heath, intermixed with some fields which have been

rescued from the general sterility, and a few plantations of fir-trees; and too often he meets with a species of soil which human industry seems to have relinquished in despair.

A Frenchman, gay by nature, cannot pass with impunity through Deventer, Delden, Rheinem, and Ippenburen.

I entered the territory of Osnaburg; a bishoprick alternately under the dominion of the Lutherans and the Catholics, till by a *conclusum* of the empire it was definitively assigned to the *Pope* of *London* and Hanover*. I proceeded to the county of Bentheim, which is an arriere-fief of the electorate. The family portraits of their counts have been removed from the feudal castle, and now decorate the chambers of the inn; where however they excite very little attention when the hostess plays on the flute, and is accompanied by her brother on the harpsichord. She is an excellent performer, and very beautiful. I suspect she must have been alluded to by a traveller who wrote on one of the windows of the saloon:

La gloire, les grandeurs, & tout l'or qu'on desire,
N'ont pour moi nul appas:
Mais pour un seul souris de ma chere Themire,
Que ne ferais-je pas?

If the poet was fatigued in his route, I solicit for him the indulgence of the reader.

At last I reached the city of Osnaburgh: and repaired to the palace of the prince, which is said to be extremely handsome; but like an incorrigible Frenchman, and particularly one who had lived in Paris, I saw not any thing either within or without worthy of admiration. The inscription however over the principal gate appeased me a little if it expresses the truth, and that may well be in a country where Luther and Rome governed by turns. It is as follows:

Ærnestus Augustus,
Dei gratia,
Episcopus Osnaburgensis, Dux Brunvicensis et Luneburgensis.
Sola Bona quæ Honesta.
MDCLXXV.

I visited the church adjoining the palace. It is encumbered with more images and badly executed statues than the most rustic churches in Spain. On the outside we saw a figure intended for a Christ; its side was transfixed with a spear, the handle of which touched the ground. I was assured that

* We suppose the author must here allude to the King of Great Britain and Hanover, as being head of the church. T.

when this sacred image was first exalted to its present station, the children wept with terror on beholding it, and that thieves and lovers durst not walk near it by night. In this principality a convent of Dominicans, a monastery of Franciscans, a nunnery, and two coal-pits, have each the renown they merit.

What a beautiful oak-tree rears its majestic head to the right of the road on leaving the village of Baümte! Its vigorous trunk is more than forty-five feet in circumference: it is partly despoiled of its leaves, but it still supports the respected nest of a stork: three enormous branches stretch across the road, and afford a refreshing shade. It has reached a good old age, and yet it may perchance be seen in the same place a century hence. If it could reply to my questions! But it is perhaps fortunate that it cannot repeat what it has seen and heard since the period when it vegetated under the herbs whose remains, converted into mould, now afford it nourishment. In Holland and the electorate, forests consecrated by time are held sacred. In their cities, villages, and most frequented roads, we observe trees whose tender branches, having been spread horizontally upon frames, have formed in time large circular arbours. Upon the trunks of many of them a kind of halls is formed, the ascent to which is by a winding flight of steps, where people dance and take refreshments. Before each house, and under every window, a linden-tree displays its friendly shade. Do not religious ceremonies often originate in local convenience? On the contrary are not existing civil institutions frequently the result of religious practices long since abandoned?

After ten days of fatigue, it is time to take some repose. I have traversed the delightful plains of Belgium, the marshy land of Holland, several parts of the Prussian dominions, and the dreary heaths of Hanover, travelling post after our army without being able to come up with it. But (thanks to the wisdom of the Hanoverian regency, and the obedience of the troops!) the convention of Suhlingen has prevented a rupture between two brave nations who are capable of esteeming and admiring each other. Our head-quarters are peaceably established in the capital, and it is there I shall terminate my course.

Behold then a French sentinel upon the bridge, a party of the corps-de-garde at the gate, two cannons before the palace of the duke of Cambridge, (now occupied by the commander in chief), the shops open, the children playing in the streets, and the different families calmly pursuing their accustomed occupations!

CHAP. II.

RAMPARTS OF HANOVER.—REFLECTIONS ON THE CONVENTION OF SUHLINGEN, BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND HANOVERIAN ARMIES.

FATIGUE is quickly forgotten when reposing on the bosom of friendship. I was occupied with a favourite idea, which diffused a charm over my journey. About to enter into a connection with men of the first merit in Germany, I longed to prove to those brave people that our relationship is not distant, and that we are children of the same parent enjoying a similar inheritance.

Messrs. *Patge, Brandes, Bremer,* and *Mœnikhauzen,* members of the commission of deputies from the electoral government; *Sherer,* grand-bailiff; lieutenant-colonel *de Bock,* and the counsellor of state *Feder;* all men of distinction in the city of Hanover, concurred with me in this great work. By them I was instructed in the nature of the Hanoverian government, the established religion, the financial details, the organization of the army, the courts of justice, the police, agriculture, commerce, state of public instruction, and the natural history, of the country.

The oldest and most enlightened of my instructors was M. Feder: he is civil director of the military school, the *Georgianum.* This respectable old man is perfectly acquainted with the state of public instruction, and the natural history, of his country. Being well recommended, I was received by him with politeness; but on adding to these recommendations my diploma as a member of the Philotechnic Society, he opened his arms to receive me with affection. It was now that I blessed that passion for letters which had inspired me during my most tender years, since I perceived that it formed a most delightful bond of union between a Frenchman and a native of Franconia. Sixty-six years had neither obscured his ideas, nor enfeebled his language. In less than an hour I perceived that he was warmly attached to the prince who had been his benefactor; that he was a good husband, an affectionate parent, a worthy citizen; that his scholars were the children of his adoption, and treated with the same tenderness as his own. The features of *M. Feder* are at the same time mild, dignified, and sprightly; his hair is white, his forehead of a middle size, his eyes blue, nose aquiline, and his mouth well-formed; his head erect, his gait active, and his body thin but muscular; his look affectionate,

and his smile flattering: in his countenance, gestures, and in every motion, we behold depicted in the most lively colours the emotions of his mind; even when silent and unoccupied, it is evident from his visage that he has not a thought he would wish to disguise either from God or man. The services of many are offered as if they wished them to be declined; but his come from the heart, and he would be pained by a refusal. I observed to him, "You have proposed to ride, to walk, to converse with me. I am a Frenchman! Are there fewer wicked people in Hanover than elsewhere? May not a criminal construction be put upon our innocent connection? The more kindnesses you load me with, the more should delicacy suggest to me the propriety of declining them." "*Fear nothing,*" replied the venerable old man: "*my principles are known throughout Hanover.*"

I promised to see him often. On my return to Paris I was asked if I had seen the general in chief of the army; if I had mixed with the brilliant circles in Hanover, and formed an intimacy with the beautiful females of the country. I replied in the negative. "How then have you employed your time during four months?" "I visited the house of a *sage*. Here I beheld a display of patriarchal manners, and in this temple I henceforth performed my devotions."

On leaving the house of M. Feder, I passed along a narrow bridge, and entered a handsome long street which leads to one of the city-gates. On both sides are ramparts decorated with trees. The atmosphere is pure; and the eye, without being fatigued or dazzled, surveys a variety of beautiful and picturesque situations. Not a Frenchman was at the gate: but I beheld German families; groupes of children; and the wolf-dog, which is the constant companion of their walks. Here were husbands, mothers, and young maidens with their eyes cast down; doubtless attracted hither by the salubrity of the air, the beauty of the prospect, and a tranquil mind. I followed these happy groupes.

This beautiful rampart runs along the new street called *George-Strass*, the houses of which are all built on the same plan. Pillars of freestone connected by iron chains, separate the street from this walk: from the platform of what was formerly a bastion, the lovers of picturesque scenery enjoy the finest prospect imaginable, while the children pursue their innocent sports beneath the protecting shades of the large trees and shrubs by which it is surrounded. Towards the left, and behind a very handsome garden, is situated the house of the states of the electorate. On its front is engraven *Posteritati*. Never was inscription better merited than this, on the day the Hanoverian government entered into a treaty with the French army:—this decision saved their country and humanity. The Hanoverians had no personal

injuries to avenge upon the French, why then should they have risked their brave citizens against ours? On this platform M. de Kielmansegge, president of the regency, has built a fine pavilion, flanked by two low wings, and surmounted by lofty trees. The water in the fosse is so extremely limpid, that it reflects the house and the surrounding scenery with the greatest accuracy. On descending a flight of steps which lead to the bank of the river, the tops of the lofty trees are alone visible; and the unbroken silence, by which I was surrounded, gave a sacred cast to my feelings. But this melancholy pleasure, this gentle philosophy, which scenes like the present are so well calculated to inspire, vanished on the reflection that I could not enjoy them for ever. *Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens uxor,* recalled many disagreeable reflections; and to relieve my feelings I hastily ascended the steps, and re-plunged into the noise and bustle of the city.

CHAP. III.

PUBLIC BATHS.—ELECTORAL PALACE OF HERENHAUSEN.—MISTAKEN IDEA OF EMPLOYING THE ENGLISH TO FILL PLACES OF TRUST IN THE ELECTORATE.—GARDEN OF COUNT WALMODEN.—MAUSOLEA AND TOMBS.—BARBAROUS STATE OF THE ARTS IN HANOVER.

YESTERDAY I visited Herenhausen, the *Saint-Cloud* of the capital. At the entrance of the avenue to the castle, a Frenchman has established warm-baths, the water of which is of a ferruginous quality. Although it may be asked at Hanover, "For what complaint do you go to the bath?" I believe the proprietor of them has amassed a considerable fortune; he is affable and communicative, which affords a great inducement to his fatigued and curious countrymen to visit them.

He is called M. le Febvre; a name I revere, though common. It was that of the marechal Faber, predecessor of the illustrious warriors of the revolution whom the privileged orders in France denominated *les fils de leur epées,* and whom even the same class in Germany styled *les héros de l' Europe.*

What an admirable man was this marechal! What philosophy, in an age of which his brilliant virtues had so far overcome the pride as to raise him to the first rank in the monarchy! One day when he gave a grand entertainment, his valet-de-chambre informed him as he sat at table, that an old infirm and poor woman had entreated with uncommon earnestness to speak with him. He went out, and in a short time re-entered the apart-

ment leading in this woman. *Gentlemen,* said he, addressing his guests, *I have found my worthy mother, whom I now present to you.*

The approach to *la maison du maître,* which signifies *Herenhausen* (or as it is here pronounced, *arnhauss),* is by a long avenue of lime-trees; whose dark foliage, intermingled with pale green flowers, gives them the appearance of variegated holly. The great road is intended for carriages, on each side of which is an excellent shaded walk for the accommodation of foot-passengers. The castle itself has the appearance of French colleges, the abbeys of the second rank, and the mansions of the provincial squires with moderate fortunes. Thirty leagues round Paris its proprietor would sacrifice it either to his good taste or his vanity.

Entering the park from this avenue, the most disgusting uniformity meets the eye: nothing is to be seen but eternal alleys, the sharp gravel of which wounds the feet; green turf, whose shoots are as strong as those of shrubs; and rude gigantic statues of freestone. Following these extravagant hedges, which are as high as the walls of the most austere monastery, we behold muddy water flowing in a straight direction without end, and without perspective. Ah! this is no longer the house and the garden of the master, because the master has abandoned the house and the garden.

We must stop however before the central basin. Its jet, which is larger than that of the grand *jet-d'eau* at St. Cloud, but does not rise to the same height, produces a very good effect. At Hanover it is regarded as incomparable, and I had too much politeness to controvert this opinion.

Before this basin is situated a rural theatre; the side scenes, the boxes, and the stage of which, are formed of *hornbeam.* In the front are placed, at the distance of twelve feet from each other, copies in lead of the beautiful antique statues of marble, originals of which are now in France. Before the desertion of the castle, pieces were acted in this theatre; which on such occasions was decorated and lighted up with great splendour. At present large canals of stagnant water render the air so impure, that he must be indeed an enthusiastic admirer of fine views who would stop to contemplate the smiling meadows terminated by the city of Hanover, and the azure curtain of the hills. I accepted with gratitude the offer of the gardener to shew me the orangerie.

This hall, which is very long, is decorated at every twelve feet with copies of very ancient busts: formerly it served as a ball-room to the court. I observed some fine orange-plants; but instead of being distributed in the garden, they are placed in

boxes surrounded by laurels, and cut of a pyramidal shape. I enquired of the gardener if these laurels were imported from England. "Yes, Sir," he replied; "and I know not whether this is the reason they do not flourish. Since the seven years war they have neither sent us *laurels* nor *turf*. This is the reason why these gardens are so indifferent."

A propos of England. The French who visit Hanover, imagine they will find in it English governors, generals, judges, priests, custom-house officers, and above all British merchants, each with his *sponge* and his *rake;* but this is a mistake. No English subject is eligible as a public functionary in Hanover, any more than an Hanoverian can be employed in the places of trust under the British government. Only one example has ever occurred in violation of this constitutional statute: it was that of two Englishmen who entered as lieutenants into the Hanoverian army, and who left the service at the termination of thirty years with the rank of captains.

Before the arrival of the French army under the command of marshal Mortier, the dukes of Cambridge and Cumberland enjoyed here only a subordinate situation; they served under the orders of marshal Count de Walmoden, as lieutenaut-generals. In order to evince how jealous this nation is of its independance, it is only necessary to mention, that three days before our army marched into the country, the young prince of Gloucester arrived post from Berlin at Hanover with two English officers, in order to offer their services as volunteers. The regency immediately gave orders that horses and a proper escort should be furnished to enable the prince and his attendants to leave the electorate by the shortest road on the following night, and he accordingly departed.

The English are disliked in Hanover from that tone of superiority which they are too apt to assume every where, and the contempt they evince for all other nations. I speak this generally, and would not wish to be understood as comprehending all the English in this censure.

Before leaving the house of the master of Herenhausen, it may be proper to remark, that his functions are nearly similar to those exercised by the king of Prussia as count of Neufchatel: that though the revenue of the country flows into his treasury, he cannot dispose of it by his own proper authority: that a regency composed of citizens effectively hold the reins of government; and have the direction of the army, finances, courts of justice, police, religion, public instruction, agriculture, commerce, public works, and the internal and external relations of the state. This regency is invested with the power of making peace; and is connected in such a manner with the different states of the country forming the

electorate, as to render the people safe from any undue stretch of its power. It has been often uselessly repeated after Montesquieu, that the pope is an idol of wood, whose feet are kissed and his hands enchained. This in the strictest sense is applicable to the *pope of London*.

I next visited the country-seat of field-marshal Walmoden. Still the hornbeam hedges! But beyond these the ground gradually loses its melancholy uniformity. My curiosity, deadened by a repetition of the same monotonous scenery, is again roused by the appearance of thickets which the pruning-knife has spared. Here several winding paths lead to a thick plantation of firs; when suddenly from an opening in the wood, a view of the adjacent country, with the flocks brousing on the distant hills, bursts on the astonished sight. Across a light bridge I descended into a meadow perfumed by wild thyme, honeysuckle, and eglantine. On making the tour of this delightful spot, I reached a path short and straight, like that of human happiness. At its extremity is a second bridge, constructed of the decayed stumps of trees, which leads to the mausoleum of the family. This spot has been decorated by the hand of marshal Walmoden himself; and he has well calculated the effect that is produced by a judicious disposition of different species of trees, whose intermingling foliage gives an air of solemn grandeur to the scene. On quitting the sepulchre we enter a thicket of roses; which in imagination is converted into the promised land, where all the pains and misfortunes of human life are to be effaced. This delightful garden is besides planted with a great variety of the choicest fruits: here melons, ananas, cherries, and apricots, ripen in the greatest profusion.

On both sides of the avenue from Herenhausen we behold only fine gardens. By the edge of the footpath leading to the city, several fanciful saloons, painted within and without, have been erected, commanding a view of the road. Chairs, a sofa, several mirrors, a tea-table, a library, several flower-pots, pipes, and a piano-forte, constitute the furniture of these retreats. The large balconies of Spain named *miradors*, concealed by blinds and lattices, are intended to answer the same purpose: but there we always figure to ourselves an orphan, a duenna, guardian, and we dread more from the *bazile* than we hope from the *figaro*; while in the Hanoverian Belvederes, the greatest freedom prevails, no one is deceived; it is a domestic union into which friendship is admitted without restraint, because it is without danger.

At a small distance towards the right, on an oval eminence, are a multitude of urns and tomb-stones, which mark the cemetery of the Jews; and somewhat farther on in the same direction is a vast field surrounded by a parapet, and crowded

with funeral monuments, which is the burial-ground of the Lutherans. I traversed these habitations of the dead. The tomb-stones of the noble families are placed in the middle, and occupy a large space. Console yourselves, ye who possess a feeling heart! the grass germinates not on their surfaces, as it does on the humble graves of the ignoble; on which parental love, filial piety, fraternal affection, or the cares of friendship, each day place an offering of fresh flowers. Passenger, if you view not these funeral sacrifices with sensibility, you are unworthy to hold communion with man. This practice, which may be traced to very remote antiquity, and which is unfortunately neglected in our country, is religiously preserved in Hanover: what then, reader, think you of the manners of its inhabitants?

Almost all the sepulchral monuments, and even the rudest tomb-stones, are placed in the field; which gives to this inclosure the appearance of a field of battle, with its sentry-boxes, tents, redoubts, trophies, and subdivisions. Under a triangular pyramid repose the remains of the divine Wherloff; whose humanity dried the tears and assuaged the sorrows, and whose knowledge saved the lives, of a multitude of his unfortunate fellow-creatures *. Not far distant is a monument representing a mother stretched upon the body of a beloved daughter: the scissars of Fate cut a half-blown rose; and the parent tree, stript of its leaves, is torn up by the root. Just by is the tomb of the lover of the young damsel: the sculptor has succeeded in depicting the beauty and elegant figure of this youth. On one side of the monument we behold a superb oak; on the other the oak is reversed, its branches are broken, its leaves fallen, and its seed scattered.

Few of the monuments I examined merit a particular description. Many of them are Gothic, and others in a style which deserve more severe criticism as being modern. The former generally represent a gilded Christ; to the right are the males of the family, and to the left the females, both young and old. The most aged are generally placed at the greatest distance from the Christ; I know not if this be intended as a mark of respect, or merely in ridicule. In the north cemetery near the church is a stone in a very singular taste. On it is represented Jésus Christ bearing his cross, and treading grapes in a stone trough, on the four angles of which are carved four screws of a wine-press. *Fiat lux!* Upon a grave-stone in the church-yard of Saint Egide, is carved the figure of a beau in a very singular dress; a

* Wherloff was chief physician to the court of Hanover; the saviour of the poor, he was always ready to fly to their aid. He composed many valuable works, for which however he was less renowned than for his universal benevolence and philanthropy. The reigning duke of Brunswick wrote his epitaph.

peruke with a bag, a short coat buttoned, breeches reaching down the leg, shoes with square buckles, and a pointed hat under his left arm. I related this to a charming Frenchwoman. "Believe me," said she, "this little personage was a courtier." Assuredly I did not expect to meet such a figure on a tombstone in the city of Hanover.

I observed some tombs and sarcophagi of white marble, but the greater number are constructed of stones dug out of the mountains of Hartz.

The arts of design, of painting, and of sculpture, and the sister arts of architecture and engraving, have not attained to a high degree of perfection in Hanover. Messrs. Rephery and Dies, distinguished painters at Rome, are lost to their country; but Mr. Ramberg, painter to the court, who resides in this city, possesses talents that would secure applause in the most opulent capitals. There is little encouragement here for any of the fine arts; nevertheless the sculptor Hook is highly esteemed in Germany, and the engraver Riepenhauzen at Gottingen.

An air of Gothicism is prevalent in all their buildings: the houses in general resemble the galleries of a vessel of the sixteenth century; and whether they are of brick or wood, the period of their erection is carefully marked on them. I observed that in those dated 1565 each story projects several feet over that immediately under; and exhibits medallions, pagan divinities, warriors, and verses of the Psalms. In the angle of the houses at the extremities of their streets, are erected seven rows of small windows which terminate in ogives. In some of the edifices red and green bricks are intermixed, and in others varnished tiles are disposed in rows: sometimes the bricks are only employed for the principal door and the chimneys, while the rest of the habitation is constructed of wood painted of various colours. This manner of building was introduced into England by the Saxons, and by them has been transported to America.

Other houses have bricks placed in wooden frames, and secured by means of plaster. There are however in this country many handsome edifices: the newly-erected part of the electoral church, the palace of the princess de Galles (occupied by the general in chief), and that of the regency, are constructed of hewn stone, and shew that Hanover is not destitute of good architects.

CHAP. IV.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE STATE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN HANOVER.—MISTAKEN IDEA THAT THE ENGLISH OCCUPY ALL THE PLACES IN THIS ELECTORATE.—UNIVERSITY, AND ROYAL SOCIETY OF SCIENCES, OF GÖTTINGEN.—SURGICAL SCHOOLS AT ZELL.—SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY AT HANOVER.—CELEBRATED MEN.

IF the sciences and the fine arts, which latter take root on the former like the misketoe on the oak, have not been cherished with so much ardour in this country as in France, the influence of the useful arts is perhaps more remarkable. In order to form an accurate judgment on this subject, and consequently respecting public instruction, it is necessary to attend to the discriminating character of a nation, and to the nature of its climate; the Hanoverians have among them a great number of philosophers and learned men, but few artists and poets: and their soil is barren, and their atmosphere changeable; the coldness and humidity of the climate are unfavourable to the exertion of the imagination, and calculated to induce a kind of mental torpor. The inhabitants of the south, on the contrary, do not possess that mathematical justness of conception which is frequently so conspicuous in men born and educated in more northern regions. The circumscribed sphere of their pleasures, and a methodical habit of application, render the Hanoverians extremely mild in their manners. They ought not to be hastily accused of being slow in forming attachments, because in proportion to this deliberation are the strength and sincerity of their friendship. They are pleased with the French character: so just is the observation, that a sober or even a melancholic man is often captivated by the sprightly sallies of a lively companion. They pardon our heedlessness, our levity, and even our weakness; because the capability of reflection which they possess in a very eminent degree, convinces them that our hearts are not in general depraved. When they observe that the habitual jollity of the French soldier does not proceed from selfishness, but that he takes a real interest in the family wherein he resides, and which he displays by a thousand little services, the day in which he is ordered into new cantonments is a day of sorrow to his host.

An affecting scene occurred when a part of our army took possession of this capital, which sufficiently paints the character of the two nations. One of our veterans who had served in the seven-years war, happened to be sent to the same lodgings he had then occupied, where his former landlord still resided. On recognizing each other they wept for joy; and the happiness of this meeting proves more and more how sincerely man would be the friend of his fellow-men, if governments did not find their interest in disuniting, and rendering them the enemies of each other.

It might be supposed that if the English were beloved by the Hanoverians, their language would be familiar in this country. It is, however, scarcely understood. We might expect to hear the airs of Rule Britannia, and God save the King. But here they are unknown. That Shakespeare, the rival of Klopstock and of Wieland, is the author of several dramatic works, is a fact we might expect should be known; but this tragic poet confines himself to his own island, fearing an invasion from those of the continent *. The difference in our favour is very remarkable. The French language is more or less spoken by all ranks in Hanover; the Saxons frequently write it with elegance; I never failed to be understood in the smallest villages, and it is well known that in Lower Saxony they speak the German in its greatest purity. Our songs and romances are learnt and recited throughout this country, and our dramatic pieces are introduced and applauded in all their theatres. Though this marked preference cannot absolutely be construed into affection, it will unquestionably render it less difficult for us to gain confidence, and effect a lasting union, with this electorate.

* None of the consequences which have flowed from the late war are more to be lamented, than the revival of that spirit of animosity between this country and France, which at the commencement of the revolution was gradually yielding to the influence of a more mild philosophy. The translator of the present volume has discerned with regret several marks of this national rancour; surely the author might have discovered in the relative situation of Great Britain and Hanover, and from the little intercourse between the inhabitants of the two countries, a sufficient reason why the English language is not generally cultivated, or their music liked, in the Electorate, without attempting to explain it from their antipathy to the English character which he seems inclined every where to represent as haughty and overbearing in the extreme.

While every candid and liberal mind must reprobate the spirit that could dictate the above, and many similar passages scattered throughout the present volume, the lovers of dramatic excellence not only in Britain, but even among the author's own countrymen, will peruse with a smile of contempt his observation respecting the immortal Shakspeare. Admitting the fact to be correct, that his works are unknown in Hanover, it only proves the backward state of that country in the study of polite literature. Tr.

But to return to the useful arts. Their effect has hitherto been very little felt on external commerce, which is too much monopolized by Hamburgh and Bremen. Lubeck partakes in a small degree with these cities the trade carried on with the duchy of Lunenburg. Agriculture seems to have extended its advantages somewhat farther; several learned societies, which act in conjunction with the academy of sciences at Göttingen, are established in the principal cities, and tend to diffuse a spirit of improvement among their countrymen; and from the midst of which, in a short time, we may expect to see men of exalted eminence spring up.

When speaking of the university and academy of Göttingen, I am naturally led to the subject of public instruction, which may be considered under three divisions: I. The primary schools which are established in every village. In these children are taught reading and arithmetic, and a knowledge of their moral and religious duties. II. Schools in the cities, where the pupils are instucted in the classics, and the fundamental principles of the sciences. III. The university of Göttingen, which was instituted by George the Second in 1734. It is provided with forty-two professors, the majority of whom are foreigners: by this system which is particularly proper in a small state, the aid of men of the greatest celebrity is secured; and by thus placing learning on the most respectable basis, a great number of pupils are attracted from every quarter. Two of the sons of the duke of Bavaria, and the eldest son of the ex-minister Charles Delacroix, are at present students in this celebrated university.

Among the learned men who long supported the fame of this renowned institution, may be found the names of Mayer, Kaestner, Koehler, Gatterer, Gessner, Haller, Zinn, Brendel, Roederer, Murray, Gebauer, Miester and Lichtenberg, whose places have been worthily supplied by the present professors. In proof of this assertion, it is only necessary to inform the reader that the lectures upon civil law, and the law of nations, are now delivered by Messrs. Putter's and De Martens; on medicine, by Gmelin; on surgery, by M. Richter; on philosophy and natural history by M. Blumenbach; on languages, and ancient history, by M. Heyne; on ancient and modern statistics, by Messrs. Schloëzer and Héeren; on mathematics, by Mayer; on botany by M. Hoffmann; and on economy and the mechanic arts, by M. Beckman.

In the sitting of the 14th of April, 1803, the institute adjudged the medal offered for the best work on astronomy to M. Harding; who had discovered a new planet on the 5th of the foregoing September, at Lilienthal near Bremen. I ought in strict propriety to have inscribed the name of this in

telligent astronomer among the learned men of Göttingen, since he has been appointed to superintend the observatory which was consecrated to Urania by Tobias Meyer.

The philological society under the immediate inspection of the university, is intended to prepare instructors for the different colleges.

The members of the Royal Academy of sciences of Göttingen, are chosen from among the members of the university and other learned natives. The Duke of Cambridge is president, and the worthy and learned M. Brandes curator. The non-resident members to the amount of two hundred, are composed of learned men from every country in Europe. Among the celebrated philosophers in France on whom this honour has been conferred, we find the names of Lacépède, Cuvier, Chaptal, Guyton, Morveau, Fourcroy, Faujas, Saint Fond, Millin, Lagrange, Laplace, Sylvestre de Sacy, Lalande, Mechain, Delambre, Villoison Pougens, Joseph Lavallée, &c.

The schools of surgery at Zell are established on a very excellent plan, and have acquired a deserved reputation. The different sciences, the arts of artillery and fortification, &c. are taught in the school of Hanover.

I have already spoken in terms of commendation of the agricultural societies. In the city of Hanover a society of natural history is formed on a plan which might be adopted with advantage in the different districts of France, as from their united labours we might expect in the course of a few years to attain a perfect knowledge of the treasures of nature contained in our vast empire. The labours of this society are confined to Lower Saxony; and none but natives, or learned foreigners who are naturalized in the country, are admissible as members. It is only by a similar regulation, which may perhaps at first sight appear illiberal, that any particular district can be explored with sufficient accuracy. The admission of learned foreigners is useful to the sciences in extensive institutions alone; and when the objects of their researches are not local, but calculated to create general interest.

Nothing can be more admirable than these assemblies of learned men, who labour with the most indefatigable zeal to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge. The emoluments arising from their professorships or their business, are sufficient to satisfy all their wants. Strangers to luxury or dissipations of any kind, their recreations consist in communicating to each other the results of their labours; in conversing with their families during the long nights of winter round a stove, or enjoying with them a walk in the fine days of their short summer. The cloisters were formerly the asylum of the sciences, of virtue, and of peace. The Hanoverian colleges are an improvement on those monastic insti-

tutions. In the former the sexes were separated; here they are united by the sacred ties of marriage and paternal affection. Formerly the monks assisted in clearing the forests, in meliorating the manners of their neighbours, and preventing among them pillage and dissensions. The present race of philosophers sow the seeds of the sciences, and of morality, and dispose them in such a manner that it is henceforth impossible for ignorance to impede their growth.

I have compared this part of the north where I am at present, with the southern countries through which I have formerly travelled. I have examined the effects produced on the inhabitants of each by the difference of soil, of climate, and of political institutions. In Hanover I have seldom met with subjects either of ridicule, or calculated to produce regret. In this country we find fewer absurdities and less fanaticism than elsewhere. I was filled with envy on beholding in the capital a temple erected to the memory of Leibnitz. I was silent on learning that the university of Göttingen neither resembled the school of Ramus nor of the pedant Larcher.

If Frenchmen sometimes ridicule the appearance and manners of the inhabitants, these on the contrary inspired me with the greatest respect. Here I beheld rational liberty, a national representation; justice administered at a small expence, public instruction in a state of great perfection; a certain degree of equality; and (what was to me the most agreeable of all) tolerant priests, notwithstanding the spirit of domination natural to all doctrinal religions.

CHAP. V.

EXCURSION TO HAMBURGH. - ROAD BETWEEN HANOVER AND HAMBURGH.—SUPREME COURT OF JUSTICE AT ZELL.—FIELD OF THE VICTORY OF ARMINIUS.—DUTCH AND HANOVERIAN BEDS.— COURTS OF HAMBURGH, ITS POLITICS AND COURTESANS.—STAGNATION OF ITS TRADE SINCE THE TREATY OF LUNEVILLE.

FROM Hanover I crossed the Elbe to Hamburgh, which may be regarded as the Amsterdam of the North. It would be imprudent in me to attempt to give an accurate description of this city, as I only remained three days within its walls; I must therefore content myself with making a few observations on the road we pursued, and the manner in which I was occupied during my stay.

From Hanover to Zell, the road is agreeably diversified by cultivated fields; forests of oak, fir, and aspen trees; and by

meadows much richer than those of France. After travelling four miles and a half (nearly nine French leagues) we arrived at Zell, the capital of the duchy of that name. This city, though very pleasant and full of gardens, is in my opinion far inferior to Hanover. Its ruinous castle has nothing in its Gothic structure deserving of notice. It is at present employed to serve the purpose of barracks and an hospital for the French soldiery. The sovereigns of the duchy, previous to its incorporation with Hanover, made it their place of residence; but from that period it has been abandoned. The water with which the city is supplied from the river Aller, which empties itself into the Weser, is of a very bad quality. The old ramparts are covered with verdant turf, and surrounded by linden trees. These trees are naturalized throughout a great part of the North: one of the reasons assigned by the inhabitants for this practice is, that the bees derive from them when in flower their chief nourishment, and the principal materials of their useful labours.

At Zell is held the supreme court of justice of the electorate, over which one of the seven ministers of the regency presides. It very nearly resembles the French court of cassation. Formerly there existed as separate and independent states, the duchies of Luxemburg, Lunenburg, Bremen, Calemburgh, many petty principalities, and innumerable lordships. Hanover was then only a mere bailiwick, though it has since given its name to all these different territories. On leaving Zell we passed through a dark wood, of at least two leagues in extent; and from that city to Harburgh, in a line of nearly twenty German miles, we travelled over sandy plains and extensive heaths. At a great distance, geese, ducks, and sheep of a very poor appearance, never failed to indicate the vicinity of some wretched hamlet. What habitations! Whole families, of the most wretched appearance, and covered with tattered garments, associate together, eat and sleep with their cattle. Near these real catacombs we observed growing a few stalks of rye and barley, and here and there a few tufts of buck-wheat. The straw is short and stunted, and the ears of a diminutive size. Population and agriculture must ever be dependant on each other.

This is the country which gave birth to those innumerable swarms that over-ran the East, the West, and the South. Here dwelt the Saxons who conquered England, menaced Paris, and burnt our holy relics. Here, it is affirmed, existed their cities, their chiefs, and their Druids. Where is now a trace of them? The columns of Palmyra, of Babylon, of Thebes, and Rome, are still half-standing; while the ancient oaks of the Saxon adventurers have disappeared, and left not a trace of their existence. These people of the Elbe and

the Weser were ferocious, savage, and enterprising; and the few descendants they have left behind are humane, brave, and enlightened. Their ancestors adored sanguinary deities, while their descendants practise a mild and benevolent system of religion. Their forefathers were unacquainted with the arts and sciences; while their children have cultivated them assiduously, and hold them in the highest estimation. How does it happen that Lower Saxony, which was formerly considered the *officina gentium*, is now devoted to sterility and depopulation? May we not conjecture with a high degree of probability, that the first emigrants, having discovered climates more genial, and lands more fertile, returned in order to remove their families; that upon giving a recital of the countries which they had explored and conquered, many of their fellow-citizens imitated their example; and that in consequence such a prodigious emigration took place, that the mother-country was abandoned for the sake of more temperate regions?

The power of the north predominates over the genius of the south. When nations cease to possess a military spirit, they readily fall a prey to others which are poorer and more hardy than themselves. Europe had lost its military prowess, when the northern tribes invaded and divided it among them. It was degraded by slavery, ignorance, and superstition.

I have besides been assured that there cannot be discovered either in the archives or in the traditions of Lower Saxony, any trace whatever either of Roland, Charlemagne, or of the invasion of England by the Saxons. Thus it happens that victories without historians to record them, are for ever obliterated from the memory of man. Thus it is, that Charlemagne did not succeed to consolidate in this country the sciences by means of permanent laws; thus it is that vanquished nations are generally the historians of their own defeats. Hence we find recorded in the English annals the mournful recitals of the invasion by the Saxons, and their establishment in that island.

In the circle of Lower Saxony, we are able to ascertain the field of battle on which Arminius exterminated the legions of Varus. It is situated about four leagues from Hamelin, between the Weser and Paderborn. I derived this information from M. Westrumb, who resides in the town of Hamelin. He informed me, that upon this ancient theatre of the Saxon glory, he had discovered works sunk thirty feet deep in the sands. Do they not deserve to be better explored? There remain in Lower Saxony an immense number of monuments much more ancient than christianity; many still existed about a century ago in West Frieseland, but the Dutch have employed a great part of them to prevent the encroachments of the sea.

After having passed Bergen, Soltaw, and Well, we ascended a high plain, from which we enjoyed a very extensive prospect. In our progress we travelled over barren heaths, much marshy land interspersed with solitary woods, and extensive rivers of sand which are here denominated highways. Another mountainous plain which succeeded, threw us into an ill-humour, but was soon dissipated by the surrounding prospect. Towards the left we had a glimpse of the town of Harburg; in front, a circular bending of the Elbe; at a greater distance, the elevated coast of Holstein; and a little towards the right, the Cadiz of the North. The sun set, at this period, nearly about half past nine. Here the twilight which is not so transient as in France, served to light us on our way to Harburgh, which we reached about eleven o'clock.

This seems to be the proper place to say a few words respecting the beds in Holland and Hanover. Unless a person is very much fatigued, it is impossible to sleep in them till habituated to their use. The inhabitants of the south would neither be deprived of sleep in summer by stretching themselves upon beds of eider-down, nor in winter by sleeping between two feather-beds; but an enormous bolster, with a still more enormous pillow placed above it, keeps the upper part of the body almost at a right angle with the extremities. We seem thus seated on the bed like a judge on the bench. I can scarcely believe it possible for man and wife to avoid quarrelling when sleeping together in such beds. They resemble that which was spread in the great chamber of the parliament of Paris. It was denominated *the bed of justice*, doubtless because the kings who were first placed on it, lived during a period when long and furred robes were in fashion, as well as the head-dress and long-beards of the Orientals; and when, footstools being almost unknown, they seated themselves on cushions like the inhabitants of eastern nations. The ancient language and customs are still retained in the public tribunals and in the country.

Every morning and evening a passage-boat proceeds from Harburgh to Hamburgh. I went on board one of these boats, and landed in two hours at the guard-house of Hamburgh. I lodged at the London tavern, which is situated in a row of neat and elegant buildings. The streets are embellished for the most part with rich shops and warehouses. A paved foot-way borders a long and beautiful street which leads to the port, the senate-house, and the exchange. This street is ornamented with four rows of linden-trees, which are kept in excellent order. Three pavilions are erected at equal distances; that in the centre is employed as a coffee-house, and the other two serve as

guard-houses. In this coffee-house politicians meet and discuss the affairs of Europe.

A magnificent basin, into which the Alster pours its waters, washes the parapet by which it is surrounded. It is covered with feluccas; and its level banks are embellished by villas, small eminences, and the most luxuriant verdure. During the short period of my stay at Hamburgh, I have often seated myself on its banks, observing the mercantile bustle; the large wigs worn by the senators, and extending over their black robes; the cane chariots drawn by the beautiful horses of Mecklenburg and Holstein; and the courtezans, whose figure, gait, and manners, are extremely elegant. These last never accost any one; but their mode of dress sufficiently indicates to the stranger that he may safely address them without fear of being repulsed.

The commercial part of Hamburgh is full of activity and bustle, but the interior of the city appeared to me dull and uninteresting: it would, in fact, be a place of banishment to a Frenchman. It is well known that the present government has no influence beyond the precincts of the city, and that the citizens possess no territorial property; for we cannot reckon as such the small portion of land which surrounds the town, or the little port of Cuxhaven with its peninsular bailiwick. During the last war, when all communication with the continent was cut off except by the Elbe, Hamburgh became the commercial depôt of the English; but the peace of Luneville, and the occupation of Hanover, have greatly altered the political relations of the continent.

During the deliberations of the senate, the gates of the city are shut. A citizen said to me one day, irritated at the smile which escaped me on witnessing this ceremony, "Do you believe that if Buonaparte was before our walls they would be opened to him?" The only reply necessary to this absurd question is, to display the strength of the force of Hamburgh. It consists of a police legion, amounting to at least seven hundred men, and kept under strict discipline. These men are so extremely corpulent, as to dispose me to believe that they are better adapted to fill places at home, than to serve in the vanguard of an army. I must not omit to mention a squadron of dragoons, as well as a corps of cavalry.

CHAP. VI.

EXCURSION FROM HAMBURGH TO THE DANISH TERRITORY.—GARDEN OF RAINVILLE.—MAGNIFICENT SPECTACLE WHICH IT EXHIBITS.—SINGULAR CAUSE OF THIS ESTABLISHMENT.—INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILY OF A FRENCH MERCHANT RESIDING AT HAMBURGH.—VISIT TO THE SHOPS OF HAMBURGH.—FAIR OF HARBURGH.—RETURN TO HANOVER.

IN my childish days I ardently longed to go from Brittany to Normandy. I now experienced the same desire to proceed from Hamburgh to Denmark; and this excursion, which is quickly performed, and at a small expence, proved extremely agreeable to me. I took my departure from the gate of Altona, the architecture of which presents nothing remarkable except a verse from scripture: but its verdant bastions, ornamented with trees whose foliage extends in the form of an amphitheatre; and its fosses, in which majestically swim a multitude of beautiful swans, fixed my attention. I prefer the lovers of *Leda* to the *bears* of Berne, to the *dogs* of Saint Malo, or to the *geese* of the Capitol. I was informed that the senate of the city, encouraged by the new organization of Germany, intended to raze its fortifications. I am well aware that the scarecrows placed round a field terrify small birds, while they are disregarded by the larger; yet I should behold with regret the destruction of even the feeble image of the independence of an Hanseatic city. Let us recal to remembrance the barbarous period at which this famous league was formed, and it will palliate the enormities which it occasioned. God cannot intend to punish innocent cities for the folly and ambition of their rulers.

The city of Hamburgh is of a circular form, and nearly six miles in circumference. It has six gates; and four entrances by water, two from the Alster and two from the Elbe. Its walls are defended by bulwarks and other external works, as well as by deep ditches. A line of fortifications extends from the great basin of the Alster to the Elbe, a mile above the city; and on the opposite side of the basin, below the town, stands the citadel named *l'Etoile Leonce*, which the Hamburghers consider as impregnable. According to them, there are more than thirty thousand houses in Hamburgh, and nearly a hundred and eighty

thousand inhabitants; but M. Fabry asserts that it contains only a hundred thousand, of whom three thousand five hundred are Jews. I am inclined to concur in this latter opinion.

The public edifices are not worthy of a particular description. Their churches, which are of Gothic architecture, remain open the whole day; and some of them contain libraries. There are six large market-places; many hospitals, among which is that of the orphans, possessing a revenue of sixty or seventy thousand livres; that for marine invalids, where are likewise supported the widows and children of those who have lost their lives in the service of the republic; a fourth, for the poor, the blind, the lame, and the old; and a fifth, instituted for the treatment of the small-pox, and other epidemical maladies.

The prison for malefactors is situated in the building occupied by the executioner, which is not a very comfortable circumstance even to the innocent. As soon as sentence of death is pronounced against a criminal, he is conducted into an upper apartment, accommodated with a good bed, and refused nothing he could desire in his melancholy situation; while a minister of religion is empowered to offer him every consolation contained in the gospel. In the way to the place of execution stands an ancient monastery, now occupied by the Lutherans; who are obliged, as formerly, to present him with a glass of wine.

The government is composed of a senate and three colleges, the members of which are elected from among the citizens. The former body has the exclusive right of exercising the sovereignty; the latter can only interfere in the disposal of the public revenue. The situation of the Hamburghers is extremely singular; while they are said to be free, they are in fact subject to the King of Denmark, who even pretends to have the right of exercising certain privileges within their city. They neither send a member, nor have any vote in the Diet of Ratisbon; they are subject to the divisions of the Germanic empire, and purchase the protection of the Emperor with the annual sum of eighty thousand crowns.

There are two hundred sugar-houses in Hamburgh; in its cotton-manufactories above a thousand workmen find employment; and, on an average, twelve hundred vessels enter its port annually.

From the gate of Hamburgh a fine road, shaded by trees, leads to a second gate, guarded by a Danish sentinel. Having entered it, I found myself in Holstein; and thus in a moment I had been transported from a republic to a kingdom. I was much more at my ease under the sceptre, than under the

Phrygian cap. I dislike a mercantile republic erected on a foundation of sand, because I have often found them unstable.

I proceeded to dine at the garden of Rainville. I had heard so much of the boasted elegance of the house, of the excellence of the attendance, the delicacy of the fare, the affluence of the company, the ingenious arrangement of the grounds, the variety of the situations, the judicious unobtrucive display of the arts, and particularly the prospect from the upper terrace (a view which is affirmed to be the most delightful in the world), that I was fully prepared to regard it with the vanity of a Frenchman and the pride of a Dane. I retraced all the objects of comparison which I had beheld in France, in America, in Spain, in Switzerland, and under the delightful sky of Italy. I have unquestionably seen, in my various travels, prospects which enraptured my whole soul; but there is stamped upon this a character of majesty and grandeur which far surpasses every thing I had before witnessed. Upon the bank I contemplated the extensive heaths of Hanover; the rich shores of Holstein; and the abrupt bendings of the Elbe, wafting to my feet the wealth of the two worlds, and embracing in its vast windings sand-banks, islets covered with luxuriant harvests, dark woods, little thickets, and in the distance a multitude of cities which can only be perceived by means of their lofty spires. Ah! if the gods would permit Homer and Ossian to revisit this world, and on the place where I now stand to sing the wild and sublime beauties of this enchanting scene, I am firmly persuaded that the prize would be awarded to the Celtic bard.

It is astonishing to behold on the confines of Holstein a vast and elegant establishment, where the French language is spoken, and the French mode of cookery is adopted in a style equal to the most refined at Paris. It is pleasing to conceive ourselves transported to *Frascati* on account of the excellent ices, the music, the elegance of the company; and to discover by the difference of the dishes served up at each table, the nation to which the guests belong. While the concurrence of these and other circumstances tend either to produce a pleasing reverie, or to give more point and animation to the conversation, the eye is at the same time feasted with a view of the multitude of ships and barks ascending and descending the river, and the motley crowd of visitors traversing the terraces of the garden of Rainville.

This establishment confers honour on the head that conceived, and the hands which executed and embellished it; on the Frenchman, who, during the storms of the revolution, could occupy himself with creating Elysian fields, and strewing them with flowers.

Altona is supposed to contain twenty-two thousand five hundred inhabitants. The King of Denmark built this city with a view of sharing in the trade carried on by Hamburgh. It is a free port, and the seat of the East India Company. A great number of merchants from the north, and even from Hamburgh itself, have taken up their residence here. In point of population and wealth, Altona is reckoned the second city in Denmark.

I cannot pass over in silence the founder of the garden of Rainville. He was *aide-du-camp* to General Dumourier, and became the companion of his flight. Possessing only a few louis, but endowed with a fertile imagination, he conceived and executed the project of naturalizing (if I may be allowed the expression) the French manners on the icy banks of the Elbe.

M. Rainville having happily chosen the place of his retreat, he found it convenient to attract to it men of all parties, and of very different descriptions; and he has so far succeeded by ingrafting the French manners on the German customs, as to have realized an independent fortune.

I yesterday dined at the country-house of a French merchant, who has been long settled at Hamburgh, situated at about a league above Altona. Here he gives a dinner every Sunday to his friends and acquaintances. His family is charming; he has five children, the eldest of whom is between eight and nine years of age. If the Parisian fine ladies could behold Madame Vidal, seated at the head of the festive board, with a child on each knee, her neck entwined by the arms of two others perched on the arms of her chair, and the most alert of whom kisses her forehead, which he holds with his little hands, they would instantly perceive that their diamonds, their pearls, and the draperies of Casimire, are infinitely inferior to the garlands of maternity. What a delightful picture! Fathers of families, this happy group is not a fairy scene in an opera, but a real representation of domestic happiness; which you may daily enjoy by making your wives the confidants of your thoughts, the companions of your business and your pleasures, and thus becoming the honoured guardians of their virtue and their affection.

I visited with much pleasure M. Reinhard, the French minister at Hamburgh: for how was it possible that I could forget the benefit he conferred on me during my confinement at Viterbe in 1799! He seemed fully sensible to the expressions of my gratitude. Let the individual who supports with pain the recollection of a favour, endeavour to thank his benefactor, and he will be relieved from a weight of shame.

I visited the different shops, with a view of examining the

English productions. The French plated work begins to equal that made in Britain; and their velvets, cottons, and kerseymeres, are equally beautiful, as fine, and are sold at as low a rate, as those imported from England. There is too little difference between the English baizes sold in Hamburgh, and those smuggled into France, to induce any one to run the risk of having them seized on the frontiers of the latter. In the city of Troyes this species of manufacture is brought to a very high degree of perfection.

East India commodities bring a very high price at Hamburgh, notwithstanding which the fabrics of Casimere are here unknown. In this city a great many articles of furniture are made of costly wood; but where shall we find equalled those pieces which are exposed to sale by Jacob every day at Paris, ornamented by the different arts, and rendered invaluable by the designs of *Sauvage?*

How could I leave Hamburgh without once more visiting Rainville at Altona? I sat down to an excellent dinner with my amiable countrymen; and on proceeding to the terrace to take coffee, we were saluted from the orchestra by a French air. In a short time another party arrived; and having seated themselves at a table adjoining to ours, the musicians immediately struck up an English tune. Had a Swiss company next appeared, I doubt not that we should have been regaled by the *ranz des vaches.*

A boat which we had engaged to carry us across the Elbe, now lay at the bottom of the garden. We stepped into it about four o'clock: and in an hour were safely landed on the opposite shore; near an inn filled with rustics enlivened by wine, music, and the presence of some shepherdesses. From this place we pursued our road along the course of the river, upon a dyke planted with trees, and elevated as if with the design of shewing to greater advantage the beautiful coast of Holstein and the city of Hamburgh. Having reached Harburgh after a walk of half a league, we proceeded to the *kermesse*, a kind of fair held in the halls of the hotel-de-ville. Conviviality, pleasures, police, and the wants of a community, excite only a local interest; no one perhaps feels an interest in public rejoicing more than myself; but I was forced to sleep in a room, the door of which opened into a great hall, resounding with the sound of violins, tambourines, the joyous shouts of the spectators, and the noise of the dancers. This tumult continued till four o'clock in the morning.

Next day I departed post towards Hanover. I longed to revisit this tranquil and rural city. The distance between the

banks of the Elbe and the shores of the Leina, appeared immense from the fatigue I experienced; and I beheld with joy the spires of the electoral capital.

My first occupation on arriving in this city, was to open the letters which had arrived from France during my absence. Those who have never quitted their native country, or who have not left behind them their affections, can form no conception of the different feelings experienced by the traveller when he receives letters from his friends, or is disappointed in the hopes he had entertained of hearing from them. What agony does he not suffer from the idea of being forgotten! What delight when his fears prove to be unfounded! My packet was sufficiently copious; and all my letters announced to me that Paris was such as I had left it: the same frivolity, the same absurdity, the same endearing kindness, and the same levity, still continued to characterize its inhabitants.

CHAP. VII.

KLOPSTOCK.—THE ADVANTAGES RESULTING FROM COMMERCE.—MONTBRILLANT, A PLEASURE-HOUSE BELONGING TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.—GERMAN COMEDIANS.—FLUTE ENCHANTEE, AND MYSTERIES OF ISIS.—IS THE GERMAN LANGUAGE MUSICAL?—THEATRE AT HANOVER.—FRENCH COMEDIANS.—THE TWO COMPANIES UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.—REMARKS ON THAT PRINCE.

KLOPSTOCK died at Hamburgh a few months since. All the members of the senate and the most distinguished citizens, assisted at his funeral. It cannot fail to produce a beneficial effect on the minds of the multitude, to witness such marked respect paid to the memory of individuals who have merited distinction not by martial achievements, but by sublime productions calculated to dry the tears which ambition has caused to flow. German poetry has been greatly enriched by the works of the illustrious Klopstock, many of which are translated into the different European languages.

What astonishment must it not produce to behold the respect paid by the citizens of a commercial republic to the memory of a poet so justly celebrated! But it is not unusual to discover in Hamburgh senators, magistrates, bankers, and traders, actuated by similar sentiments to those of Anacharsis. Even the wealth and affluence of a great number of the mercantile men of this city, have been acquired by other means than those of trade. Like the Germans, they have viewed men and manners with phi-

losophic attention; and what has fallen under their own observation in foreign countries, they have known how to appreciate and compare with the productions of their own soil, and the manners of their own country. Benjoin was a great lover of botany; the unfortunate Clayiere cherished literature; and some Parisian bankers are devoted to the sciences, while others cultivate poetry. It is by means of commerce that the arts of the East have been transported to the West. It is under its auspices that the art of printing, introduced into the New world, has sheltered it from the violent commotions of the Old. By means of commercial intercourse, the knowledge of the sciences, new discoveries, and the gradual progress of civilization, uniformly tend to unite all nations into one great family, and to raise them to the same level.

None of the cities of the north of Europe are better situated than Hamburgh for the purposes of foreign and domestic commerce. By means of the Elbe (which derives its name from the transparency of its waters) it maintains a traffic with all the world; but its internal trade, which is a grand nursery for seamen, extends to Lubeck and the Baltic, notwithstanding the keys of the Sound being in possession of the Danes by the canal of Trave. By means of the rivers which flow into the Elbe, all the rich and various productions of Upper Saxony, Germany, Bohemia, and Austria, are poured into Hamburgh. By the Flavel and the Spree, ships make their way into the marquisate of Brandenburg; and traversing the canal fed by the Alder and the Spree, which enters the country of the great Frederic, they penetrate even into Silesia, Moravia, and Poland.

I must not pass over in silence the villa of Montbrillant, so much extolled in the *German Guide*. On a nearer view, this residence did not answer the high character given of it in that work. In my opinion, it is scarcely superior to the country-houses in the valley of Montmorency. Previously to the entrance of the French army it was occupied by the Duke of Cambridge.

The German company perform in the theatre at Hanover many French plays, such as the *Abbé de l'Epeé, Adolphus and Clara*, &c. What a pleasing sensation does it convey to the mind of a traveller in a foreign land, to witness the performance of his national dramatic works! How much pride did I experience in acknowledging as my countrymen Bouilly and Marsollier!

Le Visionnaire, an opera of five acts, is much admired on account of its music, which is here done great justice to by the vocal and instrumental performers. The humour of this piece far exceeds that of all those with which Montansier regales the populace every evening at Paris; a continual clapping of hands prevailed throughout the whole performance. I too laughed, because

it is sometimes as difficult to resist joining in the general mirth, as it is to avoid being affected by the feeling of sorrow produced by the affecting scenes. The music of this opera is composed by M. Muller.

I likewise witnessed the performance of the *Flute Enchantée*. The name of the composer of the music is never mentioned but with the greatest respect; nevertheless I may venture to affirm, that the poet M. Schikanéder, before bringing out his Mysteries of Isis, would have done well to have studied the *Sethos* of the Abbé Terrasson. But he may console himself! for the French, who in this opera have too closely followed the Germans, have also neglected to take advantage of that historical romance; which treats of the Egyptian mysteries, and which would have given more majesty and interest to the scene. Not to be initiated in the mysteries of the *bona dea* is a trifling misfortune, especially if we avoid speaking of it in public.

The Germans assert that the French composer has fallen far short of theirs. The musical part, though executed by *virtuosi* much inferior to those of the Imperial Academy of Music, seems to have given to it a certain character that my ear could never distinguish at Paris. If I am not mistaken, this effect may be attributed to the circumstance that the recitative of the German opera, far from injuring the effect of the music, tends, on the contrary, to render it more striking. I am inclined to believe that the French piece, from the superb decorations, and the pomp which attends its exhibition, as well as the dances introduced into it, would become one of our most brilliant operas if the recitatives were somewhat shortened. But what! curtail the recitatives! what a barbarous idea! it would be far preferable to have no operas at all. If we suffer the interference of such daring innovators, would they not soon force us to declaim in the opera? Let us remain firm! Without the ruffles and the recitatives, we should quickly degenerate into barbarism.

The German theatre is at present not well attended, but I was informed that in ordinary times it is always full. The French garrison does not much increase the number of the auditors. This company performs alternately in the city of Hanover and Brunswick. However harmonious the German compositions may be esteemed, I confess I prefer a French romance. I dislike the *creig*, the *harr*, the *harsch*, of the Teutonic pieces. It is impossible to persuade me, that in a melancholy, sentimental, or voluptuous air, the nasal, aspirating, and guttural sounds employed in the pronunciation of each word are not detestable; yet this is nothing in comparison to the English singing. It is the sound of the forester's whistle, the bagpipe, and the marine

trumpet, under every possible combination: it is not unusual to meet with authors of acknowledged merit, whose works are read with pleasure, while their conversation is insupportable. Notwithstanding the boasted richness of the German language, several distinguished individuals, both among themselves and in France, such as Klopstock, Wieland, Kotzebue, &c. have begun in several of their words to adopt a more refined pronunciation, and assimilate their phrases to those of the French. Polished society already leaves to the vulgar their barbarous guttural sounds, and to grammarians the rugged purity of primitive words. The German Ariovistus, said Cesar, could only acquire the language of the Gauls after a stay of several years in that country: this would be at present the case with a Frenchman who wished to acquire a knowledge of German. Germans, we no longer speak the Scytho-Celtic; do you, then, renounce the Teutonic idiom.

The theatre is situated at the extremity of the third court of the electoral palace. The entrance to it is through a low dark corridor. A door communicates with the theatre from the private apartment of the emperor, with which it is on a level. Its circular form being extremely favourable to the diffusion of sound, the performers are perfectly heard in every corner of the house. The front scene is too scanty: the orchestra contains more than thirty musicians; the stage and the pit are in the proportion of one to three; there are four circles of boxes, the lowest of which, before the entrance of the French army, were exclusively appropriated to the nobility. I cannot suppose that any dread of their new visitors prevents them occupying these as formerly, since history informs us that the strictest friendship always prevailed between the Gauls and Germans. There was formerly, as in Spain, the *casuela,* that is, a place set apart for courtesans, whence their gallants could join them unobserved; but they have now descended to the second range of boxes, according to the rank they believe they hold in the class to which they belong. Did they know that in the French theatres such females find their way to the first seats without the smallest opposition, they would not be tardy in imitating the example.

When this theatre was built, the walls were hung with red morocco leather, which appeared when new extremely rich; but time has imparted to it a coppery hue, that gives a sepulchral character to this temple of the muses. The curtain and the side scenes are painted by M. Ramberg; the former in particular has a very striking effect, which is not in the least diminished by the interior decorations of the house. It represents Apollo seated in the chariot of the sun, surrounded by the nine

muses; they rein in his fiery coursers on the banks of the Leine. To the right, a colonnade, and a temple in perspective, ornamented with trees, are emblematical of the city of Hanover. To the left is placed on a pedestal the bust of George III. and underneath the following inscription: *Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.* From the upper part of the arch, above the curtain, are displayed the arms of the king, having for supporters the crosier and the sword. I was not displeased to behold the pastoral staff in the temple of the muses, I who reverence peace and the fine arts. This crosier and the sword are equivalent to the inscription of the first Cesars, *Imperator pontifex maximus.* This union of two powers in the person of the elector is less wonderful, than it is to behold in France, bishops, and even abbots, officiating with the helmet and the sword before the altar; and the French kings themselves acting as canons in some chapters: these singularities were extremely laughable, as they were not injurious to any one. Henry IV. was not solicitous to attain such distinctions, even after he became a good Catholic; but he in vain desired, during his whole life, to be a citizen of Vitré, counsellor of the parliament of Rennes, and lord of the Prévalias; loving above all things indolence, power, and good butter.

The German comedians are about to depart from this city, in order to make room for the French company of Bursay. Both are under the patronage of the reigning Duke of Brunswick, and are liberally supported at his expence. Their dresses are likewise supplied by this prince; and I was much surprised at the good taste and magnificence displayed in the choice of their ornaments: his own subjects are not less happy in this respect.

All those who have business with the Duke of Brunswick, speak of him with respect and admiration. Every Frenchman who arrives in his capital, if possessed of education and talents, is received by him with affability and attention. The inhabitants of the adjoining states send up their prayers to Heaven, that he may long continue to be their neighbour. I render this tribute of respect to his virtues, of which his subjects and the poor are continually receiving new proofs. I praise a prince, but I am no parasite. It would be extremely unjust not to anticipate the judgment of posterity in rendering an account to the public of the impressions received in Hanover, which I deem worthy of being related. I should regard it as very culpable infidelity, if I concealed through malignity the pleasure with which I have heard him blessed as a protector of virtue, of talents, and of humanity, merely because he is a prince. Ought I, more especially,

to be silent in respect to him who has received my fellow-countrymen with distinction not in proportion to their rank, but on account of their virtues?

The company of Bursay is very numerous; and though none of the individuals composing it possess extraordinary talents, it is as a body extremely respectable. It proved rather disadvantageous to our theatres at Paris, when any Germans of taste visited them. The manager, Madame Aurora Bursay, cultivates letters, and several of her dramatic compositions have been received with considerable applause. I was greatly surprised at the splendour of the dances, and the execution of the music, in the *Œdipe à Colonne;* but I should never have found courage to communicate my agreeable astonishment, had it not been participated by two celebrated French virtuosi.

Messrs. Rhode, Garnier, and Lamarne, display here their superior talents on the violin, hautboy, and the bass. With such performers, French comedians far above mediocrity, literati frank, modest, and virtuous, a large library, a plentiful table, and delightful walks, we are tempted to believe ourselves at a greater distance from the frigid zone, than the geographers and voluptuaries of Paris seem inclined to imagine.

CHAP. VIII.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—DIFFERENT SCHOOLS AND OTHER ESTABLISHMENTS AT HANOVER AND LUNENBURG.—ADDRESS TO THE OFFICERS OF THE FRENCH ARMY, BY M. VILLERS, CAPTAIN OF ARTILLERY, AND AUTHOR OF AN ESSAY ON THE REFORMATION OF LUTHER.—LITERATI OF GERMANY, AND SOME OF THE LEARNED MEN OF FRANCE.

THIS chapter may be considered by some as equally insipid and uninteresting with the heaths of Hanover, since it principally treats of the mode of public instruction adopted in the electorate: but it would be utterly impossible, without entering into a consideration of this subject, rightly to appreciate the high degree of civilization which at present prevails among the Western Saxons; the descendants of those ignorant and barbarous tribes who continued for a long succession of years to plunder and lay waste the fields of Gaul, and the shores of Albion. If, on the other hand, through a complaisance to superficial readers, I were to pass over in silence the means employed in Hanover to promote the instruction and civilization of its inhabitants, I should not only neglect a most important part of my duty, but also expose myself to the just censures of those who estimate the merit

of travels merely by the importance of the observations which they contain. In the fourth chapter I briefly noticed the different modes of instruction employed in Hanover; I shall here resume its consideration: for if we contemplate the education of youth like a nursery, in which enlightened gardeners train up different trees and shrubs, as well as various useful and ornamental vegetables, with the view of afterwards planting a large tract of country according to the different qualities of the soil, and the wants and tastes of its inhabitants, it must be evident that public instruction constitutes a subject of the first importance.

In the primary schools the master instructs his pupils in the elements of knowledge and natural history, adapting his lessons to their several capacities. It must be acknowledged, that in general men of greater intelligence are to be found in towns and cities than in country villages; but the schoolmaster of the smallest village in the most remote canton of Hanover, is sufficiently informed to know how to communicate to the youths committed to his care the kind of instruction best adapted for them, and to direct them in the manner most conformable to their different dispositions and characters. The Germans call this fundamental instruction, *geimeinnutzige kentnisse.*

It was of the highest importance to place education upon a certain and solid basis, but the greatest difficulty lay in procuring well-qualified instructors; as on them must necessarily depend, in a great measure, both the morals of the mass of a people and the stability of governments. However it may be questioned in France, it was previous to the appearance of the excellent work on public education by M. de la Chalotais, procurer-general to the parliament of Brittany, and before the adoption of different systems of national instruction after the suppression of the order of the Jesuits, that Hanover acted on the principle *that without able instructors, there can be no instruction.* From 1750, a regular system of education began to be adopted in Hanover, which was principally owing to the indefatigable and enlightened zeal of M. Botticher. This virtuous citizen endowed in the city of Hanover the seminary for schoolmasters, an establishment which deservedly merits and attracts the attention of all foreigners who take an interest in the subject of education.

The Electoral Regency very soon became sensible of the utility of such an institution, and exerted every effort to contribute to its consolidation and improvement. Twenty years have now elapsed since this establishment began to add practical instruction to moral and literary knowledge; the children of both sexes are taught to sew, spin, knit, &c.

This idea, so extremely simple in appearance, and beneficial in

its consequences, which first became popular in consequence of a sermon preached by M. Sextro one of the first pulpit orators in Hanover, was soon adopted in the capital. The university of Gottingen eagerly embraced the same system, and similar schools were established throughout Germany. The Germans, it is well known, adhere with pertinacity to any custom or usage once introduced into their country; hence it is easy to foresee the beneficial consequences which must necessarily result from schools so modelled. When, on the one hand, from the remote parts of Russia to the shores of Denmark, we behold the condition of slaves meliorated by enlightened governments; and, on the other, the state of free peasants ennobled by the introduction of the useful arts taught in these seminaries; we must ascribe these grand effects to the patriotic exertions of the private citizen who first introduced them into Germany.

With a view to contribute toward supporting the seminary for schoolmasters at Hanover, Abbé Loccum, at present curator of that establishment, and president of the states of Calemberg, undertook the care of a journal on the state of public instruction and religion in the electorate, and applied the profits of it to the institution. But as neither the donations of the public, the aid of government, nor the profits of the journal, were found sufficient for the support of the thirty-two schoolmasters belonging to the institution, it was found impossible to retain more than twelve, which proved an incalculable loss to the public.

In the middle or secondary schools, the system of instruction is extended and enlarged. In them are taught geography, history, the art of designing, the French and English languages, together with the elements of geometry and technology. Several of their most celebrated professors acknowledge, that they have not yet brought things to that degree of perfection of which they are susceptible; and this opinion does not appear to be dictated by any party spirit.

There is not perhaps in Hanover any other school, except the one appropriated to the education of the young nobility, that can be recommended as a model. It is superintended by the justly celebrated and respectable Abbé Loccum. The pupils consist of youth of both sexes, from the period of eight to fifteen years of age.

In the academies, or schools of the third order, the students, besides their other pursuits, are instructed in antiquities, the Latin, Greek, and other languages.

Academies are maintained at Zell, Clausthal, Embeck, Hameln, Hanover, Harburg, Ulzen, Hefeld, Gottingen, Bremen, Luneburg, Minden, Nordheim, Offerode, Stade, and Verden.

The establishment of sixteen colleges of the third class in a country so poor and of such small extent, may appear surprising; but is it not when a country continues poor, that instruction is most required?

Besides these academies, over which preside very able and well-informed men, there are also establishments, both at Hanover and Luneburg, solely appropriated to the children of the nobles. These exclusive establishments are regulated, as to instruction, by learned and intelligent citizens. The French prytaneum is conducted on more philosophical principles; but Hanover, such as it is, ought certainly to establish noble military schools, in like manner as those in France at the present day, into which none are admitted except the sons of men conspicuous by their valour, virtue, or talents*. The Georgianum, a school of this kind, which was established six or seven years ago, deserves to be separately considered.

These different modes of instruction cannot fail to produce a mighty influence upon agriculture†, the mechanical arts, commerce, manners, public opinion, and even on the government itself. In the orphan hospital at Calemberg they have adopted the custom now introduced into some German principalities, of boarding the children in the houses of poor but respectable families. Twenty years have at least elapsed since trials of this kind were made in Brittany, by the intendant Caze de la Bove: one, two, or more children, were sent to the house of a farmer, with an yearly allowance, which was gradually diminished as they grew up and acquired strength. The principal reason of this practice was, to lighten the surplus population of the cities, and augment that of the country. The parliamentary disputes greatly operated to the injury of this excellent institution; but the present state of things favours its revival.

There has been distributed among the French army a small pamphlet by M. de Villers, a short extract from which cannot be considered as foreign to the present subject.

"The commotions which agitate the present age, have led you into a country which has hitherto been spared. Till either victories or treaties recal you back to your native land, you will be free from the bustle inseparable from active service.

* There are funds destined by the government, the states, and cities, for the classical instruction of children left destitute. The country derives considerable advantage from such a provision; as, by means of it, there are always a sufficient number of well-educated individuals properly qualified to fill the different offices of the state.

† Both the commerce and agriculture of the electorate have been greatly promoted by the works published and circulated by the Society of Rural Economy, at Zell, and by the premiums which it distributes.

"The country in which you are at present stationed, is deserving of all your attention: it has not hitherto been particularly distinguished for its improvements in the arts; but it has given birth to a number of philosophers, who, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, made considerable researches into history and ancient literature. Here, in the capital of this country, the celebrated Leibnitz breathed his last, who was intimately acquainted with the arts and sciences, and invented the infinitesimal calculus*. He it was who proposed to Lewis the Fourteenth to take possession of Egypt and colonize it: the papers relative to this subject are preserved in the electoral library.

* The controversy that was carried on with so much keenness between Newton and Leibnitz, respecting the right of priority to the discovery of the differential calculus, is well known to every one conversant with the history of mathematics. In the first editions of the Principia, Newton himself thus speaks of the German geometrician: "About ten years ago having exchanged some letters with M. Leibnitz, and having informed him that I was in possession of a method of determining the *maxima* and *minima*, and of drawing tangents which were unembarrassed by irrational quantities; and having concealed my method by transposing the letters, he returned me for answer, that he had fallen upon a similar method, which he communicated to me, and which differed from mine in nothing but the enunciation and notation, and the idea of the generation of quantities." Leibnitz might thus have remained in undisturbed possession of part of the honour accruing from this sublime discovery, had he been inclined to do justice to Newton; but as he openly and exclusively claimed the invention, Dr. Keill was led to publish a paper in the Philosophical Transactions for 1708, in which he maintains that Newton was the first inventor of the method of fluxions, and that Leibnitz, when he published it in the Acta Eruditorum of Leipsick, had only changed the name and the notation.

Indignant at this charge, Leibnitz demanded, in a letter to the secretary of the Royal Society of London, that Keill should retract what he had advanced, which produced a second letter from that gentleman, wherein he stated a variety of proofs, not only that Newton had preceded Leibnitz, but also that he had furnished the German geometrician with so many specimens of his calculus, that it could not escape a man even of common understanding. The Royal Society, after hearing the report of a committee which they appointed to investigate the original papers, resolved, that Keill had not injured Leibnitz by asserting that Newton was the first inventor of the method of fluxions.

A common friend of Newton and Leibnitz attempted, but in vain, to mediate between these two mathematicians: as the latter persisted in denying the right of priority to the English philosopher; while he, in his turn, refused to Leibnitz that merit he had formerly conceded to him.

While English geometricians are still disposed to contend for Newton's right of priority, in all its plenitude, to the discovery in question, it is now generally agreed on the continent, that he and Leibnitz attained the same object by pursuing different methods: Newton, by regarding fluxions as the simple proportions of nascent and evanescent quantities; and Leibnitz, by considering that, in a series of quantities increasing or decreasing, the difference between the two consecutive terms may become infinitely small, that is, less than any finite assignable magnitude.—Tr.

Shortly after his time was founded at Gottingen that university which has since rivalled those of France and England, and which, at an early period, ranked among its professors a Haller, and many others whose names must ever be mentioned with respect; Tobias Mayer, inventor of the lunar tables; Busching, one of the fathers of modern geography; Achenwal, of statistics; and Michaëlis, one of the greatest of Oriental scholars*.

Hanover abounds in schools and literary societies. The north of Germany availed itself of its neutrality during the last war, to cultivate the sciences.

Young warriors, in the midst of so much knowledge, will you continue devoted to indolence? Can a lively nation shew itself insensible to every thing which ennobles and exalts the human character?

At Hanover you will find the respectable Fedor, a man of great literary acquirements, and animated by the warmest zeal for the interest of mankind. At Zell, the celebrated author of Venus-Urania, M. Ramdohr; at Lunenburg, M. Soltau, the learned translator of Hudibras and Don Quixote. In every city and even village, you may find intelligent masters and instructors; and it will be easy for you to perceive both in the kind and extent of knowledge, the vast difference between a Protestant clergyman and a Catholic priest.

Whether you incline to cultivate science in general, or any one in particular, you will find Gottingen a convenient residence. If you wish to direct your attention to astronomy, repair to Lilienthal, and cultivate the acquaintance of the great astronomer M. Schroëter, who resides there. If agriculture be the object of your pursuit, most of the great proprietors, and every pastor of a parish can furnish you useful information. There is established at Zell a society, whose views are directed to it alone. If mineralogy or metallurgy be your favourite sciences, the mountains of Hartz abound in minerals.

Proceed, therefore, to explore that Switzerland of Lower Saxony; visit Clausthal, Andreasberg, and Ramelsberg, and you cannot return without acquiring new information, without admiring that romantic canton, its natural treasures, and the frankness and benevolence of its inhabitants, who are mostly miners.

Young and brave Frenchmen, conduct yourselves with sobriety and modesty in the midst of a grave and simple people. Attempt not to introduce among them your foreign manners. Cull the palm of science; it harmonizes much better with a

* Had M. de Villers been acquainted with M. Langlès, keeper of the National Library, he would not have affirmed, that Michaëlis is the most profound of Oriental scholars.

branch of laurel than with a sprig of myrtle bedewed with tears; act so, that unalloyed esteem shall accompany you at your departure. Imitate not the conduct of the great majority of the emigrants, who after having long vegetated in the very focus of Saxon learning, return to their country as ignorant as when they left it; censuring all the customs which are not familiar to them, and obstinately adhering to the modes and usages of their own country; and who, merely because they have lived less voluptuously than in Paris, and slept not so softly, conclude that Germany has not yet emerged from a state of barbarism. Polished and easy manners, the adoption of certain exterior form, physical luxuries, constitute in the opinion of many Frenchmen, the only claim to their esteem, and by which they form their judgment of the degree of intelligence in a nation: a singular standard, according to which Sybaris must be considered as the first of cities, and Philadelphia as the last.

It is impossible not to admire the respectful tone in which M. Villers speaks of the learned men of Germany: in fact, they never display the stiff and bombastic manners of some of the French literati, who probably assume such airs without being conscious of them, or because they flatter themselves such behaviour will procure them greater consideration. Granting, however, that the French philosophers are superior to those of Hanover, still great credit is due to the latter for their modesty and candour. I detest as much the unthinking coxcomb, who indiscriminately applauds every thing, as the stiff and frigid Bonze, who approves nothing. The first is a sycophant, who flatters for a meal; or a seducer, who endeavours to secure a victim; or an intriguer, who pries into the secrets of another; or an ambitious man, attempting to exalt himself. While the second aspires to a throne without subjects, despising every thing that resembles not his own image. There are besides two other classes of literary pedants; those who incessantly dun you with their learning, and those who undervalue you so much as never to mention it in your presence. But let us finish the picture; what think you of those consequential men, on whose countenance is incessantly displayed a satirical smile; or of those triflers, who continually tease you about the different signification of words; or those hypocrites, who pretend to mark every witticism in a public discourse? To conclude, what think you of those poetasters, who believe themselves worthy of being appointed Poet Laureat, because they have strung together a few stanzas in honour of the president of an academy? How infinitely superior to such men, are the plain and unsophisticated literati in the remotest corner of Germany!

CHAP. IX.

MILITARY SCHOOL OF HANOVER, THE GEORGIANUM.—ITS ORGANIZATION.

IT may not be deemed superfluous, to describe the organization of the Georgianum, in order that we may be enabled to institute a comparison between it and the French Prytaneum.

The botanist thinks himself recompensed, when he deposits in the national garden the seeds he has collected during his travels; I shall consider myself unfortunate, if those who conduct public instruction in France, can find in the information I have collected on this topic in Hanover, any hint which deserves to be transplanted into their country.

The Georgianum, substituted in place of the institution of pages, was established in May, 1796, for the education of the sons of the Hanoverian nobles. The sum which was formerly expended in the maintenance of twenty pages, has been found fully adequate for the liberal education of forty pupils. Instead of the former strictly military education, by which the youths were rendered alike a terror to the cottage and the palace, a mode of instruction has been adopted, so as to initiate them in a knowledge of the sciences, as well as the useful and fine arts;—a species of instruction which their progenitors held in the greatest contempt. What difference is there, between the pages who formerly learned nothing in the castles of our forefathers, but to manage a horse with dexterity, to attend their lord on days of ceremony, to tyrannize over the poor slaves, and to defraud petty merchants; and the eunuchs of the Grand Seignior, who are taught to pare their nails, to shave with dexterity, and perform other little acts equally futile and insignificant? The nobles at last became sensible, that the possession of valour alone would be insufficient to enable them to contend with the superior intelligence of the enlightened inhabitants of towns and cities; and were thus induced to renounce their long-cherished prerogative of ignorance.

Besides the sum of 95 thalers* which every pupil pays on his admission, fifteen of those whose parents are in easy circumstances, pay the additional sum of 200 thalers. They are all lodged, fed, clothed, and instructed at the expence of the establishment. They are dressed in a blue uniform, faced with

* About 380 Francs.

scarlet, and having buttons of white metal; they are received into this establishment at the age of ten, and may leave it as soon as they are qualified either to enter into the service, or to pursue their studies at the university of Gottingen, with a view to embrace any other profession.

On entering into any regiment, they are supplied, from the funds of the house, with 200 thalers, for their equipment; and as the majority of them are received at ten years of age, each youth consequently receives on his retiring, at the expiration of five years, a sum nearly triple that paid at his entrance, besides having the benefit of a gratuitous education, and the certainty of an honorable employment.

The most distinguished of the pupils who are sent to Gottingen, to perfect themselves in those sciences connected with the profession they intend to pursue, enjoy a salary of 350 thalers, during the three years they reside there; but on no occasion is this yearly allowance either increased or diminished. Should even the son of the Elector leave the Georgianum, with a view to study at Gottingen, his salary would be no greater than that of the lowest noble.

Neither the pupils, nor their relations, are permitted to choose their profession; a regulation which will be deemed by many too much allied to Spartan discipline. None of the pupils are sent to the University, but such as are likely to distinguish themselves in a civil capacity, and this is left entirely to the judgment of the director of the institution. When this is unfavourable, their relations have then the liberty either to suffer them to pursue a military career, or withdraw them wholly from the establishment. Hence it is easy to perceive, that according to this system, the influence of the civil must prevail over the military [illegible] whatever fears may in general be entertained [illegible] ce of a director, to whom is delegated the power o[illegible] the destiny of his pupils, it cannot be viewed w[illegible] at present, since it is filled by M. Fedor, a [illegible] strictest principles and the most rigid integrity.

The Geo[illegible] divided into four classes:

The two first, [illegible] the pupils remain from the age of ten to fourteen, are [illegible] rimary or fundamental.

In the other two is finished the education of the youths, after they are intended for a civil or military life.

In the primary classes, the pupils, besides being instructed in the principles of morality and the Protestant religion, arithmetic, geography, politics, natural history, and the Latin and French languages, are also taught writing, and to cultivate their mother tongue.

In the military class, the attention of the pupils is directed to the acquisition of the English language, in preference to that of the Latin. They are besides, instructed in that branch of the mathematics connected with the art of war, moral and natural philosophy, the elements of physiology, the art of composing in the French and German, and statistics, a science the importance of which is generally acknowledged.

In the civil class, the pupils, besides being instructed in the English language, the elements of logic, moral and natural philosophy, also prosecute the study of geometry, trigonometry, and civil architecture; but their attention is principally directed to the Latin language and ancient history, because they are considered as essential to the study of law and politics.

Dancing, fencing, riding, music, and drawing, are also taught in these four classes, at the expence of the parents and relations. The pupils attend at seven in the morning during summer, and at eight in the winter. The business of each day is begun and ended by a moral or religious discourse. Five lessons are given every morning and two in the afternoon.

This establishment is greatly indebted to M. Fedor for the institution of an excellent and well selected library, for a rich collection of natural and artificial curiosities, and for a valuable philosophical apparatus.

Each class is superintended by a professor, who is styled Governor; to him is delegated the office of principal instructor; his apartments are contiguous to those of his class, so that the youths have no opportunity of carrying on any improper conversation or intercourse among themselves. Besides his board and lodging, he enjoys a yearly salary of 90 thalers,* and though he must particularly attend to his own class, it is expected he should give in the others occasional assistance in any particular department with which he may be best acquainted. This obligation is moreover attended with this advantage, that it tends to excite a spirit of emulation among the professors themselves.

Besides the four governors, the establishment is provided with one English, two French masters, and a mathematical professor, having the rank of captain in the corps of engineers. By means of this last arrangement, all the different instructors are placed on the same footing. The military pupils on leaving the establishment, carry into the respective regiments in which they receive appointments, an opinion more useful than governments and mankind are in general aware of,—that all kinds of services rendered to a country are equally honourable.

Two directors superintend the establishment: the one who presides over the military class must be an old officer; the gen

* 990 Francs.

tleman who occupies this post at present, is a lieutenant-colonel. The other, who regulates the whole, is the learned and respectable M. Fedor, whose talents and virtues procured his election to this important trust, notwithstanding the numerous calumnies propagated to his disadvantage. A French refugee, in a work published in 1796, stigmatised Wieland, the Voltaire of Germany, as one of the illuminati, and associated the name of M. Fedor with the same sect. The latter, whose only happiness consisted in being surrounded by his wife and family, disdained to make any reply to this scurrilous attack; but the calumny which honest men despise, but too frequently attracting the attention of governors, renders them distrustful, and ultimately prevents them from availing themselves of the services of individuals who possess the greatest talents, and the most incorruptible integrity. Thus when the Hanoverian envoy, who resides at the English court, proposed M. Fedor to his Majesty, as a proper person to superintend the Georgianum, *I know him*, replied that Prince, *does he not belong to that new-fangled sect who wish to overturn every thing?* Had the pamphlet above alluded to, never been published, such a question could not have been proposed. The minister was obliged to produce a variety of documents, to disprove the slanders that had been thrown out against this worthy man, which happily produced conviction in the mind of his Majesty.

Though the civil director be not bound to give instruction to the pupils, he considers it as his duty to examine each class in turn, with a view to animate the zeal of the masters, and if possible to discover the inclination of the pupils, to stimulate their exertions, and to assist them in a manner most conformable to the object of the institution. The governors must give an account at the end of every week of any important event that may occur, and every half year they are bound to lay before the directors, a table divided into two columns, one of which exhibits the progress made by the pupils, while the other displays a view of their dispositions and characters. This table serves as a ground-work to the reports made to the government by the directors. The following are the bases on which the moral discipline of the school is established:

1st. To secure the esteem, the confidence, and the friendship of the pupils; to obtain this end, as well as secure a ready obedience, moral discipline has been found much more effectual, than corporal punishment.

2dly. To discover the good qualities of each pupil, in order more effectually to oppose them to any imperfections he may possess.

3dly. To bear with patience those faults which appear capable of being remedied, and to repel, promptly, and with firmness, the influence of vice and bad example.

The following regulations have been adopted, with respect to their studies:

1st. That the directors shall frequently visit the different classes, both during and after their lessons; and that at the expiration of each month, there shall be laid before them the books of the pupils.

2dly. That the themes of the pupils be subjected to the criticisms of their companions.

3dly. That the civil director shall make a present to those who distinguish themselves, of a book, in which shall be inscribed the reason on account of which it was adjudged to them.

4thly. That at the termination of every half year, there shall be a public examination, at which one of the ministers of the regency, and a field-marshal of the army, must attend.

There is a vacation for three weeks every year; but neither the schoolmasters nor the pupils can absent themselves for the shortest period, without previously obtaining permission from the director: they cannot visit even the city without leave from a governor. Masquerades are expressly prohibited; but the pupils are occasionally permitted to attend the theatre, in company with their relations, or one of the governors. Four dishes are served up at each table every day for dinner, and two for supper. Three women and six men are found fully adequate to perform all the work of the house. A single person is appointed to keep a regular account of the expences of the establishment, as well as of the sum of forty thalers assigned to each pupil for his private expences during the year.

The general superintendence of the Georgianum is entrusted to Baron de Low, marshal of the court, to whom, every month, the directors deliver in their accounts. This officer of the crown, on the representation of the two directors, nominates the governors and schoolmasters; to him the heads of families must apply for the admission of their children: his election, we are assured, is always impartial; the preference is uniformly given to the poorest and most respectable families.

Such are the laws of an institution, in which men destined to command others, or to render them happy, receive their education. There they are taught to value the gifts of fortune, only so far as they may be rendered subservient to the promotion of knowledge and morality among their fellow citizens. if birth or titles have raised them above the common level, their holy religion enjoins them to comfort and assist the unfortunate: if feudal institutions bestow on them peculiar and exclusive privileges, they

are taught to call in the aid of philosophy, in order to counteract pride, and cherish in their hearts a love of humanity and justice.

CHAP. X.

TAVERN AND FOREST OF NIENHAUSS.—VACCINE INOCULATION.—GALVANISM.—ATMOSPHERIC STONES.

FOR a few days I was so much oppressed by the extreme heat, and so tormented by the attacks of gnats and other small flies, that I found it utterly impossible to put pen to paper, without being constantly under the necessity of driving them away from the hands and face. Some plentiful showers at last supervening, dispersed these troublesome insects, and I felt myself as if transported from the torrid to the frigid zone. I did not however give way to too much joy on the occasion, for the rains which occur about the end of July, are generally succeeded by northern winds, which tend to produce dysenteric, rheumatic, and other affections, if we expose ourselves to the damps of the morning and evening, and neglect to cover ourselves with a sufficient quantity of clothes during the night. From Spitzbergen to Egypt, flannel is the best preservative of health.

I availed myself of the continuance of fine weather, to visit a delightful wood in the neighbourhood, which, in my opinion, far surpasses in beauty, the *Bois de Boulogne*, near Paris. To the west of the city, we pursued a road bordered with houses and gardens, and in a short time arrived at a square court, surrounded by red-coloured walls, nearly breast high, which serves as a resting-place to travellers. Immediately opposite, is situated an old building in the cottage style, painted of a white and grey colour, and covered with tiles. There tea, coffee, and other refreshments may be procured. On passing through the tavern we behold a series of groves, which produces a very happy effect. Near the entrance, there are seats and tables placed round a vast verdant saloon, for the accommodation of the guests. But what principally merits the attention of the artist, are the various groups of people continually in motion, and female harpers, who recall to our minds Ossian and Malvina; the umbrageous foliage, gilded and illumined by the rays of the setting sun, and the thick volumes of curling vapour produced by the fumes of tobacco. Above all, the painter must not forget to delineate the forward girls, who exact money from every stranger before allowing them to participate in the amusements of the place; and groups lamenting in dark corners the presence of the French, as well as whole Hanoverian families tippling with their new guests, and laughing at

their frivolities. This place is called *Nienhauss*, which signifies the new house; it is, however, generally pronounced like the Greek word *néos*.

From the verdant hall already mentioned, we pass into an alley winding for upwards of half a league through a wood, in some places impervious to the light of day, which the French destroyed in 1757; but the scions which they then spared, have now become magnificent trees. The alternate light and shade arrest the attention of men of taste; their admiration on looking through the thick foliage, rests in the distance on rustic hamlets, or nearer at hand, on their inhabitants, so absorbed in their rural occupations, that they seem totally indifferent about the future.

There is also at the extremity of the public avenue, a second tavern, surrounded by green arbours and an orchestra. In the center is a verdant area, at the sides of which stand the carriages of the guests who propose to return to the city by the way of Zell, or to drive round a beautiful forest, which conceals by its thick foliage the enchanting groves of *Neos*.

But we must quit the fairy land of *Neos*, and return to what what is most interesting in the government, the agriculture, and the commerce of Hanover. I began by considering the state of public instruction in the electorate, because on that depends the character of a nation, and the wisdom of the laws enacted for its government. I shall dedicate the remainder of this chapter to a few reflections on variolous and vaccine inoculation, Galvanism, and atmospheric stones.

Previous to the discovery of the antivariolous power of the cow-pock, all the medical practitioners in Hanover, as well as at Zell, were unanimous in their approbation of variolous inoculation: but though the practice was early introduced into Hanover, it never became general. It is indeed truly astonishing, to behold the multitude of men, women, and children, who are distigured by the ravages of this formidable disease; particularly in the villages, and among the labouring classes of the inhabitants in this country. It was therefore natural, that the learned men of Göttingen should be eager to submit the new practice to the most rigorous examination; in consequence of which, they have become fully convinced of its safety and utility. Professor Arnemann has vaccinated, gratis, the majority of the children in this city, and very few of the parents have the least objection. M. Osiander has published an account of these experiments, the results of which are uniformly decisive in favour of the practice; in fine, all the physicians of Göttingen practice vaccination, without the smallest hesitation, and with the most complete success. From the example afforded in this seat of the sciences, the practice has been diffused throughout

Hanover, and whole villages have been vaccinated. The peasants, who are in general averse to innovations of this nature, have, however, readily submitted to it, not because they are able to appreciate the evidence in its favour, but because the disease is so mild as not to prevent them pursuing their ordinary occupations. Vaccination is become so universal in every corner of the electorate, that the government have found it necessary to interfere, not with a view of interrupting the practice, but of regulating it, so far as to oblige practitioners to transmit every year to the regency a tabular statement, containing the number vaccinated, their names, age, profession, place of residence, and the state of their healths; as well as a short account of the individual subject from which the vaccine virus was taken, the period of vaccination, its progress, and whether any maladies supervened. This regulation is yet too recent for me to speak of the consequences that may result from it; but the Germans are so fully convinced of the benefit and safety of the practice in question, that they have given to it the appellation of *schutz-blattern*, the protecting pock. The adoption of vaccination by the learned and professional men in Germany, whose opinions are never formed but in consequence of the most careful and enlarged examination, affords a more decisive proof of the efficacy of this practice, than the assertions, the theories, and the most brilliant declamations of the French physicians.

The discovery of Galvani has likewise attracted the notice of the professors and learned men of Gottingen; but while they attend to it as an interesting phenomenon, they do not pursue its investigation with the same attention, nor attach to it the same importance, as at Paris. This indifference does not appear to proceed from an unwillingness to examine the merits of the discovery in question, but from the numerous and multiplied occupations of the professors not allowing them leisure to devote their attention to subjects only indirectly connected with the duties of their station. Each of the ten medical professors belonging to the university give lectures on a distinct branch of science; one teaches botany, another chemistry, a third natural history, a fourth the practice of medicine, and so on: and as they give two or three lectures every day, scarcely any time is left to them for relaxation, or to pursue other studies. Hence, therefore, Galvanism only occupies their attention in a secondary degree.

If the members of the academy, who are all chosen from among the professors in the university, sometimes enter upon a few experiments with the desire of making some useful discoveries, they cannot hope to establish in this way a complete consistent theory, or even presume to predict that Gal-

vanism may one day be successfully employed in the cure of diseases.

One of the principal physicians in Gottingen, M. Richter, has however, it is well known, employed it in a few cases of disease which appeared nearly hopeless. The result, he frankly confesses, has not been such as to induce us to hope much from its employment in cases of blindness, particularly in such as proceed from amaurosis, or a gutta serena, as it is called.

Gmelin attends to Galvanism merely as a branch of science. He read during last autumn to the academy of sciences, a memoir on the composition of water by means of Galvanism. M Mayer treats in his lectures of Galvanism conjointly with light and electricity. M. Blumenbach has made a great number of experiments in this branch of science so far as it relates to physiology. In this point of view he regards Galvanism as extremely interesting; but he does not expect much from its employment in the cure of diseases. By the younger members of the profession it is frequently resorted to in cases of deafness and loss of sight; but as they have not published the result of their trials, it may be fairly presumed that their success has not been very great. On the whole, in the electorate of Hanover, no great expectations are entertained from the application of Galvanism to medical purposes. Variolous inoculation is nearly abandoned, while vaccination is now very generally adopted.

With respect to stones said to have fallen from the clouds, much scepticism still prevails in Germany. All that is yet known on this subject may be found in a work published by Dr. Isnard, member of the academy of sciences at Paris. This author does not advance any fanciful hypothesis in order to explain the phenomenon in question; he examines with accuracy the few facts that have already come to our knowledge, and candidly proposes the doubts that have occurred to him on the subject; and whatever opinion may be formed with respect to the justness of his conclusions, it must be admitted that all his researches tend to confirm the truth of a doctrine long ago believed by some learned men, that the principles of all metals are to be found in the atmosphere.

CHAP. XI.

M. RAMBERG, PAINTER TO THE ELECTOR OF HANOVER.

FROM the sciences I return to the arts, and shall begin with painting.

In Hanover the lover of the fine arts will look in vain for pictures worthy of his attention. In a nation, the individuals of

which are occupied with pastoral or agricultural pursuits, where the nobles possess no superfluous wealth, where the public worship is less poetical than religious, where the chief magistrate, residing at a distance, reigns over a more numerous, more enterprising and a more corrupted people; in a nation like this it is next to impossible there should spring up great painters, sculptors, or architects. It is, indeed, generally admitted by the most enlightened of the Hanoverians themselves, that the fine arts are in a more backward state in the electorate, than either in Hesse, Saxony, or Brandenburg; a circumstance that may readily be explained from the absence of the elector, and the rigid economy exercised by the regency; whereas, in the neighbouring states, the princes being anxious to collect around them monuments of the fine arts, bestow liberal rewards on artists of merit. In this respect the impulse given by the great Frederic will long continue to operate.

In general the few artists of talent which Hanover has produced, have left it at an early period. It has been already mentioned, that the sculptors Diez and Rohbery appear to have taken a lasting adieu of their country: had they even remained, it is problematical whether they could have realized a decent independence by the exercice of their profession. A sentiment of attachment to his native land has, however, been so powerful in the heart of the painter Ramberg, as to make him prefer a residence in Hanover to the bustle of London, or the more genial climate of Italy. His education and success are well worthy of commemoration.

John Henry Ramberg, painter to the electoral court of Hanover, was born the 22d of July, 1763. His father, a counsellor at the electoral court, placed him under the care of a French refugee, with a view to his being instructed in the French language; and it was when at this seminary that young Ramberg, then only seven years old, evinced the most promising talents for design. His father one day having recited in his presence a satire of Boileau, Henry observed that it afforded many interesting subjects for the painter, and immediately began their composition; in this undertaking he succeeded so well, and received so much praise, that he was induced to make some designs from his own invention. He procured for him some celebrated engravings, which however he found it impossible servilely to copy. He imitated exactly the style of the artist; but his towering genius always impelled him to trace original productions, either in isolated figures or in groups. Some of the productions of Prince, and a series of designs by Fage, about this time fell into his hands; and he immediately appropriated the style of these two masters, and formed them into one.

In a short time his father began to give him lessons in perspective, and to initiate him into the practice of painting in oil.

It was only necessary to describe to young Ramberg a fine picture to induce him to imitate it. His father speaking to him one day respecting a piece of Gobelin tapestry, representing an Italian fair, and executed from a design of Boucher, depicted it with so much accuracy, that the child immediately produced several imitations of it, some of which nearly equalled the original.

To aid as much as possible the talents of his son, the father procured the best pictures that could be found in a city destitute of artists and every means of improvement in the art of design. Young Henry profited by his paternal cares, although he was never able to become a servile copyist; and this characteristic trait of his early years is strongly marked in all his future productions.

At the age of eleven he painted a beautiful picture representing a youth with a greyhound, the death and farewell of Germanicus, Hero and Leander; but he never ceased designing from his own invention, and he traced his figures with an astonishing promptitude and neatness.

In 1780, during a journey to Hartz, he sketched in the course of a very few days more than a dozen of the most romantic views of these mountains, which were afterwards presented to the King of England by the Hanoverian resident at St. James's, in consequence of which his majesty invited him to London; and on his arrival he was placed in the academy of painters. Here the young artist passed near nine years in endeavouring to perfect himself in his art. He composed during this period a multitude of designs, which Murphy and Bartholozzi did him the honour to engrave. He likewise painted different pictures, and amongst others some pious subjects for the king's chapel at St. James's, several for the Shakespeare Gallery, and the large picture of Alexander passing the Granicus for Carleton House. The king took great pleasure in witnessing the rapidity with which he executed his designs.

In 1788, he was sent by his majesty into Flanders and Italy: he passed through those cities where were deposited the chief works of the Flemish school. He then proceeded to Leipsic, and afterwards to Dresden, where the celebrated Schulz engraved the portrait that he had painted of the poet Gleïm. He next visited Prague and Vienna, in which last city he was received with great distinction by the late Prince Kaunitz. This enlightened patron of the arts made him very advantageous proposals in order to fix him near his person; but his ardent desire to visit Italy, made him reject these offers of fortune and distinction.

At Venice young Ramberg connected himself with one of those extraordinary men* whose enthusiasm for the arts lead them to traverse deserts, or to explore the field of battle, in order to find subjects for their pencil: he drew the portrait of M. Denon, which that gentleman himself afterwards engraved. I have seen this picture in the house of M. Ramberg, and it exhibits a very striking resemblance of the original.

He visited Bologna, Parma, made a long stay at Rome and at Naples: after having drawn most of the antiquities worthy of notice, he returned to Hanover, where he was appointed by the King of England painter to the court.

I was extremely anxious to visit M. Ramberg, and to examine his productions. He received me with much politeness, and satisfied my questions with the greatest modesty and simplicity. The works of Ewald, of Island, and the splendid edition of Wieland, will afford a lasting monument of his taste and the fertility of his genius; while the churches, the castles, and the palaces will transmit to future generations a knowledge of his style, his colouring, and the brilliancy of his imagination.

The Philotechnic Society of Paris, who reckon among its members some of the most distinguished painters and statuaries, have already elected M. Ramberg a corresponding member. To sum up the character of this great man, it is only necessary to add, that he is a dutiful son, a good husband, and an affectionate father.

CHAP. XII.

ON THE DIFFERENT RELIGIONS IN THE ELECTORATE.

IN the preceding chapters we took a view of the state of public instruction in Hanover, and shall now proceed to notice the different religious sects which prevail in the electorate.

The first great division of the people is, into Jews and Christians: the latter are subdivided into Catholics, Calvinists, and Lutherans. The Lutheran is the established religion, of which the elector is the head; and in his absence M. de Harnstwaldt, second minister of state, presides in the Supreme Consistory. This body possesses a right to superintend the other sects; but the vigilance it exercises is purely comminatory.

The Supreme Consistory is composed of some of the most enlightened citizens, whose dispositions are far removed from every approach to a spirit of turbulence and dissension. These philosophical disciplinarians are fathers of families, and super-

* M. Denon, director general of the French Museums.

intend pastors who are so likewise. They live with one another in the greatest harmony, because there is not among them that inequality of condition which leads on the one part to haughty superiority, and on the other to mean and abject servility. All the laws which emanate from the Government are stamped with the character of moderation; for although the Lutherans possess privileges which are not enjoyed by any other sect in the Hanoverian dominions, yet, to their honour be it recorded, they have never in any one instance been exercised to oppress or humiliate their fellow Christians.

The Lutheran clergy enjoy a portion of the goods formerly appropriated to the Catholics; but the destination of the charities are not changed by this change in the distributors; and the revenues of these pastors sufficing to maintain them in honest affluence, are too moderate to corrupt their manners, or to tempt them to neglect the performance of their duties. The greatest part of the lands possessed by the Romish clergy, previous to the Reformation, are now appropriated to the support of the university of Gottingen, the Lyceum of Hefeld, and several other public institutions. The profits of some large secular benefices are applied to recompense merit. The Lutheran ministers employ themselves in the study of the sciences and of letters, in the practice of the social and domestic virtues, and in the education of their families. In fine, in all the Christian world, these clergy are perhaps those who most honour their profession by the simplicity of their lives, their knowledge, and the purity of their manners. They possess the true spirit of Christianity as pourtrayed by St. John in these sublime terms, "*love ye one another as brethren.*"

These worthy Lutheran pastors regret that no funds are assigned to them, with the view of establishing a seminary for the education of the deaf and dumb, in conformity to the plan of the Abbé Sicard, which they highly approve. They reflect with sincere uneasiness, that in his philanthropic institution the unfortunate pupils are exclusively brought up in the Catholic faith.

The ministers of the other sects receive a small allowance from the government, and the rest of their income is furnished by the voluntary contribution of their parishioners.

Before the union of Osnaburg with the electorate, the Jews were the most numerous sect next to the Lutherans. In this, as in every other country, their attention is directed to commerce and industry. They are the principal bankers in the large cities, and many of them keep butchers shops in the smallest villages. Among the Hebrews who inhabit various parts of Germany, we meet with many learned men, and some physicians of the first eminence. In Hanover, the children of the Israelites are ad-

mitted to participate in the benefits of public instruction; and this liberal regulation has done more to increase the number of Jewish residents in this country, than the most cruel persecutions exercised against them by other governments.

Calvinism is very little prevalent in this electorate. There are still a few Roman Catholics in Hanover, properly so called; but they are much less numerous than during the last century. This circumstance does not proceed from their having emigrated, but from all the great proprietors having gradually adopted the religion of the prince; while the great body of them have also become reconciled to the Protestant faith, which opens to man the gates of heaven without clogging his entrance into it with the painful condition of auricular confession. Public instruction is not exclusively confided to the ministers of the Lutheran church; but they concur with the most enlightened of the laity in forwarding this important work.

The singular provision of the treaty of Westphalia, by which it is stipulated that the bishopric of Osnaburg shall be alternately occupied by a Catholic and a Protestant, has been abrogated. For a long time the propriety of allowing an equal number of votes to each communion had begun to be felt in the empire, and the first attempt to put it in practice was crowned with success in Osnaburg. In the principality of Lunéville the sceptre is likewise separated from the cross, which has been favourable to the diffusion of a spirit of toleration among the inhabitants; and the union of Osnaburg to the electorate of Hanover promises, in this respect, still greater advantages. Here, indeed, it is highly probable that Lutheranism will, in a very short time swallow up all remains of the Catholic faith. Before the entrance of the French into Hanover, it had been in agitation to endow the bishopric of this communion with a revenue of four thousand thalers (eighteen thousand franks.)

The abbey of Mariendrode, in the dutchy of Calenberg, has hitherto escaped the inundation of reform. Its abbé is always a member of the states of Hanover; but he possesses no dangerous influence, as there are a very small number of Catholics in the canton; and as the territory belonging to the monastery being included in that of Prussia, is not in immediate contact with the electorate, where Lutheranism has achieved the greatest victories. The abbeys of Saint Michel in Lunenburg, of Loccum in Calenberg, and of Bursfeld in Gottingen, were secularized The first was changed into a seminary of education, the second serves as a school to train up enlightened moralists and liberal theologians, and on the third was founded the university of Gottingen. The superiors of the three suppressed abbeys retain the title of abbot; those of Saint Michel and of Loccum are mem-

bers of the clergy to the provincial states: the superior of Bursfield does not possess this privilege. His benefice of 283 thalers, about 1,200 francs, has been conferred on a few learned men, and some individuals of merit, with the view of increasing the trifling emoluments of the places they occupy.

The convents have likewise felt the influence of the reformation. The flag of Luther waves over their conventual palaces, their churches, and their fields. The canonical dignities are conferred on females whose ancestors enjoyed great military reputation, and the prebendaries or those whose fathers contributed, by their knowledge and their influence, to preserve their country in a state of peace, and add to its prosperity. The monastic regulations are established in the same manner as those of the chapters of Germany. These corporations exhibit an union of beauty, gentleness, sensibility, and honour.

In the churches, they sing along with the Hebrew psalms, stanzas from the sacred odes and other productions of the early German poets, which are highly expressive of the majesty and goodness of the Supreme Being, the immensity and magnificence of his works, the love and gratitude which is due from man to his creator, the virtues which render the human character respectable, and the sufferings which ennoble it.

By this union between religion and poetry, the Hanoverian government has acquired a more solid obedience, because it is not only fortified by sentiment, but enlightened by reason. The pastors have resumed their importance, and social intercourse has regained that charm of which ignorance had deprived it. The mass of the population is greatly purified, and being better governed, they perceive more clearly the value of religious consolations. The national character is endued with the energy of the great poets, and will probably form in a short time others equally great. All the faithful have learned to read, in order to be able to sing these truly sublime verses; and the temples again filled with the superior classes, who had wholly abandoned them, afford an example of a truly fraternal assembly, in which the philosopher is seated by the side of the unlearned, the rich by the side of the poor, and the magistrate in the midst of the citizens; and where all the members of a family join in presenting, in the solemn song, that a more acceptable sacrifice cannot be offered to the great Ruler of the universe than hearts overflowing with charity, brotherly love, and gratitude.

CHAP. XIII.

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES OF HANOVER.—CONVERSATION WITH THE LIBRARIAN, AND SOME STUDENTS, RESPECTING THE RELICS REMOVED BY ORDER OF THE ELECTOR OF HANOVER.—LEIBNITZ.—HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH SOME OF THE LEARNED MEN OF EUROPE.—THE MONUMENT ERECTED TO HIS MEMORY BY A FEW INDIVIDUALS IN THE FIELD OF MARS AT HANOVER.

SCIENCE cannot flourish in a country destituse of public libraries. Among the libraries eatablished in the different cities and towns of the electorate, the most distinguished are those of Gottingen and Hanover: in this last city the edifice where the books are kept is very decent. The first story is appropriated to the reception of charts, state papers, and juridical records. In the upper apartments are placed works of imagination, and those connected with every department of polite literature. They posses a large collection of the productions of our best French writers. The under librarian does not, like the monk of Saint Denis, display his treasures with ostentation. "You observe our poverty," said he to me, "you will here in vain search for that multitude of dogmatic, ascetic, mystic, and apocalyptical writings which the French literati have had the barbarism to preserve, although they are the foremost to reprobate barbarism. Neither will you tiud those degrading and immoral compositions, which corrupt the minds of those who peruse them. The first species of books are produced in ages of barbarism and imposture; the second in those of licentiousness and hypocrisy.

"The library is open twice a week, the members not being so numerous as to require daily attendance. We do not pay much attention to typographycal beauty, it would be inconsistent with our poverty and the simplicity of our manners. I have already said that the splendid editions of the French, their elegant bindings, and exquisite engravings, frequently conceal the most miserable productions. I am aware that in an opulent country, such as France, this taste for expensive publications furnishes employment to a great number of individuals, and gives a laughable kind of importance to those who ornament their libraries; like an African king without a shirt muffled up in a scarlet doublet embroidered with gold.

"You observe," continued he, "notwithstanding what I have said, that we possess a few fine prints; and having visited, Rome you must recognize amongst them several of the productions of Raphael. In your immense library at Paris, you have doubtless a long gallery, where they are hung up, in the same manner as we do here, for the purpose of producing a spirit of emulation among the artists and artizans who may be induced to visit it. The public exhibitions of engravings, as in the gallery of the Vatican, has already produced a considerable revolution in our vases, our furniture, and our architecture."

I was desirous to prolong this conversation, but the duties of the librarian led him elsewhere. He left me with some young Hanoverian students, whose attention had been called off from their books by my appearance, and whose open countenances seemed to say to me, "we are ready to reply to your enquiries." I addressed myself to the oldest, who answered me in very good French. He was a native of Hamburgh, and had come to finish his studies at the university of Gottingen. "Will it be possible, Sir," said I to him, "to see the four copies of the beautiful Oxford bible?" Oh! you know not then that they are no longer here," replied he. "When this country was threatened with invasion by the French, the elector ordered the archives, the books, and the precious monuments to be packed up and removed. The duke of Brunswick refused to allow them to remain in his capital; and it is generally believed here, that from Mecklenburg they were transported to London, from whence, you must I think agree with me, it is propable they will never be sent back."

I took leave of these agreeable youths, in order to examine the vast number of valuable German works contained in this library, the most interesting among which, are perhaps the productions of Leibnitz. The number of his manuscripts are immense.

He founded this library, and bequeathed to it his own valuable collection of books. He it was who opened a philosophical correspondence with Augsburg, Geneva, and Rome. It was he likewise who endeavoured to inspire the worthy abbe of Saint Pierre with courage, when he regarded as visionary his project of a perpetual peace. In fine, it was this philosopher who proposed to Lewis XIV. the conquest of Egypt.

I speak not here of his profound mathematical productions, because they are fixed on the immutable foundation of truth; neither do I mention the learned men with whom he lived in habits of the strictest friendship, otherwise I might enumerate all the contempory literati of Europe. Besides his more direct studies, he wrote a great number of critical notes on various moral and literary subjects, and made a vast collection of the

proverbs of almost every nation, which are extremely valuable and curious.

M. Feder has published at Hanover a selection from his correspondence with a great number of learned men, and amongst others with Bayle, Mallebranche, Fontenelle, &c. &c.

Leibnitz was born at Leipsic, and died at Hanover the 14th of November 1716, while he was perusing the *Argenis* of Barclay.

His arm-chair on which he expired, is preserved in the library. His remains are interred under a stone in the Lutheran church in the new city. All his writings preach peace, and breathe a spirit of good-will and affection to the whole human race. Like the immortal Newton, Leibnitz was a firm believer in deity. He was, perhaps, the most universal scholar in Europe; an indefatigable historian, a philosophical and profound civilian, an enlightened metaphysician and theologian, even a latin poet; and, in short, so able a mathematician, as to dispute with Newton himself, the invention of the differential calculus *.

In the library are two portraits of this great man, the one painted when he was forty, and the other when sixty years of age; it is from the last, that the bust is copied. In the midst of an umbrageous thicket, at the extremity of a long avenue of linden trees, stands an Arian temple: its columns, of the Tuscan order, are reflected by the limpid waters of the Leine, and its light cupola appears, as it were, suspended by a kind of magic over a bust of dazzling whiteness. Upon the frize of the monument, is the following inscription, in letters of gold: "*To the memory of Leibnitz.*" Twelve columns of hard grey stone, dug out of the mountains of Hartz support the dome, underneath which is placed the bust of the philosopher.

This temple was not erected at the expence of the electoral government, but by the joint subscription of a few private individuals, friends to science and letters †.

* See, on this subject, note, page 40. Tr.

† Messrs. Brandes, Patge, Feder and others. In this respect the north has afforded an example to the south. At Upsal a monument is raised in honour of the immortal Linneus, and another has been erected to the memory of Luther at Leipsic. Many of the German princes, and a great number of their subjects, of different religious persuasions, have contributed to this last undertaking. The king of Prussia, on transmitting a hundred frederick of gold to M. Schée of Manseld, who received the subscriptions appropriated to this purpose, writes thus:—"This idea obtains my warmest approbation; for although the services rendered by Luther to humanity, in freeing mankind from the yoke of superstition will unquestionably be long remembered by an innumerable multitude of Christians, it is nevertheless highly praiseworthy in the present age, to bestow a public mark of their gratitude upon this great man."

CHAP. XIV.

HANOVERIAN GOVERNMENT.—REGENCY OF STATE.—ONE OF THE REGENTS ALWAYS RESIDES AT THE COURT OF THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.——SINCE THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE THIRD, THE REGENCY IS WHOLLY COMPOSED OF NOBLES.——SUBORDINATE REGENCIES AND THE PROVINCIAL STATES.—RELATION BETWEEN THE ASSEMBLIES OF THE STATES AND THE PRINCE.—THE REGENCY IS IN FACT THE SOVEREIGN.

SINCE the period at which the Hanoverian electors were called to the sovereignty of England, the government has been administered by a regency composed of seven ministers; when the French took possession of the country, M. de Kielmansegge was president. Four of the ministers of state reside in the capital; the fifth, who presides over the law department, the police, and the high court of appeal, is fixed at Zell, as being a more convenient station for the exercise of his functions; the sixth, who is at the head of the college of nobles, likewise presides over the subordinate regency of Bremen and Verden; and the seventh, with his counsellors and secretaries of embassy, have a permanent establishment in the court of the electoral king.

The Hanoverian regency is invested with regal power; it decides on all matters respecting which the provincial states are not competent to interfere: it communicates with these assemblies in the same manner as the elector himself; it is superior to, and superintends all the other departments of the government.

Three regents or ministers are charged with the superintendence of the department of foreign affairs. They send accredited agents to the diet of the empire, to Vienna, Petersburgh, Berlin, Dresden, &c. &c. These envoys, have the title of envoys extraordinary, ministers plenipotentiary, resident ministers, or counsellors of legation, according to the rank of the court to which they are sent, and the nature of their mission.

The regency continues to have commercial agents at Augsburg, Amsterdam, Bremen, Hamburgh, and Wetzlar; but, with the exception of Bremen and Hamburgh, these agents are only a kind of political watchmen; and even in these two last-mentioned ports, they have had the misfortune to witness the destruction of

the commerce and industry of their country, by their more vigilant and active neighbours.

The elector names his own ministers, and may revoke the appointment at pleasure; a power which, however, he seldom uses. Before the present reign, they were frequently chosen from among the citizens; but George the third, having a greater attachment to nobility than any of his predecessors, has wholly excluded the untitled members of the community from the regency, although no legislative act has been passed to this effect. However much the elector may evince his private partialities in this respect, there are bounds which he cannot overstep. The rank of the privy counsellors, who are only simple citizens, is not considered as much inferior to that of the ministers of state; they even possess the right of proposing the discussion of a number of subjects; and this privilege, when weighed against ministerial rank, frequently gives a preponderance to their opinion. Several places, such as presidents or directors in the tribunals, are likewise occupied by citizens of merit; they are not excluded from the financial department of the state; and several other lucrative situations are indiscriminately conferred on the citizens and the nobles. Notwithstanding this, however, the nobles enjoy so many exclusive privileges, and being wholly exempt from every kind of impost, it is much to be dreaded that in time they will engross all the places of public trust, to the utter exclusion of the citizens, unless the present war should lead to a change of the government.

The chamber of the war department superintends every thing connected with the troops, the arsenals, and the fortifications; its expences are borne in a determinate proportion by the electoral treasury, and the treasury of the provincial states, in consequence of votes being passed to that purpose.

The regent who presides in the supreme high court at Zell, consults his colleagues at Hanover in affairs of importance; and if the regency cannot come to a decision, they in their turn consult the elector: that, however, depends much on the spirit by which they are actuated, and the different character of the individuals composing this council. The police is under the immediate controul of the regency; but in a country neither rich nor populous, and where the weather is extremely rigorous during eight months of the year, what outrages are to be feared?

The buildings and public establishments are under the direction of a board which sits in the capital: it is charged with the inspection of the electoral palaces; the edifices dedicated to the use of the administrative, judicial, and learned bodies; to the baths of Rheburg and Lammer, which are especially appropriated

to the indigent; and of the culture of the nursery of fruit trees, which are annually distributed to the inhabitants of the country: they also order the payment of those who are employed about the court.

The college of commerce superintends the arts and sciences, agriculture, commerce and manufactures, and the state of the finances.

Stade is the seat of the regency of Bremen and Verden, subordinate to the supreme regency. Those of the Bailiwicks of Lauenburg, at Ratzeburg, and of the principality of Osnaburgh at Osnaburgh, are of the same nature: in each of these countries they appear to have been founded on the wrecks of the executive power on their union with the electorate. Although these regencies possess the same degree of power formerly exercised by the sovereigns, they are not wholly arbitrary, since they are surrounded by the assemblies of the states; and if they act as the instruments of the supreme regency towards the assemblies, they are frequently useful to the former, by pointing out the inconvenience of a proposition, or the prudence of withdrawing it.

The chief of the regency at Ratzeburg has the rank of a lieutenant-general. He superintends the bailiffs and the civil officers, and is at the head of the ducal consistory; he is also charged with defending the rights of the peasants against the encroachments of the nobles: the electoral government has perceived the necessity of preserving this privilege of the people.

The states of Hanover are composed of the prelates of the equestrian order, and the magistrates of the cities. The priests are of the first rank, as guardians of the bonds which unite the prince and the people. The nobles occupy the second, as the supporters of the dignity of the throne, and the independence of the people. The magistrates of the cities and the large villages are placed in the third, because they are the true and essential representatives of the people, and are intimately acquainted with their wants and feelings.

Owing to the great equality of condition which prevails among the different classes of society in Hanover, the people enjoy a considerable portion of comfort. During the sitting of the states, the ecclesiastical deputies receive instructions from their constituents. The nobles choose their own representatives; but as they enjoy the privilege of voting on *soul and conscience*, the prince has wisely retained a controul over their election. Some trifling deviation has been effected in the rights originally exercised by these three orders; the infraction upon those of the clergy, has been made in a spirit of equity.

The duty of the states is to watch over and maintain the liberties of the country, and the privileges belonging to every order of

citizens; to enforce a due and regular administration of the laws, and the faithful distribution of the public money. The power which the prince can exert over the deliberations of the assembly, is very small; he dare not establish any impost without their consent, and still less in opposition to their will: neither can he accomplish any favourite measure by means of *secret influence*, since the army is solely composed of Hanoverian soldiers. This regulation is more adverse to the exertion of an undue stretch of prerogative by an absent prince, than by one who should reside in the country. The rights of the people are besides guaranteed by the constitution of the Germanic empire; and perhaps rendered still more secure by the vicinity of the Prussian dominions.

When a law is found insufficient, or any impost inadequate to answer the purpose intended, the states and the prince equally enjoy the right of proposing its re-consideration. If the states refuse the request of the elector to this purpose, he enjoys not the power to reiterate his demand; if they acquiesce, the prince, or rather the regency, sanctions it, and it is immediately promulgated to the people.

The different compacts which connect the first magistrates of a free state with the people, are equally obligatory on both parties. The oath of allegiance can be only so far binding on the part of the people as the oath of fidelity is faithfully adhered to by the prince. When either party ceases to perform those conditions they have voluntarily undertaken, the civil compact is at an end. The elector of Hanover is bound to maintain the constitution of the country, its laws and usages; to defend the electorate from foreign invasion, and from internal dissentions; to spend within the state the revenues appropriated to his use; and to employ none but natives in the administrative, political, and military departments of the government, since the citizens alone have an interest in maintaining the social compact, and a right to its advantages.

The birth-days of the elector and the electress, were annually celebrated at Hanover; the gentlemen were presented in the morning, and the ladies in the evening; a ball and supper, with a display of fire-works, concluded the gala.

When a prince of the reigning house resides at Hanover, he enjoys all that respect which the people pay to the members of the first families. The duke of Cambridge did not command the army during his short stay in Hanover; having only the rank of lieutenant-general, he was necessarily under the orders of field-marshal de Walmoden. He inhabited the palace of the princess of Wales, which is at present occupied by the commander in chief of the French army.

The king of England stands relatively in the same situation to

the electorate of Hanover, that the king of Prussia, as count of Neufchatel, does to that state. Constitutionally speaking, the Spanish monarch has not more power over the three Biscays, of which he is nominally the captain; yet his territories adjoin to theirs in every direction except towards the north, while the sea completely separates the British government from that of Hanover. The sovereignty exists effectively in the regency; and the propriety of consulting the elector respecting any particular measure, rests solely with themselves; when in any case this is determined on, the proposition is transmitted to the deputation residing in London, with instructions how to proceed in the business, which is in fact a species of negociation; and the members of this body being of Hanoverian origin, have too much patriotism, and too many family ties, to compromise in any instance the welfare of their country. The regency is extremely cautious that the treasures of the country shall neither become an object of foreign cupidity nor internal strife. The public buildings are attended to with the greatest care, and the gardens and walks kept with the same neatness as if they belonged to private individuals; the salaries are paid with the most minute exactness, and the different appointments bestowed with a scrupulous attention to merit. No person complains; the public debt begins to decrease. The climate is rigorous, but the government is mild, and its attention is continually directed to the farther improvement of its laws and institutions, as the best means of meliorating the condition of the people; to the promotion of agriculture and rural economy, that the wants of the inhabitants may be amply supplied, and that they may not be compelled to emigrate to foreign and inhospitable shores in search of that subsistence it is impossible to obtain in their native land.

CHAP. XV.

OFFICERS OF THE ELECTORAL COURT.--ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.--RIGHT OF PARDON CONFIDED TO THE REGENCY.--POLICE.

THE court of the elector is composed of the great officers of state, attendants who reside in the palace, and the domestics. His gloomy palace at Hanover, his castles, stables, and hunters, before the entrance of the French, were all kept in the same manner as if the prince had really been present. George III. about this time ordered more than seventy race-horses to be sent to Mecklenburg, and from thence to Kew; but a storm coming on, the commander of his packet possessed no other

means of saving the lives of the crew but by throwing them overboard.

After having presented a sketch of the government, it is natural to treat of its laws. It has been already mentioned, that one of the members of the regency resides at Zell, because in that city the high court of appeal holds its sittings. This tribunal is sufficiently distant from the seat of government to be wholly independent in its deliberations: and the minister Van der Wense, who presides over it, is bound to consult the regency in certain difficult cases. It is the duty of the president to weigh well the sophistry of the advocates, the bad faith of those placed under his jurisdiction, the oppressions of the rich, the rights of the poor, justice, reason, and humanity. The decisions of the high court are much respected throughout the north, as being marked by the strictest equity. This illustrious body seems to inherit the virtues of M. de Wrisberg, their president under the reign of George II. This monarch, who was so much attached to the peaceful heaths of his native land, as frequently to prefer them to the pleasures of the English court, said to him one day, "How does it happen that I lose every process I bring before your tribunal?"—"Sire," replied the president, "it is because your majesty is always in the wrong."—"M. de Wrisberg," replied the king, "you speak to me like a magistrate."

The Hanoverians are subject to the jurisdiction of the provincial courts, and to that of the seigneurs: in the former the expence is but trifling: in the latter, however, it is the reverse. The vexations committed by the ministerial officers have frequently excited murmurs, and given birth to various publications, in consequence of which the regency is become extremely circumspect in the appointment of the judges.

The benefit of clergy, and *the trial by jury*, institutions which confer so much honour on the English government, are unknown in Hanover. In general there is observed a due proportion between crimes and punishments, and the chastisements are but slight: fine, reprimand, detention in a house of correction, or imprisonment, and compulsion to labour at the public works for a longer or shorter period, but seldom for life, constitute the chief part of their criminal code. But although the punishment of death be reserved for assassins, it is afflicting to humanity that it is still in the power of the tribunals to award it against those convicted of robbery, in a country where crimes of this kind are extremely rare, on account of the peaceful character of the inhabitants. It is yet more to be lamented that breaking criminals upon the wheel is still practised, though it is always preceded by strangulation; and that the use even of the pre-

paratory torture is not abolished. I shall not imitate the example of Muyard de Vouglans, who appears to delight in describing the instruments of torture, and the manner of employing them. It is sufficient for my purpose to know that this practice continues to prevail in the criminal courts of Hanover; justice, however, obliges me, at the same time, to mention that every sentence condemning a delinquent to such a punishment is submitted, previously to execution, to the deliberation of the regency.

The most august and godlike power possessed by a nation is the *right to pardon*. The people of Hanover have tacitly conferred this right on their chief magistrate, but buried in his palace at Windsor, and acquainted only with a people whose manners are perfectly dissimilar to those of his Hanoverian subjects, how can he revise the decrees of their courts, or judge of the best means of preventing their crimes? The regency alone ought to exercise this right, and whatever shadow of power may in this respect seem to rest with the prince, it is effectively in their hands. Like most sovereigns, the elector may perhaps, in extraordinary cases, be able to influence the opinions of a few of the members; but constitutionally speaking, he possesses neither the means nor the power of regulating their decisions. Besides, the regency has always used it with wisdom and humanity.

Confiscation of property is never resorted to but in extraordinary cases, such as rebellion, so that it may be said to be wholly disused.

The fines imposed at any time are extremely trifling. The money hence arising is partly appropriated to the use of the state, and partly to the judges.

The punishment of death is very rarely inflicted, the Hanoverian law wisely supposing that a few months labour at the public works, according to the age or sex of the delinquent, is sufficient to produce amendment. Hoping to make men better, they have erected houses of correction and of industry, in which nothing is neglected which can tend in the smallest degree to meliorate the manners of those confined in them. The house of industry at Zell, the only one in the whole electorate, is an admirable institution, the object of which is to afford an honest means of livelihood to those unfortunate beings whom misery, ignorance, and want of protection, have driven to seek subsistence by pilfering or mendicity.

Public works are established in five of the principal cities, at which criminals are obliged to labour for a longer or shorter period; the more hardened offenders are sent to Hameln, and others of them are employed in the quarries of Lunenburg.

The Roman and public law, the constitution of the empire, the bulls of the emperors, and the particular constitutions of the

various provinces composing the electorate, serve as precedents to the magistrates on which to found their political, civil, and criminal judgments. In order to qualify an individual for exercising the office of a magistrate, he must have taken a lawyer's degree.

The high police of the electorate is placed under the direction of a board, which holds its sittings in the capital; but its interference is seldom found necessary. The greatest confidence prevails in this state between the governors and the governed; the most convincing proof of which is, that the manufacture of gunpowder, and the founding of cannon, are trusted solely to private individuals.

No dissensions between different religious sects have hitherto required the interference of the high police, because no one of them is suffered to dominate over the rest, or to interfere in any matters beyond the regulation of their own internal concerns. Under the control of this board the Lutheran consistories have a right to superintend the different pastors belonging to their persuasion; and the direction of the congregations of the Calvinists and Roman Catholics is submitted to the ministers of each communion, assisted by a council of ancients.

In all the cities of Hanover watchmen are employed during the night, in the same manner as in England and the United States of America. In ordinary cases, the ministerial officers are found sufficient for the due execution of the laws: scarce an instance is remembered in which it was found necessary to call in the aid of the armed force.

CHAP. XVI.

STATE OF THE FINANCES IN HANOVER.—BANKS OF THE LEINE, AND THE CASCADE OF SCHNELLE GRAVE.

THE revenue of Hanover is chiefly derived from an impost on land; a contribution from the peasants in money, grain, and labour on the high-ways; a pole-tax in proportion to the different classes of the citizens; a duty on cattle; on the consumption of luxuries; on salt, coals, and turf. A considerable sum likewise arises to the state from tythes; from a tax on mills, on leases; from tolls for the passage of goods; from the custom-house, the forests, the fisheries, and the game laws. The several sums thus obtained, as well as those arising from the mines of Hartz; from the coinage of money; from the postage of letters; and the duty on horses and public carriages, are paid into the treasury of the six provincial states. From these funds are defrayed the salaries of the judges and other public functionaries; the

expences incurred in the construction and repairs of the public buildings; in the management and preservation of the forests*; in the erection of bridges; in the formation of high-ways; and, in short, in every thing connected with the administration of justice and police in each of the provincial states. The balance is then transmitted by the receivers of each particular state to the electoral treasury, and a state of their accounts is at the same time submitted to the inspection of the chamber of finance.

The electoral treasury is under the direction of the regency. I have been assured that the whole of their revenues are appropriated to the service of the state, and that no part of it passes into the hands of the king of England: but by others I have heard it as positively asserted, that the elector draws from three to four millions a-year from his Hanoverian dominions.

Be this, however, as it may, the ostensible purposes for which the revenue is collected, are to defray the expence of the administration of every department of government, to support the Hanoverian court, to keep in repair the palaces, parks, gardens, and every part of the electoral domains, as well as to defray the expence attendant on the establishment of the younger branches of the electoral family during their residence within the state. From this source are likewise paid the salaries of the members composing the state colleges, the tribunals, and administrative bodies; the contributions to the Germanic empire: the expence of diplomatic agents: of public institutions, and the pensions granted to various individuals by the government. A portion of the revenue is also appropriated to defray the interest of the national debt, for which the lands are mortgaged, and to provide for the maintenance of the armed force. A part of the expence incurred by the military service is said by some to be paid, however, out of the private purse of the elector himself.

The debt contracted to support the seven years war is not yet extinguished. The recent occupation of Hanover, though only for a short period, by the king of Prussia, has added considerably to its magnitude: and the stay of the French must tend to augment it still further.

By those who have enjoyed opportunities of being well informed on the subject, it is affirmed, that the total amount of the revenues of Hanover is four millions of rix dollars.

Previous to the French invasion the king of England had, by extreme parsimony, amassed a fortune of between nine hundred

* The superintendence of the forests being considered as a science in Germany, no person can be appointed as intendant of the forests in Hanover, who has not studied this there three years at Gottingen. Stat. Account of Hanover.

thousand and one million of livres sterling, which he ordered to be sent to Britain along with the relics, the archives, the race-horses, and vassals slaves belonging to the electoral domains.

But let us leave the affairs of state to breathe the free air of the country; let us visit the banks of the Leina. Proceeding by a long avenue of beech and elm-trees, we perceive the city of Hanover to the right, with its four steeples, its houses intermixed with poplars and lime-trees, and its pleasant and rural suburbs. This irregular assemblage of religious monuments, plain and neat palaces, Gothic edifices, small wooden houses, churches painted of various colours, and arbours of many different shapes and dimensions, convey the most pleasing ideas to the mind of one who has seen the rising cities of the United States, the flourishing villages of Helvetia, the ruined towns of Spain, and the sepulchre of the ancient mistress of the universe. To the right stretches the country interspersed with hamlets: here and there I met the French soldiers carrying in their arms the little children of the Hanoverians, or beheld them swimming among the native youths in the Leina. "Are these men," I enquired of myself, "the hostile invaders of Hanover, or, like me, are they only come to contemplate these peaceful scenes."

In order to reach the banks of the Leina by this path, it is necessary to cross an extensive meadow. At the time I visited it, the flowers had in a great measure faded, but it was still covered with a luxuriant verdure. The waters of this river flow rapidly over a spongy bottom, and are somewhat discoloured by an ochrey impregnation. The trees cut down for the purpose of fire-wood, are floated down this stream.

The windings of the Leina produce a very pleasing effect, as well as a triple row of elm-trees planted along its banks, which are covered with rose-bushes and sword-grass. How favourable to contemplation is the surrounding scene! On casting our eyes over the vast meadows, covered with numerous herds of cattle, and bounded in the distance by the bluish mountains of Calemberg, and the fertile hills of Linden, the woods and hamlets of which, when I viewed them, were gilded by the rays of the setting sun, the passions and desires by which the life of man is agitated, sink into repose. Amidst such scenes, could we transport hither our families and our friends, we would wish to take up our abode! Of what importance is it by what laws a country is governed, or what lord is the proprietor of the soil, provided the atmosphere be pure, the hamlets cheerful, the meadows fertile, the flocks numerous, the rivulets limpid, and the shepherds happy?

Why do the Germans excel in depicting rural life? Why are they so mild and hospitable? Why do they delight in pastoral

poetry? They owe it to their country and simple manner of life. They describe accurately, because they feel what they describe.

Having spoken of the windings of the Leina, I must not omit to mention that they are wholly artificial. Some springs near the fortifications of Hanover not being sufficient to fill the ditches, it was thought proper to supply the deficiency from the waters of the Leina, for which purpose a canal has been cut in a serpentine direction to the distance of almost three kilometres above the city. On this canal, which was first constructed for a military purpose, is now brought the chief part of the provisions consumed by the inhabitants of the capital.

To prevent the river flowing back to its former bed, and to relieve it when too full in consequence of occasional swells, a large barrier is constructed of grey stone, about two kilometers in length, so as to admit the surplus waters to flow into its former channel by means of three very long dams. This work is remarkable for its solidity and the style in which it is built; and in proportion to the quantity of water assumes either the appearance of an Alpine cascade, or a Roman fountain. Above the dams are elevated strong pilasters, into which are driven planks of wood, in order to contain the affluence of water which would otherwise overflow the surrounding pastures. At the distance of two kilometres below the city the two branches of the Leina are reunited, and flow with rapidity into the Weser.

CHAP. XVII.

MILITARY FORCE OF HANOVER. MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AT HELSBURG.—FOUNDRY AT HANOVER.—NO ENGLISH EMPLOYED IN THE HANOVERIAN ARMIES

THE military force of Hanover is composed of

Cavalry	4,000
Infantry	12,015
Artillery	671
Corps of engineers	95
Which including the militia, amounts to	9,500
Makes a total of	26,881 men.

The soldiers are all natives of Hanover. The militia is composed of pensioners who have served twenty-five years in the army; their organization, equipment, and clothing are precisely the same with the troops of the line. The cavalry are in general recruited from the sons of farmers.

The commander in chief of the Hanoverian army is field-

marshal de Walmoden-Gimborn, count of the empire. He is said to have sprung from the connection of George II. with a Hanoverian lady who was highly deserving of his affection. It is to this gentleman that the delightful garden I have formerly described, belongs. All classes of the inhabitants unite in pronouncing an eulogium on his virtues, his beneficence, and his condescension. He particularly endeared himself to the French commissaries of war, and the officers appointed to hold a conference with him respecting the disbanding the Hanoverian army at Altenburg. At this interview he displayed himself to be a humane philosopher, and a patriotic warrior; who preferred the good of his country to the false glory and useless pride of plunging her into a bloody and destructive war. The agents of the English cabinet, as may be expected, represent him as a weak and timid man.

By the constitution of the electorate the operations of the field-marshal, in respect to the security of the state, are subordinate to the regency; and the military economy is under the controul of the war department, over which one of the regents presides.

If the Prince of Wales be not permitted to hold a higher rank than that of colonel in the British army, the duke of Cambridge is, in like manner, only a lieutenant-general and inspector of the Hanoverian forces. By a provision of the *pacta conventa*, the duke must always remain subordinate to the field marshal.

It may not be here useless to repeat what I formerly mentioned, that besides the three plebeian generals in an army created *by, and for the nobles*, there were at the time the French entered Hanover several colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and other officers, who were not of noble extraction, serving in the different corps, and who had been promoted either on account of extraordinary merit, or the length of their services.

We have already mentioned the military school: the friends of mankind, far from regarding this establishment with dread or suspicion, as being wholly appropriated to the children of the nobles, ought, on the contrary, rather to rejoice at its institution, and pray for its continuance whilst the present Hanoverian constitution exists. In it the young nobles are taught that true greatness consists not in reckoning a long line of ancestors, but in the cultivation of their talents, and in the exercise of virtue. What a difference is there, in fact, between a man thus instructed, and one whose mind is wholly uncultivated! The latter is insupportable from his pride of ancestry, and still more from the poverty of his mind, the vulgarity of his expressions, and the meanness of his sentiments; his only occupation is hunting, wrangling, and humbling those he deems beneath him: while the former avoids

all claim from superiority of birth, converses freely with the virtuous, whatever may be their rank in life: affords consolation to the unfortunate, and by the tone of equality which he assumes in his intercourse with his fellow citizens, displays that he is fully instructed in what the true dignity of man consists.

The military commandants who are appointed to the ten garrison towns of the electorate*, enjoy no rank in the troops of the line. There are no military hospitals in the electorate. The civil hospital in the capital supplies their place. The expence incurred on account of the military, is defrayed from the chests of the different regiments. The revenue of this institution, partly arises from endowments by different individuals, partly from a small sum paid by each patient at entrance, and from collections made at the places of public worship. All the patients likewise bring along with them their clothes and bedding: the council of administration under the direction of their chief, has the superintendence of the whole.

The total number of invalids amounts to about 7,000. In the small villages of Munder, are a few in a respectable state of discipline, who are clothed and supported at the public expence. Their pay is somewhat greater than that of the marching regiments. Every soldier has a right to demand his discharge at the expiration of twenty years, or sooner, if he be infirm or wounded. He is then entitled to a pension according to his rank. Those who are confirmed valetudinarians, receive besides a bushel of rye monthly. The fund from which these pensions are paid, is derived from a stoppage out of the pay of each soldier, and a drawback from the first year's revenue of every employment conferred by the state on any individual.

The manufactory of arms at Hertzberg is the only one in the electorate, and it enjoys a great reputation throughout all Germany. The cannon foundery is situated on the glacis of the city of Hanover, on the side next the road leading to Zell.

It is somewhat extraordinary that the regency should not have retained in their own hands the exclusive right to the manufactory of gunpowder: that carried on at Hersen, near the city of Hameln, is reckoned to be of the best quality.

* These are Hanover, Munder, Zell, Luneburg, Nienburg, Stade, Haarburg, Ratzeburg, and Osnaburgh. It has been said in France, that there are no fortifications in Hanover of sufficient strength to resist or retard an invasion. Ultimately to resist is certainly impossible: but the works of Hameln and Haarburg, if well defended, might unquestionably greatly retard the progress of an invading army. The fortifications of Stade were demolished in 1781; but those erected on the Klutberg, above the Weser, in 1760, and which are named Fort George, in honour of his Britannic majesty, have acquired considerable importance from the constant addition of new works.

The elector never instituted any military order; he recompenses the services of his subjects with presents, places, or pensions.

Since the accession of the house of Hanover to the British throne, there is not a single example of any English subject being employed in the Hanoverian armies, except that of two Roman catholic officers who entered it as ensigns, and retired a short time after being promoted to the rank of captains. On the other hand, the English constitution being decidedly hostile to the admission of foreign mercenaries into the island, and considering the Hanoverians as such, it was not until the dread of a French invasion began to pervade the British cabinet, that they formed and took into pay a body of Hanoverian fugitives. The character of the electoral troops is similar to that of the German soldiery in general. The officers are distinguished for their intelligence, curtesy, and steadiness. M. de Boch, lieutenant-colonel of the Hanoverian guards, is an officer of the first distinction. The soldiers lost a father in general d'Hammerstein, who entered the Russian service. This general is well known to the French warriors under Menin, and is highly esteemed by them for his conduct in that affair.

I enquired of M. de Boch, who was the most renowned general in their army. "It would ill become me," replied he, "to judge of the degrees of glory due to my superiors: all that I can say is, that general Hammerstein has recently had the honour of making himself known to the French army."

CHAP. XIX.

POPULATION AND AGRICULTURE OF THE ELECTORATE.—LINDENBURG AND ITS VILLAGE.—INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, &c.

IT is agriculture which consoles man for the evils of war, cherishes the commerce, and increases the population of any country. Let us then visit the Saxon Ceres, which the mythology of the north has personified under the name of *Erth*, and enumerate the number of her children.

The population of the electorate is reckoned at eight or nine hundred thousand souls; which gives about 1,500 to every square German mile. But this calculation is partly conjectural: can it be believed that the regency are ignorant of the number of families employed in agriculture, and the number of acres in a state of culture, when the science of observation is here regarded with almost religious veneration, and when it is in Germany that statistics

were first raised to the dignity of a science: I have, however, been assured that the government are in possession of few documents on this subject, and consequently are very uncertain respecting the division of the electoral territory into arable and pasture lands, woods, and marshes. But many learned men have lately turned their attention to agriculture and statistics, and carefully collected materials, of which it is to be hoped the government may avail themselves at no distant period.

In traversing the heaths and marshes of Hanover, it is easy to perceive that cultivation has scarcely made any progress; it is mortifying to behold large parcels of excellent land only attended to by some foreign families. I have remarked in many places marl, argillaceous and sandy earth, disposed in thick regular strata interrupted by furrows, a judicious mixture of which I am persuaded would be a means of producing abundant harvests. Here and there, the eye fatigued by the sight of barren deserts, rests upon a neat cabin, surrounded by a kitchen garden, well cultivated fields, and a smiling meadow, the abode of tranquillity and contentment. From profound chasms have emerged lands which had been buried for ages under rain water; here the gayest flowers of the meadow display themselves on the wrecks of reeds, sword-grass, and water-lilies. The salts and remains of aquatic vegetables being mingled with the arid sands, have in time produced a vigorous soil, covered with an abundant crop of trefoil and sainfoin, and ornamented by a variety of odoriferous plants. These fertile spots in the Hanoverian deserts are, however, as rarely to be met with, as *Oases* in Egypt, and would require around them the chariots of Triptolemus.

It is generally supposed, by those who enjoy the best information on the subject, that nearly one half of the land in Hanover is covered with weeds; that a fifth part of the arable fields are employed in pasturage; and of the portion allotted to the cultivation of grain, a third is occupied by peas and beans, a fourth by wheat, rye, and buck-wheat; the fifth by barley; and the sixth by oats. From the undue proportion of the land assigned to pasturage, and the great quantity of oats that is raised in comparison with the other grains, we are naturally led to conclude that Hanover is a country of cavalry; which is in fact the case, especially in the district of Hova. The peasants all possess teams of four or six horses, which for beauty, vigour, height, and elegance of form, may fairly dispute the palm with a great number of the chariot and riding horses in France. The different stages are well supplied with excellent cattle: that from Welle to Haarburg, which is six leagues and a half, is drawn by four noble animals. The farm horses, which in cases of emergency are at the disposal of the post masters, frequently excite the admi-

ration of travellers by their extreme beauty. The arms of Hanover and Mecklenburg bear a horse at full gallop, as well as those of Osnaburgh, and several of the neighbouring states; which seems to indicate, that Lower Saxony must have been long distinguished for the breed of this noble animal.

The seven years war, the armed neutrality, and the part taken by the Hanoverian government in the last coalition, have not tended to meliorate the condition of the farmer. Without these successive calamities, to which may be added the standing army, the depopulation occasioned by the drafts from different regiments sent to the Indies, and by the annual recruiting from the vassals, the duty on cattle, tithes, the impost on the peasants, and on the land, culture might have been co-extensive with the population, a great number of the marshes might have been drained so as to have afforded pasturage to immense flocks and herds of cattle. Many countries are more favoured by *Isis* and *Osiris*, but there are few which by some slight sacrifices on the part of the government and the landed proprietors, might be cultivated more rapidly or with greater advantage. The lands of Hanover possess even some eminent advantages: they are neither impoverished by the rapacity of monks, lawyers, nor financiers. The priests are citizens, and there does not exist a monk throughout the electorate These blood-suckers of the peasantry have not yet been diffused through this peaceful state, and the majority of the bailiffs and magistrates, being themselves either cultivators or proprietors, have no interest in fomenting contests and animosities, which would ultimately terminate in the ruin of the labourer.

Besides, the peasants, who are in general extremely tenacious of their prejudices in favour of old-established modes of culture and management, are in this country, on the whole, not averse to innovation; nor is this surprising if we reflect that they have constantly before their eyes the example of the principal inhabitants of their parishes, their magistrates, and their merchants, who are engaged in agricultural experiments; and that each succeeding harvest demonstrates to them, in the clearest manner possible, the certain profit to be derived from the adoption of their methods.

From the marshy nature of a great part of the soil, irrigation is not so much required in Hanover as draining. If this operation was performed on an extensive scale, the electorate would be able to rear a sufficient number of horses and black cattle, to supply the greatest part of Germany, Holland, and France. In the districts I visited, it is scarcely possible to believe that the mountaineer husbandman of the present day, the inhabitant of the banks of the Weser and the Elbe, and the peasant of the Low Countries, are the descendants of those innumerable Saxon tribes which de-

solated Western Europe. On what products of the earth did they subsist at that distant period? Is it not the perfection of agriculture which multiplies the human species? There are, however, a great number of fertile and populous vallies. The banks of the Elbe and the Weser, the lands in their vicinity, intersected by numerous rivers and streams, and the surrounding cities and villages, present a picture equally rich in appearance, as that of more fertile countries; but this abundance is only local, and the grain produced throughout the electorate is not sufficient for the subsistence of its inhabitants.

The duchy of Saxe Lunenburg is the only Hanoverian province which is completely cultivated. This superiority is attributable to an amicable agreement entered into between the seigneurs and the peasants. The latter enjoyed a right of pasturage in the forests, for which the proprietor received a compensation in the form of tithes: it was agreed on the one part to renounce this privilege, and on the other, to relinquish the right of drawing tithes: and to assign to each commoner a piece of land in proportion to his possession, and contiguous to it. The peasants have cultivated with the greatest care these additions to their property, which are not burdened by any services whatever; and the lords, now sole proprietors of their forests, draw from them greater benefits; they have been fully re-peopled in the course of a few years. It is to be hoped that this useful regulation will be adopted in all the other electoral states, when agriculture will soon convert the barren heaths into smiling fields, increase population, and make indigence disappear.

Notwithstanding that their pasturage is not abundant, and their meadows far from luxuriant, they are yet able to rear, and export a considerable number of horses to France and Italy, but chiefly to Saxony. The French cavalry were partly mounted on the four thousand, and some hundred horses delivered up to them in consequence of the convention of Altenburg, and I believe an equal number were since purchased with the same intention. The loss of so many valuable animals must unquestionably be felt in Hanover; but I am fully persuaded it will not be irreparable.

At the conclusion of a peace the government will perceive the necessity of encouraging agriculture, and the breeding of horses and black cattle. The proprietors of lordships will prefer lands to fiefs, harvests to tithes, and fruit-trees to isolated stakes standing upon barren heaths. The Hanoverians are from the nature of their country, husbandmen, shepherds, and foresters; and when they return to their own proper sphere, no power will henceforward trouble their repose.

It would be highly prudent to discourage, as much as possible, a breed of heavy and deformed horses which is very com-

tion in a few of the cantons. It will perhaps astonish M. Huzard, and those who have given themselves up to the care of studs, that the system of crossing the northern races with those of the south, does not succeed. After repeated trials, no superiority whatever is discernible in the progeny of a Hanoverian mare and a Turkish stallion; but on the contrary, the most beautiful race is produced by stallions from mares of the country. They seldom cross the native breed by English hunters; those of the stock of Mecklenburg, are generally preferred, as being in every respect better suited to the purpose.

Horses intended for the cavalry are never mounted until they are seven or eight years old, and are supposed to retain their full vigour at twenty-five; but if they are employed when much younger, they are found unfit for service at a very early age.

On the surrender of the Hanoverian cavalry at Altenburg, which were admitted by the best judges to be most excellent horses, it was discovered on inspection, that the major part of them had lost the mark of mouth. Some very affecting scenes occurred on this occasion, from the attachment of the soldiers to their faithful companions. One very old dragoon in particular, and who was reputed the bravest man of his regiment, bathed his horse's head with tears, saying, "My poor friend, I am no longer permitted to take care of thee! thou wilt die without having Hermann by thy side!"

The wool produced in this electorate, is of the very worst quality; which may be accounted for, not only from the scanty pasturage, but from the wool-bearing animals in this country being nearly all derived from a race of small black sheep, which instead of a fleece, are covered with a mass of long, hard, and coarse hair, like that of goats. The Belgians employ it in the manufacture of coarse cloth: and the Hanoverians themselves work it up into a species of stuff, of a very tolerable appearance.

I must not, however, omit to mention, that for some time past, much attention has been paid to the improvement of the d of sheep, and that the exertions of those laudably employed have already been rewarded. The government, in conjunction with some proprietors, imported from Upper Saxony several rams of the *Merinos* breed. By crossing the native ewes with these rams, the wool thus produced is fine, silky, and would not lose by a comparison with that of Spain or England. It is consoling to behold nations, the most remote from each other, drawn together, thus to speak, by common pursuits, and common enjoyments. The friend of mankind, when he visits foreign countries, will be careful to observe, and to make known on his return, whatever he may approve in the manners, the habits, the pursuits of the people, or in the constitution and

administration of their government. Happy the nation, whose rulers have the wisdom to listen to such relations from the true friends of science, and of the human race. Still happier if they possess the wisdom and liberality to promote their adoption amongst those they govern. In this way the plants, the useful animals, the brilliant arts of the south might be naturalized in the north; and the north in return might transport to the south, its cordage, its tar, its masts, its evergreens, its grain, its pure and simple manners, and its cautious wisdom.

The cows of Hanover are neither so large nor beautiful, as those of Holland, Switzerland, or Poitou. In general, they are of a black and white, or white and fawn colour. With a view to improve the breed, they procure bulls from Holland. These bulls are brought originally from Helvetia, and are transported down the Rhine from Basle to Kaiserwerth.

The Hanoverian goats are a pitiful race of animals; very few are to be seen in the electorate, and still fewer asses.

The general features of this country bear a striking resemblance to those of Brittany; and the appearance and manners of the inhabitants, are not even extremely dissimilar; I may add, that they likewise resemble them in their laziness, and in an ardent desire for spirituous liquors.

The dress of the peasants, and particularly of the females, is nearly the same as that worn in Normandy. The favourite colour for waistcoats and petticoats is red. They wear small caps on their heads turned up behind, and tied before; they are made of tinsel brocade, ornamented with muslin, or plaited lace, and artificial flowers: a large knot of ribbons about four inches broad falls upon the neck. This national head-dress, which may be still seen on their tomb-stones, and in their ancient pictures, adorning the heads of women of quality, is now only worn by waiting maids, and the very lowest of the peasantry. The wives of the shopkeepers and the farmers in easy circumstances, wear caps or bonnets after the French fashion.

There is not a single instance of any English subject having purchased land in Hanover. The most celebrated agriculturists in the electorate, are Thaër, principal physician to the court at Zell; Homeyer of Limmer, Westfeld of Windie; and the provisionary counsellors of the regency, Brandes and Munkhausen of Hanover. The extensive lordships of Hanover are occupied by the families of Alten, Bernstorf, Hardenberg, and Kigge. The agricultural society of Zell have produced several works on rural œconomy, but the benefit arising from them is far inferior to what is derived from the example of its members: the lordships of whom, we have already spoken, may be considered as so many experimental farms.

After enquiring into the state of agriculture, the next idea which presents itself to the mind of a traveller, is to find a spot, whence at his ease he may contemplate the surrounding landscape, the fields, the meadows, the flocks, and the farms; with this view he ought to ascend the hill of Linden, about half a league from the capital. The road which leads to it is bordered by gardens, terraces, and houses of entertainment. Insensibly we reach its summit, and so gradual is the ascent, that it is only by looking down on the surrounding vallies watered by the Leina, that we perceive the height we have attained. On the plain of Linden, which has by a kind of courtesy obtained the appellation of a mountain (Lindenberg), are an excellent tavern and a mill. The miller has fixed on the plain a telescope, by the aid of which, he affirms, in a clear day may be viewed the spots of the sun; as likewise the Alps and Mont Blanc of Lower Saxony; that is to say, the chain of Hartz, and the *Brocken*, by which they are overtopped. Admirers of the neighbourhood of Linden, do not make choice of a clear day for your excursion: the telescope of the miller will deceive you.

He has the reputation of being a good astronomer and an excellent grinder of flour. Instruction is not then so dangerous as some would represent, to the active class of citizens; Herschel, who may be regarded as the Columbus of the celestial world, was a player on the hautboy to a regiment of Hanoverian guards.

The descent from Lindenberg towards the north is extremely abrupt. About half way from the top we reach a limekiln, the upper walls of which are constructed of brick fixed in wooden frames. I mention this merely to shew the uniformity which prevails in their mode of building in Hanover. In the neighbourhood of this kiln, they procure large blocks of calcareous stone, which are employed in paving the streets of Hanover. On reaching the bottom, we enter the extensive village of Linden, which exhibits a perfect resemblance of a rising city of the United States. The greatest number of the cottages are surrounded by orchards, kitchen gardens, and belts of old trees. They have, in short, preserved the same form in the construction of their villages as that spoken of by Cæsar and Tacitus. The population of Linden is considerable, if we may judge by the number of children with golden locks, blue eyes, and rosy cheeks, that are seen sporting before the door of every cottage. The lord of the village has constructed a large house for the reception of the poor, into which also the greatest number of the children are admitted, and where stuffs are manufactured of a superior quality to any other in the electorate.

When agriculture is neglected in a country destitute of con-

venient maritime ports, it is in vain to expect extensive mercantile concerns. The commercial spirit of the Hanoverians is not encouraged by the merchants of Hamburgh and Bremen; they rather wish to profit by their want of enterprise in this respect; and it is perhaps more for the interest of all continental countries, to cultivate a taste for agricultural pursuits in preference to the manufacturing system, at least if their population be scanty, and their territory not very extensive.

The territorial products of Hanover are of little value. In each of its cities are fairs; in Osnaburgh there are two every year, and in Hanover four. But there is nothing exposed to sale, except those commodites which have been purchased by the Hanoverian merchant at the fairs of Brunswick, Leipsick, and Frankfort on the Maine. These consist chiefly of earthen ware, pins, needles, agricultural and handicraft instruments, coarse articles of linen drapery, baskets of all sizes, coarse stuffs, laces, threads, inferior kinds of ribbons, toys for children, and such like articles, (by the sale of which they sometimes amass little fortunes,) are exposed in booths arranged around the market-place. The English merchandise which have found their way into the interior of the electorate by the way of Hamburgh, Embden, Bremen, and Brunswick, are displayed in the galleries of the houses, along with the linens of Frise and Prussia, the cloths, the silks, and the jewels of France.

The Hanoverian artisans are only employed by their fellow-citizens, and some of the inhabitants of the adjoining states, who, notwithstanding political limits, are strictly connected with them by a similarity of language and manners. They manufacture a good deal both of plain and table linen; in Osnaburgh, in particular, the most common employment is spinning flax, which is afterwards wrought up into damask, but which is far inferior to that of Prussia and Friseland. The greatest part of it is disposed of at the home market, except during peace, when the surplus is exported to North America and the Spanish colonies, by the way of the Hanseatic towns. At no time, however, are their exports very extensive, though Hamburgh, Bremen, and Leipsick afford convenient ports for carrying on this trade. They cultivate very little hemp; their domestic linens being mostly made of flax, and the British cabinet is far from encouraging them to bring this species of manufacture to perfection, lest they might enter into competition with the Irish linens. None of their yarn is spun sufficiently fine, to be wrought into lawns or cambrics; besides, the vicinity of Belgium and Flanders, where these fabrics are produced in a very superior style, affords but small hopes of their succeeding in this branch of commerce. There are, however, many of the Hanoverian mercha
have acquired a decent independence. nts who

There are also different manufactories of coarse cloth and paper, several tanneries, and some glass-houses. The cloths made in the electorate, are chiefly purchased by the poor, and by the government for the purpose of clothing the army. The paper is not so fine as that fabricated in Holland or France. The tanneries are very numerous, but either from employing an imperfect process, or from the quality of the water, their leather is of a very inferior kind; one half of it is consumed in the electorate, and the remainder is sent to Saxony and Belgium. One or two of their tanneries have, however, a great reputation. Their glass has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection; some vases and other articles made in imitation of crystal and agate, which are considered in this country as master-pieces, sufficiently evince, that this art is still in its infancy among the Hanoverians. That produced in the bailliwic of Lauinstein is the most celebrated; but even this is much inferior to that made in France. Besides this glass-house there are two large manufactories, the one of fire-arms at Hertzberg, and the other of iron and copper utensils at Hartz. This last manufacture is equal, and even superior to any thing of the same kind carried on in France. There silver, plate, jewellery, gold and silver lace, embroidery, and sadlery ware fabricated in the city of Hanover, are far from being despicable. I have seen silver plate extremely rich and elegant, and in such forms as to indicate not only good taste in the purchaser, but considerable ability in the artist. They also set diamonds here in a much superior manner to what is done either in Italy or in Spain, though not so well as what is done at Paris.

They also cut white, yellow, or red amber globes, with facets, for ear-rings, necklaces, and bracelets, which the Jews purchase, and dispose of again at a very extravagant profit. In the female school of industry at Hanover, which is admirably conducted by madame Klochenbring, are executed some very excellent pieces of embroidery, which sells at a very high price.

Horses, black cattle, wax, lead, linens, leather, and salt, particularly those of Lunenburg, form the chief articles of exportation. The greatest part of the wool is purchased originally from Prussia, Saxony, and Belgium; they also export oats, barley, thread, the iron and copper of Hartz, the turf of the duchy of Bremen, and planks of timber; the two last mentioned are chiefly sold to the merchants of the Hanseatic and maritime cities.

The butter made in the country is scarcely sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants. They neither manufacture soda, pot-ash, nor distil Geneva. Their beer is of a very inferior quality, and can only be relished by those who have been

long accustomed to its taste. English porter is sold at a very high rate.

The sloe shrub grows in great profusion in one of the Hanoverian bailiwicks, and in the vicinity of Hamburgh. The merchants employ the fruit with the intention of giving a body to their red wines. The thick heavy wines from the south of France, and the Nantz wines, are sent to Hanover, and indeed to all Germany, by the way of Hamburgh and Bremen, and are generally preferred by the inhabitants of these countries to Rhenish wine. The red is termed Bourdeaux wine, the white Champagne.

The retail shops in Hanover, and the warehouses of cloths, and of French silks, are extremely well stored; and the merchants seem to dispose of them at a moderate profit. They likewise abound with English merchandise, particularly their cloths and cottons.

Travel into any other country but Hanover, enter the most insignificant shop, and you will there meet with Englishmen; this electorate alone affords the example of workshops and counting-houses without English clerks and artificers. Too much circumscribed by its powerful neighbours, the Hanoverian government have in vain endeavoured to establish a prohibitory system, although they employ every means in their power to prevent the introduction of foreign articles of commerce, or the exportation of those raw materials produced within the country, which are so necessary to encourage a spirit of industry and emulation among their own citizens. The only restriction that the regency has been able to carry into effect, is one against the importation of English coarse cloths, the low price of which would totally ruin the manufactories of a similar kind established in different parts of the electorate.

CHAP. XX.

PRINCIPALITY OF OSNABURGH.—TOWN-HOUSE OF OSNABURGH REMARKABLE FOR THE CONFERENCES HELD IN IT PREVIOUS TO THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA.—MINERAL WATERS OF LOWER SAXONY.—HOT BATHS OF LIMMER.

THE union of Osnaburgh to the electorate of Hanover, renders it necessary that I should take notice of that country.

The principality of Osnaburgh contains forty-five square German miles. The amount of its population is reckoned to be about one hundred and thirty-three-thousand souls. In the capital which bears its name, are one thousand two hundred and eighty-one houses, and eight thousand inhabitants. It is situated in a

valley between two mountains, or rather two ridges of elevated land, and upon the borders of the Haze.

On the 10th of November 1802, George III. of England, in capacity of Elector of Hanover, took possession of the bishoprick of Osnaburgh, which was secularized by the treaty of Lunéville.

The city of Osnaburgh formerly constituted part of the Hanseatic union. Its commerce in cloths and linen was then considerable. The former has declined, the latter still supports its credit. The number of pieces of linen annually manufactured in this principality is estimated at thirty thousand, at the price of from twenty to twenty-five thalers each. But these linens do not equal either in beauty or fineness, those of Frize or Silesia.

The town-house is remarkable for the conferences which were held in it, previous to the treaty of Westphalia. We saw in the hall where these were held, not only the portraits of the different ambassadors, but likewise those of the monarchs, who were parties to that famous treaty. They likewise preserve three small pieces of gold struck by the Anabaptists in 1634.

On the 9th of June 1803, the French troops, under the command of general Drouet, took possession of the country and city of Osnaburgh.

Lower Saxony abounds with mineral waters; those which have obtained the greatest celebrity, perhaps from being the most frequented, are the waters of Pyrmont. During summer, the rich Germans, by the advice of their physicians, croud in great numbers to this place. The journey, the gaiety, the various amusements, and the pure air of Pyrmont, certainly greatly contribute along with the waters to produce many a cure; if the patients do not plunge into criminal indulgencies, or engage deeply in high play, which unfortunately proves too often the case.

It is not unfrequent to meet here with pretended baronesses with reputed husbands, or fathers and others assuming titles to which they have no pretensions, decorated with different orders, or clothed in uniform. It was these females and their chevaliers, which suggested to the painter Ramberg, his justly celebrated picture of *Pharoan*.

These waters possess the reputation of curing head-achs, megrims, and giddiness; coughs, catarrh, and obstinate asthma; debility of the stomach, palpitations of the heart, and cardialgia; rheumatism and gout; complaints of the intestines, hypochondriasis, and uterine obstructions. If this celebrity be well founded, it is truly astonishing, that the pilgrims do not desert the shrine of Loretto, in order to pay their devotions to the nymph, or the saint of the fountain of Pyrmont.

The waters of Limmer are not less celebrated, although such a croud of visitors frequent them; they are said to flow from the same source. To the left of a large sandy road the eye rests upon the extensive chain of Deister, the too much vaunted *Monbrillant*, the chateau of Walmoden, the majestic avenue of *Herrenhauzen*, its sterile park and ruined gardens; we enter a winding alley covered with luxuriant foliage, and which leads to the gate of a modest building painted in the Italian style. From the neat and airy appearance of the outside, the mind is disposed to judge favourably of its interior. The bath opens into a large saloon ornamented with glass lustres, and hung round with elegant stained paper. It is in this saloon that visitors wait until the warm bath is prepared, and where they return to breakfast after having used it. On the opposite side are ranges of closets with warm baths, which are appropriated to the use of paralitic or maniacal patients.

It was a Swiss named Erald who discovered the waters of Limmer. Whatever may be his motives, his name deserves to be remembered with gratitude. The following are inscribed on the front of the bathing-house:

"*Erald the Swiss discovered this Spring: Hanover presents this House to Erald and his descendants.*"

The baths which are too few in number, are better constructed than those of France. They are built of grey stone, and firmly cemented and fixed in the ground. The descent to them is by four steps, furnished with a ballustrade; a bench five inches broad serves for a seat, to which they have adapted a circular fir back, in order to prevent a sudden shock from the cold stone, before the heat of the water has brought it to a proper temperature.

On first entering the bath, we immediately perceive a disagreeable odour; but to which we soon become accustomed. They charge for each bath a frank; but I must not omit to mention, in honour of the Hanoverian Regency, that the sick poor are admitted to the benefit of these baths gratis.

Near one side of the house stands a pavillion intended to accommodate a part of the company when the great saloon is too much crouded. Here every Sunday afternoon, the citizens assemble to dance to the sound of violins, clarionets, and tambourins. Opposite this pavillion are stables and places for the reception of carriages, the cabin whence is distributed the medicinal waters, and arbour entwined with ivy under which the Esculapius of Limmer permits them to dispose of tea, coffee, and chocolate. On both sides are a number of elevated mounts covered with moss, and ornamented with flowers and shrubs, the whole being surrounded by an enchanting and shadowy thicket; in the front is a long avenue furnished with benches and arm-chairs, on which visitors repose themselves. From its extremity and under

neath a dome of green foliage, branches out a number of retired paths, disposing the mind to reflection and meditation. Their obscurity, however, produces no sensations of terror, but only a salutary calm, which does not agitate the heart through the imagination, but enchants the imagination through the heart. The sulphureous waters which nourish this thicket penetrate with the sap into every part of the plant. The old men of Limmer affirm that they have seen their flowers and the summits of their branches crowned with aërial fire, and the leaves gently agitated, bending over the flowery turf, and shading the virtuous convalescent.

CHAP. XXI.

BOUNDARIES OF THE ELECTORATE OF HANOVER.—ITS MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, TEMPERATURE, AND NATURAL CURIOSITIES.

IT has been already mentioned, that the country of Hanover is of an irregular form; and indeed by the most cursory examination of a map, it will be evident that between 51 and 54 of north latitude, it is bounded in a winding direction by the territories of the neighbouring states, of which those of Prussia are the most extensive.

To the north, the electorate is limited by the territory of Hamburgh, Holstein, and Mecklenburgh. The Elbe forms the line of demarkation, as far as Inapese, situated at the northern angle, which is a dependency of Hamburgh. To the north east it is bounded by the possessions of the king of Prussia; to the east, by the duchy of Brunswick and Prussia; to the south, by Hesse and Prussia; to the west, by the lands of Lippe, of Hesse, of Waldeck, and of Prussia; to the north-west by the possessions of the city of Bremen, those of the duke of Olders, and the territories of Aremberg, and of Looz.

As soon as the French army established themselves in Hanover, they perceived the advantage of opening a direct communication to France, by Kaiserveth, Munster, and Osnaburgh, and immediately opened a negociation with the king of Prussia to that effect, as being the party most interested in the transaction; and this treaty has served as a regulation to the other powers through whose territories the road leads.

If in consequence of the treaty of Ratisbon, Hanover lost the bailiwick of Wildeshausen, and some other small lordships, it acquired the complete sovereignty over the bishopric. of Osnaburgh.

The electorate is composed of a hundred and seven bailiwicks, and intersected by a great number of rivers and streamlets; the snow and rain waters fall from the heights upon the flat country,

rendering it extremely marshy, as the sun is never sufficiently powerful to produce a complete evaporation of the superabundant water. But by cutting canals and ditches, this draw-back to agriculture might be greatly diminished, if not wholly removed. The Aller and the Leina are rivers of considerable magnitude, and flowing by the Weser and the Elbe into the north-sea.

The atmosphere is here alternately humid and cold, and a great variability of temperature constantly prevails. The winters are extremely rigorous, and even during the greatest heats of summer, there frequently intervenes very frosty days.

A north-west wind generally prevails during the cold season; an east wind in the spring, and a south-west wind in summer. The young and the beautiful are extremely mortified by the loss of teeth; catarrhs, intermittent and nervous fevers, phthysis, apoplexy, and paralysis are extremely common, and when the month of July proves extremely warm, dissenteries prevail with peculiar malignancy. The epidemics in this country are chiefly of an arthritic or rheumatic nature. Consumption is the most general cause of death in Hanover. May not the frequent and immoderate use of tea fermented, and strong spirituous liquors, animal food, and perhaps fermented cabbage, contribute along with the inconstancy of the climate to the frequency of these maladies? The best preservative against such diseases is, to be so warmly clothed that a sudden check cannot be given to perspiration; to be cautious of exposure to the cold and damps of night; to live temperately, especially during the fruit season, and about the period of the autumnal and vernal equinox.

The most considerable mountains are the chain of Hartz, overtopped by the Brocken. The mountains which separate the west and south of Hanover, from the principality of Hesse, are mostly of a calcareous or basaltic nature, and like other mountains of this kind, are formed of large pyramidal blocks: they furnish excellent stones for paving the cities, and forming the highways.

The forests of the electorate are well taken care of, notwithstanding the dearness of wood has induced the inhabitants to search for a species of pit-coal, which they have at last discovered in several places. This they procure by means of explosion; two pits of it in the bishopric of Osnaburgh have proved extremely profitable. The city of this name possesses one at Piesberg. The salt-works at Rothenfeld are supplied with this species of fuel from the pits of Broglohe; and there is another which belongs the convent of Œsede. In various places of this principality there are likewise found black marble veined with white; and the small river of Kriethecke abounds with *cornua ammonis*, and other petrefactions.

An insect belonging to the order coleoptera, has lately committed great ravages in the forests of Hartz, and in several others of Germany. It infests fir-trees, in one of which of a middle size, has been reckoned more than 80,000 larvæ.

Boars and deers are less numerous in this country than formerly, and give less trouble to the farmers; and the constant war kept up among wolves has also rendered that animal extremely rare for more than a century past. Bears have likewise totally abandoned their forests; the last was killed at Hartz, near Brocken, about the commencement of the last century. From the great number of words which in the German language signify bear, it should seem that they had formerly been much more numerous. It is well known that the city of Bern, in Switzerland, derives its name from its scite having been formerly the resort of these animals.

Venison is here very good; the roe-bucks and hares are excellent; but rabbits are extremely scarce. Thrushes, partridges, sky-larks, wild-ducks, heath-cocks, and a small species of tetrac, are very abundant. The mountaineers dispose of a great number of small birds, and especially of the cross-bill, and the chatterer of Bohemia, two species which are extremely common on the mountains of Hartz.

The domestic species, reared in Lower Saxony, are the same as those of the temperate climates of Europe.

The oxen are of a middle size, but the taste of the beef is exquisite: the pork is excellent; and the mountain-mutton well deserving of the high reputation it has acquired.

Although the Hanoverian rivers do not abound with a great variety of fish, the markets are well supplied with turbot, perch, delicate carp, pike, and uncommonly large eels; the rivulets that flow from the Hartz and other wooded mountains, abound with a small species of trout of a most exquisite flavour.

In the cantons are produced little barley and maize, but good crops of wheat, oats, beans, peas, and rye. The sandy land produces excellent potatoes,

In their gardens they cultivate cabbage and other species of esculent vegetables. The celery is equally good as that of Italy. Cherries, apricots, peaches, and a variety of other fruits are here raised in as great perfection as in France. In the royal gardens of Herrenhausen they cultivate the pine-apple and water-melon. Their vineyards produce only grapes for the table.

Flax is more plentful than hemp, throughout the whole electorate. The female peasants are occupied in spinning it during the long winter evenings; while tales, songs, and their village anecdotes enliven the rural circle.

END OF MANGOURIT'S TRAVELS.

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TO

MANGOURIT's TRAVELS IN HANOVER.

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LETTERS

WRITTEN

DURING A JOURNEY

TO

MONTPELLIER.

PERFORMED IN THE AUTUMN OF 1804.

BY

CHRISTIAN AUGUSTUS FISCHER,

Author of Travels in Spain, Spanish Miscellanies,

&c. &c.

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1806.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE talents of Mr. FISCHER are advantageously known to the British public, by the translation of his "Travels in Spain, performed in the Year 1798." That work afforded ample proofs not only of his intelligence to distinguish what was worth describing, but also of his ability to describe with force and elegance. His letters upon the Spanish character, contained in the volumes alluded to, abound with pleasing information, and shew that he is by no means a superficial observer of human nature. At the present important crisis, the public cannot but feel interested in perusing a series of observations on the internal state of France, from the pen of an unprejudiced tourist; and the following letters, besides an abundance of information for the lovers of botany and natural history, will be found to contain many striking remarks on the character, manners, and domestic economy, of the French people.

A JOURNEY

TO

MONTPELLIER, &c.

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LETTER I.

INTRODUCTION.—DEPARTURE FROM MARSEILLES.—RETROSPECT.—CHANGES.—ALBERTRAS.—LE PIN.—AIX.—CLIMATE.—DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENT.—CIRCUMSCRIBED SOCIAL RELATIONS.—REMARKS.

Aix, February 1804.

YOU see, my dear friend, that I have at length left Marseilles, in order to take the shortest way to Nismes. I say the shortest, because after an abode here of a few days, I set out directly through Arles and thereby save a considerable round; which I must otherwise have taken with the diligence through Avignon.

I arrived here yesterday, with tolerable expedition and convenience, by one of the common Marseilles coaches. As I am now lodged at the agreeable hotel *les quatre Nations,* I will see whether I can communicate to you any thing either important or unimportant concerning this monosyllabic town.

Having ascended the hill well known by the name of *la Visto,** we have again a command of the whole beautiful and entire gulph, as far as the island; and at the same time sensibly feel that we are receding from the coast, and taking a northern direction. By degrees the mountains retire from our sight, the whole scene becomes confused, and a dry raw land-breeze announces our distance from the ocean.

This was the more perceptible, as the north wind blew directly against us; and notwithstanding the friendly rays of the

* Not *vista;* for in all provincial dialects the feminine ends in *o.*

sun, rushed cold and cutting over the plain. Thus we passed Albertras, among the green avenues of which already waved the breath of spring; and Le Pin, where the landscape becomes fully open.

We now perceived Aix, situated amidst plantations of vines and olives; and driving down a rather deep declivity into the plain below, entered the suburbs (surrounded by beggars), and proceeded to what is called the inn.

Though the climate is by no means agreeable, I shall speak of it first.—Cold and heat, wet and dry, succeed each other with incredible rapidity: the summers are oppressively hot, from the sun's rays being reflected by the chalk hills with which the town is surrounded. The winters are, on the contrary, rather severe; as the town lies completely open to the north-west wind. In the winter it usually freezes for two months, and in the summer hardly a week passes without a thunder-storm.

With regard to domestic arrangements, Aix is far from being a cheap place. In a good inn (the above-mentioned for example), without having the best wine, or any thing unusual, it costs from nine to ten livres a day. Other necessaries, was ashing, clothes, &c. are also rather dear; lodging alone may be regarded as an exception, which may arise from the population being two-fifths less than formerly. A well-furnished room can be had for six-and-thirty, and a whole floor for a hundred and fifty, livres a year.

There is hardly a trace of social connection existing in Aix at present. Since the abolition of the parliament, since the emigration of the rich and hospitable nobility, since the impoverishing of the rest of the inhabitants; in short, since the all-destroying revolution; the splendid circles which once filled this proud and opulent city, are to be seen no more. The stranger finds himself on a miserable spot, where is nothing but a small reading-room, a library very little larger, and a few bad coffee-houses. The once beautiful course is, like every thing else, destroyed; and a pleasant walk can only be taken in the surrounding country. For the naturalist here are however some curiosities, which I shall mention in my next letter.

LETTER II.

MINERAL SPRINGS, WITH THEIR PECULIARITIES.—CURIOSITIES.—ICHTHYOPETRES.—BOTANICAL EXCURSIONS.—AGRICULTURAL REMARKS.—OIL TRADE.—MANUFACTURES.

Aix, February 1804.

BEFORE all things I must speak of the warm springs, to which Aix is indebted for its existence; a colony having been established here by Sextius Calvinus on their account, who had them called after him *Aquæ Sextiæ*. Their temperature is twenty-seven or twenty-eight degrees of Reaumur: their component parts appear to be magnesia, selenite, and mineral alcali; and their effects are not only highly spoken of in all cutaneous diseases, but also in the most obstinate venereal and rheumatic ones. The month of May is thought the best bathing-time. These springs retained their pre-eminence till the year 1770: since which they have fallen more and more into disrepute, and for the last twenty years have been almost entirely without visitors; a consequence of which is the entire neglect of the former bathing arrangements, and instead there is now only an insignificant undertaking of a private nature.

These springs are said to be warmest in the winter, and coolest in the summer; but since this opinion rests only upon the assertion of those who bathe, it may be accounted for by the different degrees of heat in the human body in the two seasons. It is just so with the waters upon the coast; where warm water is drawn from one cask, and cold from another: which arises from a warm mineral and a common cold spring being united in one pump. The water used in general is extremely bad, being all impregnated with particles of lime and chalk.

This reminds me of the lime-pits upon the Monte d'Avignon as it is called, three quarters of a league from Aix, so famous for their representations of fish. The stones in which these ichthyopetres are found, are Werner's *bituminous marl, slate.* The impressions themselves are flat and sharp; the heads and backs appear blackish, and the intermediate space is deep yellow; they ferment but slowly in nitric acid, though they finally dissolve in it. Upon the application of a hot iron they appear at first black, send forth a smell resembling burnt horn, and afterwards become wholly white. The extreme parts of the horizontal viens,

which are clearly to be seen, vitrify slowly to a white blistry. flake. The fish chiefly represented are barbs, flat-fish, &c.

If the mineralogist find these and various sorts of beautiful marbles not interesting, the botanist will find here still more scope for observation. The climate is, I may say, fitted for universal vegetation. The northern declivities of the hills produce alpine; the southern, tropical plants. A small space often divides the *Gentiana* from the *Æller sembrianthemum*; to these may be added almost all the provincial plants, which the botanist can here study with Gerard and Geridel in his hand.

For this purpose the hills of Montaignes, Prignon, Barret, Tolonet, Beaurecueil, and likewise the plain of Milles, the shores of the Arc, but above all the Montagne Sainte Victoire situated on the eastern side of the town, are to be recommended.

If we view the surrounding country in reference to agriculture, we find an extremely light and chalky land mixed with clay, and particles of iron, which with proper culture is well adapted for the growth of vines and olive-trees. The land of Aix itself is on the contrary hard, stony, and limy, admits of but little improvement, and is evident (as from the imperfect state of agriculture) receives but little.

Wine and oil are here mentioned as the chief articles of trade. The former, when the produce of a good vineyard, may (if well managed and kept for a certain time) be sold for old Bourdeaux; the latter is exported to Italy in large quantities. The oil, on account of its purity, mildness, and fine flavour, is famous all over Europe*, and was formerly exported to many distant countries. But since the hard winters of 1789 and the following years, so many olive-trees have been frozen, and during the revolution so few planted, that Aix has now almost intirely lost this its first and most lucrative branch of commerce.

The former flourishing manufactories have shared the same melancholy fate. The most opulent have either failed, or are removed to Marseilles. The cotton-manufactories are almost the only ones which Aix yet retains, and this only on account of the water. It is said that great cattle-markets were formerly held here, but these are also declining rapidly. All things consi-

* It may be kept more than three years without spoiling, and has a delightful smell. During the first four or five months indeed it is rather bitter and piquant, but becomes afterwards particularly sweet and pleasant. It is an error to suppose that the thick oil from Grasse, Nissa, &c. is better, because it is at first sweet: and equally so to give the preference to the clarified oils, as they are called; which though they receive a clear and transparent appearance, are robbed of their most essential qualities in the preparation.

dered, it is easy to explain why nothing is visible here but poverty and misery.

In order in some degree to recompense this town for its present desolate state and want of trade, the government has found it expedient not only to abolish the criminal courts of appeal in all the departments, but also to sanction the revival of the famous theatrical processions formerly in use on Corpus-Christi day. It is well known that this pious farce (if it may be so called) drew together no less than seven thousand spectators; that its celebration very judiciously happened at the same time with that of the annual fair; and that it brought a number of advantages to the town, which were regarded as a sort of provincial revenue: and it is more than likely, that when Buonaparte allowed the restoration of this grotesque cavalcade, it was only from these reasons. It must be pretty evident that a man of his talent and political power, could not have permitted the introduction of similar customs so falsely viewed at a distance, and on that very account so severely censured, without having some important end in view.

The last procession of this kind took place in the year 1788 or 1789; and the first since the revolution in the last year, 1803. Notwithstanding the intermediate space of fifteen years, the actors had by no means forgotten their parts; and the whole farce was performed, with all its minutia, in the greatest perfection *. The twelve superior and the four inferior demons, the king, and the angels, fought stoutly for the victory. Moses and the high priests; the golden Calf and the queen of Sheba, the three Wise Men of the East, Herod with the babes of Bethlehem, John in his camel's hair, and Jesus in a Capuchin's cowl, appeared with all the other personages, and all their attributes, just in the same form and order as before. The old Centaur too danced the bell-dance of the lepers, all performed in the most perfect costume of the ancients. Should any one feel himself displeased, let him reflect that this has never been regarded in any other light than that of a religious masquerade.

I have given you as much information concerning Aix as two letters would contain. Whether the ladies here are as free in the distribution of their favours as they are said to be, I am not able to decide; having in reality neither time, opportunity, courage, nor gallantry, for the attainment of this knowledge.—Adieu, my dear friend! To-morrow I pursue my journey to Arles.

* Vide Explication des Ceremonies de la Fête-Dieu d'Aix, &c. par Gregoire. Aix, chez David, 1777, with plates and notes.

LETTER III.

JOURNEY TO ARLES.—ST. CANAT.—PELISSANE.—THE CRAN.—DIVISIONS.—CULTIVATED PART.—DESERT PART.—PRODUCTIONS OF THE FORMER.—QUALITIES OF THE LATTER.—MEADOWS.—REMARKS UPON THEM.—FORMER ALTERATIONS.—SHEPHERD'S LIFE.—PROSPECT OF AND ARRIVAL IN ARLES.

Arles, Feb. 1804.

I ARRIVED here in the company of an intelligent and worthy commissioner of the marine, who has to forward the sale of a convoy of corn for the Toulon fleet. We were obliged to take a carriage to ourselves; because the diligence belonging to Messrs. Dervieux takes a great circuit and in that which goes direct from Barrachin there was no room. It has cost me indeed three times as much, but I have thus had a greater opportunity of making observations.

From Aix to St. Canat we passed between barren chalk-hills, and only here and there perceived a solitary almond-tree in blossom, or fig-tree covered with ripe fruit, growing on the edge of a frozen stream; but near St. Canat, where the Lyons high road turns off on the left towards Pelissane, the landscape visibly begins to beautify. The chalk-hills are covered with pines (*Pinus maritima*), and evergreen oaks (*Quercus ilex*); meadows and corn fields beautifully alternate with vineyards and olive-plantations, through which little rivulets are continually flowing. Every object announces a fruitful and well-cultivated soil. Having passed the back of the dirty but cheerful town Salon, we immediately entered the Cran.

This is a large triangular plain, full thirty square leagues in circumference. Its extreme point extends towards the sea, and its surface lies east and west. Its outer parts, or borders, are pretty well cultivated for an extent of twelve leagues; but the centre, which comprehends at least eight leagues, is an entire waste of gravel land. On the north and east sides the Cran is surrounded by elevations, and slopes on the south and west towards the ocean and the Rhone.

Its cultivated parts are the environs of Istres, Figuieres, Arles, Salon, &c. which are fertilized by canals conveyed thither from the Durance, and called (after their constructor) Canal de Craponne.

Here are numerous fine meadows, and fields fenced in with olive and mulberry trees; at the same time the cultivation of vegetables and vines is not neglected.

Very different are the other parts of the Crau, which are soon attained by proceeding from the cultivated parts into the interior. Nothing here presents itself to the eye but an immeasurable expanse of stones piled upon stones. On examining it more closely, it appears first that these pebbles, from three to four, and here and there from even fifty feet deep, rest upon a boggy mass; and secondly, that this mass itself is composed of clay, sand, and gravel, bound together by a sort of glutinous chalk.

The pebbles themselves are very various; from the largest to the smallest, some are close and shining, and others brittle and irregular; in one spot partaking of the nature of the northern mountains, and in another quite different. The sort of stone the most prevalent is a hard, scaly, brittle quartz, internally grey, with a surface sometimes red and sometimes yellow, and in a variety of shades; this description embraces at least seven-eighths of the whole. There are some among them also of a flaky substance, internally of a red and yellow colour. The result of the closest examination is the very rational conjecture, that the Crau has been formerly a large basin standing in connection with the sea.

Although this desert appears to be nothing but a barren and stony plain, yet it affords excellent pasturage for sheep: as there grow among the stones a number of the finest aromatic plants, which constitute a very proper food; and to which, not without reason, the fine flavour of the mutton is attributed. Hence that part of the Crau is divided off into large and small meadow-lands, the boundaries being marked by piles of stones.

Formerly the sheep were brought to graze here only in the winter months, from November to April; and in the summer, from May to October, they were carried to the mountains of Dauphiny and Upper Province. But for the last fifteen years these journeys have ceased, and the sheep remain the whole year upon the Crau. This has at the same time been attended with a great degeneracy in the quality, and diminution in the number, of the sheep; they having been formerly computed at four hundred thousand, while at present they hardly reach half that amount. These *consous*, with the shepherds and their dogs, baggage, asses, and huts, their provisions, &c. afford no uninteresting view. We passed pretty close to several of them.

Having thus gone over a part of the Crau, and refreshed ourselves with the smell of some of its aromatic herbs, we at length arrived at the little village St. Martin del Crau; which may be compared to an island surrounded with fertile fields and trees, in the midst of an immense ocean of stones. But these swiftly dis-

appear, and are succeeded again by the desolate morass through which the gloomy sterile old town of Arles winds along the banks of the Rhone.

LETTER IV.

PROSPECTS FROM ARLES.—CLIMATE.—SICK.—MEASURES OF GOVERNMENT.—PRODUCTIONS OF THE CANTON.—CAMARGNE.—ITS DESCRIPTION.—SALT-PITS.—PASTURE LAND.—REMARKS.—NAVIGATION OF THE RHONE.—OBSERVATIONS.

Arles, Feb. 1804.

HAVING closely examined the country of Arles, its marshes, bogs, and the channels which in spring and autumn overflow the fields and meadows, from the sloping of the land, and the depression of the coast to which the streams hasten, the traveller might almost be led to believe that he was suddenly transported to Zealand. Every thing proves its proximity with the sea, and its being the most unhealthy town in the south of France.

The climate itself is indeed extremely mild; the thermometer not sinking below 3°, nor rising above 22°, Reaumur. But the continual damps of the air, the incessant vapours from the morass, the foulness of the water, and the low situation of the town, (which is scarcely raised seven feet above the surface of the ocean) render Arles one of the most unhealthy places of abode.

The ague rages here the year through; except in the hot months, when it becomes a malignant fever. You must therefore not be surprized, my dear friend, when you hear that the men attain a middle age at twenty-seven, the women at thirty, and that persons who reach sixty are perfect rarities.

But are no means used to ameliorate the situation of Arles? to dry up the stagnant mire?—Yes. To do justice to the government, they have been diligently occupied with it for the last ten years. What was so happily commenced in the seventeenth century by the Dutch family of the Warrens, but the prosecution of which was neglected after their expulsion through the abolition of the edict of Nantes; what at a later period the inhabitants themselves endeavoured at, but could not prosecute for want of support, (namely, the completion of this benevolent and vast project) will be ultimately accomplished under the government of Buonaparte.

This is so much the more important, since the canton Arles, of which is said to contain fifty square leagues in circumference, has been long the storehouse which supplied Provence, Lan-

guedoc, and nearly all the southern departments, with its superfluous hay, oxen, horses, and salt. Formerly the income from grazing sheep, and the culture of the *Quercus corcifera*, was very considerable; but now the number of flocks on the Cran are so much diminished, and during the revolution so many of these trees have been demolished by the mad fanatics, that Arles has nearly lost the most important branch of its trade. It is, however, always supported by the exportation of the above chief productions; particularly horses and oxen, of which a great number are bred in the Carmagne.

The Carmagne is a large island on the Rhone, lying rather below the town; and divides that majestic stream into two arms. It has the form of a right-angled triangle, each side being seven leagues in length; and is skirted by the great arm of the Rhone on the north, by the small on the south, and on the east by the ocean. It is watered by many canals, both from the sea and the Rhone. The soil consists of a fine moorland mixed with gravel, containing numerous particles of salt. It is used partly for salt-pits, and partly for meadow-land.

The pond of the Vacarets, as it is called, is chiefly used for the salt-works; and is at least three leagues in circumference, and connected with the sea. The salt is here, as usual, obtained by evaporation, from passing the sea-water through the various channels; but this can only take place from June to October. The produce of these works are estimated at a hundred and twenty thousand livres.

In general there are found in the interior and lower parts of the island a number of salt-ponds, bogs, and springs, which evidently have their sources in the sea, and on whose banks grow many alkaline plants, and among others the *Salsola herbacea*, which are used for soda. This soda is said to be forty per cent. worse than the Spanish; the plant whose seed was brought here by the wreck of a vessel, having most probably degenerated.

The external parts of the island are in particular used for pasturage; since by means of the facility with which they may be watered, the finest meadows can be laid out. The country-houses there are very appropriately called *towers*, and by many of them it is easy to perceive how much the Camargne has increased in magnitude; for example, the Tower of St. Louis, which in 1630 was built not far from the shore, at present stands at a league distance.

This increase of meadow-land is attended with great advantage; as thousands of horses, sheep, and oxen, are hence found nearly in a state of wildness. At the same time the proprietor must mark those which belong to him; which ceremony gives birth to a sort of Arcadian festival, known by the name of *ferrades*.

These *ferrades* are usually set on foot by several proprietors at the same time; and are usually attended by many thousands both of invited and uninvited guests, from a distance of ten miles round. To this end a sort of circus is formed with carts, upon a large and newly-mown meadow, where the operation can be performed with safety to the operator. Each cart is adorned with flags, streamers, and ribands; and provided with a scaffold for the accommodation of the spectators.

On one side of the circus a large fire is lighted for heating the marking-iron. On the opposite side is an opening through which the cattle may be driven, which are in the mean time confined near at hand. The marking of the bulls being attended with the greatest difficulty, I shall say a few words upon it by the way.

As soon as the usual signal is given by three pistol-shots, the guards on horseback, armed with three-pronged goads, proceed to the inclosure, let out from twelve to fifteen bulls, and drive them in full gallop into the circus, and directly up to the fire; which they hardly reach before five or six guards spring on each, bring them to the ground, and hold them motionless till the principal shepherd has pressed the red-hot iron on their legs.

The instant this is done they are let loose; to run foaming, raging, and roaring, round the circus. The guards on horseback seek the open place; those on foot save themselves in the carts, which are often overthrown by the bulls; and the whole presents a truly tragi-comic scene. The bulls at length becoming weary, stand still; and quietly follow the cows to the meadow, which are brought into the circus for that end. The former scene then recommences with another number, and thus not less than a hundred are marked daily.

A great part of the above-mentioned productions, particularly hay, corn, and salt, are shipped up the Rhone; notwithstanding the navigation is so dangerous, from the continual fluctuations of the navigable water, from the many cliffs they are forced to double, from the want of a secure haven against the violence of the stream, and the yet greater violence of the winds off so low and open a coast.

It is true that the town of Marseilles, which is the most interested in protecting the vessels, keeps its own pilots *(escandaillaires)* in pay, for apprising the ships by signal of the depth of water, &c. But notwithstanding all these efforts, the number of vessels which are lost yearly is said to be very considerable. In vain has project been conceived upon project for the improvement of the navigation; in vain have the best engineers declared, with one voice, that the several branches of the Rhone must be united into one common bed with only one mouth: nothing has yet been done; and yet I am much deceived if Buonaparte do not here also, with a word, render that practicable which has been the wish of several centuries.

LETTER V.

INHABITANTS OF ARLES.—CHARACTERISTICS.—WOMEN. RURAL AND SOCIAL CONNECTIONS.—NATURAL HISTORY.—PLANTS.—BIRDS.—STONE-QUARRIES.

Arles, Feb. 1804.

IF you ask me whether Arles contains any thing very remarkable, I must candidly answer you, "Very little."

To begin with the inhabitants. To me they appear a sort of provincial Dutch. They are phlegmatic, quiet, and good-natured, though not without a certain mixture of southern vivacity and tranquillity. They are lustier than those of the other provinces; their features are notwithstanding strong, and they have countenances such as are peculiar to all the inhabitants of the south. Would one describe them in a few words, it could not be done with more justice than in the words of my fellow-traveller, "*Ce sont des Hollandois au vin.*"

The women of Arles have always been famous for their beauty; yet I must confess that few handsome faces have fallen in my way, though I sought them very attentively. Lovely children indeed, and particularly sweet little girls, I saw in plenty; whence I conceive that the climate, and endemial diseases, universally disfigure the person.

Every thing here appears pretty reasonable: but for society here are no resources; a few natural curiosities and antiquities are all that interest the stranger.

For the lover of natural history I must notice the number of aquatic plants which are found in the marshes, ponds, and canals, as well in Arles and its vicinity, as in the Camargne. Among them are, the *Limonium maritimum, Atriplex maritima, Cheiranthus maritimus, Frankenia rampens, Rubeola maritima, Kali spinosum, Salsola, Alisma plantago, Lycopus palustris, Typha palustris major et minor* (of which the people of Marseilles make chair-bottoms), *Tamariscus Narbonensis, florib. pentandr.* (from which in Arles they make little casks, cups, and jugs, in which water receives a dissolving quality), &c.

The number of aquatic fowl is no less worthy of attention; for example, several rare species of the *Ardea* and *Scolopax*, which the ornithologist can here find, and can better describe than I. Quite as remarkable are the stone-quarries near Arles,

which have a stony property quite peculiar to themselves. The stone, which is sent to Marseilles and Toulon, is full of coral and other similar substances.

What the antiquarian will find particularly interesting here, is first an obelisk of granite which stands in the market-place, and is about fifty feet high. Antique it certainly is, and most probably belonged to a circus; but that it has been brought here from Egypt, is by no means clear. Thus much is however certain: that it was first discovered in 1389; but not dug up till 1675, when it was set up in honour of Louis XIV. The ornaments on the pedestal are much mutilated, and a tin cap of liberty is now found on the top.

Secondly, the amphitheatre, which history informs us was built by Julius Cesar. But, alas! it is in bad preservation: all the porticoes being built up; all the steps destroyed; and both within and without the main wall, houses are built. To judge of the size of the area, we must mount the top of a house, from which we may perceive that the whole must have consisted of about sixty arches. In the main wall there are some towers, which are most probably of Gothic origin.

Thirdly, the Elysian Fields, or *Alichamps* as they are here called. It is easy to perceive that they have been a burying-place; from the number of sarcophagi, both christian and heathen, which are indiscriminately scattered about. The most curious heathen antiquities belonging to them have been already described by Montfauçon, and are perhaps dispersed in different cabinets. The christian antiquities were preserved till the revolution in the neighbouring church of the Minorites: but were despoiled among other treasures in 1794; as were many of the finest sarcophagi, together with statues, paintings, monuments, &c. belonging to the cathedral church: nearly every thing has fallen before the revolutionary mania. To those who wish for mere historical information, I recommend the undermentioned treatise *.

But I will say no more on a town which affords so little that is pleasant. It is seven o'clock in the evening; the diligence has just arrived, and the driver informs me there is a place to spare. I close this letter amidst the bustle of half a hundred conscripts and carters, who are all drinking and gaming. The whole inn is in an uproar, the spits with the roast meat are merrily turning round, and our good-natured fat host is preparing the wine. Farewell, my dear friend! I shall now repair with my three diligence-companions to a small room for supper, and hope to-morrow by this time to be safe at Nismes.

* Mémoires sur l'Ancienneté de la Ville d'Arles, et sur ses Antiquités, par M. Anibert, 179. 12 L. 161.

LETTER VI.

JOURNEY TO NISMES.—TRINQUETAILLE.—PASSAGE INTO LANGUEDOC.—VARIETIES.—PEOPLE.—SOIL.—AGRICULTURE.—BELLEGARDE.—REMARKS.—APPROACH TO NISMES.—VIEW.—ARRIVAL.—HOTEL DU LOUVRE.—TOPOGRAPHICAL WORK BY VINCENS.

Nismes, Feb. 1804.

IN the midst of antiquities and silk-spools, olive and mulberry trees, I am transposed, as it were, to another region. Yesterday morning, at nine, we separated; this was caused by changing with another diligence, which arrived an hour sooner. We were now ferried over to the Carmagne in a boat (which supplies the place of the bridge of boats carried away in 1789), struck through Trinquetaille, which forms a part of the suburbs of Arles; passed through meadows and fields, upon a moor land perfectly resembling those in Lower Saxony, to the second arm of the Rhone, passed over it in a ferry-boat, and were at once in Languedoc.

The country, the people, in short, every thing I saw here, had quite a different appearance. The rough brutality of the natives of Provence had changed into a cunning insinuativeness, their violent gesticulation into an almost solemn and measured mien, their shrill voices into mellow tones. The ruddy complexion, fiery eyes, and jetty hair, were every where supplied by pale faces, blue eyes, light hair; even the black and brown garments gave place to light-blue or white.

The soil is no less changed than the people. Instead of a parched, barren ground, we trod on the most fruitful and luxuriant soil, flowery meadows, lovely fields watered by fresh streams, contrasted with dark hills of olive and other fruit-trees. In short, every thing here discovers a mild and fruitful disposition of nature, and a soft and gentle people.

Towards noon we arrived at Bellegarde, a pretty little village, encompassed with gardens, orchards, and mulberry plantations; every where domestic regularity, every where the greatest industry, and even perhaps a certain anxious parsimony was discoverable. The large wine-pitchers of Provence were here changed into bottles; the bread, not set whole before you on the table, but cut into pieces; the dishes appeared to be less; and the portions

smaller; even the wine itself appeared, from its paleness and light colour, to have received a dilution of water in the cellar.

From here onwards the roads are better, for the revolution itself has not been able completely to destroy the excellent *chaussées*. We now flew swiftly on between rows of budding trees till we came in sight of Nismes, which lay in the midst of a spacious and beautiful plain, resembling a cultivated garden.

A row of hills extends on each side, skirted with villages and plantations, while on the opposite side of the vale the Tour-magne grandly closes the perspective with its venerable ruins.

Thus encompassed with endless vegetation and increasing sweets, we reached the suburbs, which we no sooner entered than we saw ourselves in a labyrinth of narrow, dirty streets, and industrious silk-manufacturers. We proceeded to the Hôtel du Louvre *, which stands only in a miserable little street, but is very near to a large square.

Here I have taken possession of a corner room, from which I purpose writing to you every evening an account of whatever remarkable has happened during the day. I hope Nismes will afford me sufficient matter, especially since in my researches I can avail myself of an excellent topographical work by Vincens, which contains a number of interesting remarks upon the climate, manufactures, inhabitants, agriculture, antiquities, &c. The careful regularity and arrangement will be the more acceptable to you, since there have been but a few copies of this valuable work printed, and those few are scarcely known out of this place †.

LETTER VII.

CLIMATE OF NISMES.—GENERAL TEMPERATURE.—TEMPERATURE OF THE DIFFERENT MONTHS.—SPRING.—SUMMER.—AUTUMN.—WINTER.—DEGREES OF COLD AND HEAT.—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MORNING AND EVENING TEMPERATURE.—REMARKS.—OTHER DIFFERENCES IN THE TEMPERATURE, AND THERMOMETRICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Nismes, Feb. 1804.

GOD preserve you, my dear friend, from the climate of Nismes! Let your physician say what he will, for once venture

* The Louvre has very good rooms, but is neither cheered by the sun, nor prospects. The Luxembourg (immediately round the left-hand corner) in the same place, has its whole front towards the S.S.E.

† Topographie de la Ville de Nismes et de sa Banlieue, par Jean Cesar Vincens, &c. publiée, avec des Notes, par Vincens St. Laurent. Nismes, 1803-4, 24 livr.

to have a different opinion. I hope to prove that Nismes is, for persons in health very unpleasant, and for sick a perfectly unsuitable residence. But I will descend a little to particulars for the conviction of your doctor. This is an important point, which concerns the lives of so many sick persons, who travel hither at a great expence only to find disappointment.

With regard to the general temperature, the thermometer of Reamur stands through the day in spring between 15-16°, in summer at 25°, in autumn at 17-18°, in winter 7-8° warmth: hence follows, from a sixteen year's observation, a middle temperament of 15° Reaumur, except in particular cases, when it is very changeable.

To commence then with the spring months, March and April, it is by no means rare (when the north-east and north-west winds blow over the snow-clad Cevennes), to find the thermometer, at sun-rise, from one to two, even four degrees of cold; towards noon, at twelve to fifteen degrees of heat. In March it even sometimes rises to twenty and twenty-one; and in April, as soon as the snow is melted, to twenty-seven degrees of heat, although the nights remain at the same time damp and unpleasant.

With the beginning of May commences a parching heat of the sun, so that the thermometer is usually at 22 and 24° Reaumur, in the afternoon; although in the morning it does not stand at more than thirteen to fourteen degrees of heat. Thus it remains till the middle of June, when it generally fixes at twenty-six or twenty-seven degrees.

In July and August the heat gains its highest degree, and maintains its power almost uninterruptedly. The thermometer rises from twenty-eight to thirty, and in some years, as for instance in 1769 and 1770, and even to six and thirty degrees. At the same time the difference between the morning and evening temperature continues always to be from nine to twelve degrees.

I shall close these details by some remarks which I have made myself; the first of which relates to the difference in the morning and evening temperature. This difference appears to be calculated in an equal proportion from noon far greater here (in summer at least), than in any town in France. But this is easily accounted for from the situation of Nismes, where the rays of the meridian sun are reflected back from the chalk-hills, and from the uncommon clearness of the hemisphere.

For the same reasons it may be conceived that the difference should be greater, and always increasing as the summer solstice approaches; and also that this difference should be less, and the decrease more rapid, the nearer the winter solstice draws on. Thus in the height of summer it reaches only from twelve to

fifteen degrees, and in the depth of winter only from four to seven degrees. Just the same difference in the given proportions is found in places where the above-mentioned reverberation cannot exist, which is in summer computed at only three degrees, and in winter at one and a half.

A second observation refers to the difference found in the temperature, partly in the twenty-four hours, partly in the course of a year, and partly between the thermometer in the sun and in the shade. The greatest variation of the temperature in twenty-four hours is twenty-eight degrees; the greatest difference of warmth and cold in the course of a year, forty degrees five minutes. The medium difference between the thermometer in the sun and in the shade, is three degrees five minutes. The greatest anomalies finally produced, appear by the before-given standard to have been observed two hours after sun rise, and the smallest at two in the afternoon.

LETTER VIII.

CLIMATE OF NISMES.—CONTINUATION.—BAROMETRICAL OBSERVATIONS.—MEDIUM HEIGHT.—GREATER AND LESSER ELEVATIONS.—REMARKS UPON THIS COURSE. HYDROMETER.—ITS MIDDLE STATE AND COURSE.—EUDIOMETER.—REMARKS UPON BOTH INSTRUMENTS.

Nismes, Feb. 1804.

YOU see, my dear friend, I send you not a line which might not be considered as sufficient proof. To-day I shall speak of the climate of Nismes, as given by the barometer; and before I have done with the subject, our doctor will surely have changed his opinion. The medium height of the barometer here is 28 inches, 2 lines; the warm months produce evidently a lower, and the cold ones a higher state. The middle height of January, February, March, October, November, and December, is 28 inches, 1-9; that of the other months, on the contrary, only 27 inches 10-6, shewing a difference of 3, 3, which naturally must in reality be greater, from the many thermometrical corrections.

The greatest elevations of the barometer are observed from the month of October to that of March, and the greatest fall from April to September; being usually at the highest in February, and the lowest in August. The greatest changes that take place in the four and twenty hours, produce about ten lines, and in the course of a year not quite two inches together.

But within these boundaries the barometer varies very frequently, especially when the wind takes the direction between

south and west, or south and east. As a rule, it may be said the barometer falls the most when the wind is south-east, and rises the most when the wind is north east.

From the medium of the hydrometer (40° 4′,) aridity appears to be the general temperament, notwithstanding transtransitions to the extremest humidity, are both frequent and rapid. The month of August, the hotest and driest of all others, presents us with the most remarkable phenomena of this sort. The hydrometer at three in the afternoon often stands at 40°, and denotes at eight in the evening 90°, with double moisture, without the degree of heat being changed in equal proportion.

The hydrometer here shews a very high degree of aridity when the wind is north; a still greater when it is S. E. but when S. S. W. a yet greater degree of humidity. The influence of the evening air in the different parts of the town, produces a striking variation. When the thermometer, for example, stands at 20 degrees, which is not unfrequent in the spring, the hydrometer shews at sunset in the lower parts of the town, lying south, 85° degrees; and in others, lying north, and about fifteen toises higher, scarcely 75°.

By the eudiometer I observe the evaporation to be very considerable, particularly when the north winds blow, at which time it gains even in January above two lines in twenty-four hours, according to the greater or less violence of the wind. In summer, particularly from the 15th of July to the 15th of August, the evaporation is usually, with the same wind, regularly about four lines. On the contrary, with a west wind it is very small; with a south wind almost imperceptible, and with an east wind it totally ceases.

LETTER IX.

CLIMATE OF NISMES CONTINUED.—WINDS.—CHIEF DIVISION.—NORTH AND SOUTH WINDS.—BISE AND MARIN.—GENERAL REMARKS.—CHIEF DIVISIONS OF THE NORTH WINDS.—DUE NORTH.—NORTH-EAST.—PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THEIR PERIODS, CHANGES, AND EFFECTS.—SIX MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

Nismes, Feb. 180[illegible].

I NOW come to the most important part of this climate: I mean the winds; and hope by their assistance completely to put our poor doctor to silence. You must know then, my dear friend, that next to Avignon, Nismes may be reckoned among the windiest towns of France; there being certainly sixty days in the year on which storms of wind, if not to say hurricanes, may be calcula-

ted upon. North and south winds, those very dry, and these very moist, interchange with each other incessantly; but upon the whole, the north appears the most prevalent. The former, with all its variations from east to west, is known by the generic name *Bise*; and the latter, with all its by-directions, under that of *Marin*. I will endeavour to entertain you with a circumstantial account of both, with their modifications; and if the doctor still remain unconverted—send him here as a punishment!

To commence then with the north wind when direct, it does not blow here either very often or with much violence. When the mountains of Dauphiné and Auvergne are covered with snow, it blows but weakly, though rather durably, at which time the weather is variable, and the cold at the most not above 3°: at all other times this wind appears in every respect changeable, although it is esteemed very healthy.

The north-east (Tramontane) with all its by-directions, although it does not belong to the most frequent appearances of this horizon, has a most uncommon influence on the temperature. One time it brings hoar frost, snow, and piercing cold; at another, heat and drought, then again continual rains. Not less various are its effects upon the animal and vegetable world; now promoting the soundness and vegetation of the seed; and now again blighting whole harvests, and engendering the most dangerous diseases.

As it comes from the Alps through the vales of Dauphiné and Provence, it is almost always very violent, blowing in gusts, and frequently spreading desolation. Sometimes it assists evaporation to a great degree; and in a few hours perfectly dries up the dirtiest streets. At other times it forces its way through defiles in the mountains, and causes water-spouts, which rise to twenty toises, and which are by the people called *foulets*.

As a rule, the north wind sets in with the two solstices, and continues with unabated force for a fortnight. The remainder of the year it is variable, seldom blowing four days, but sometimes however even eight or nine in succession. It frequently follows the warm damp south-east, or the suffocatingly hot south, with so sudden a change in the temperature, as often amounts to 4-5, and even 6-8 degrees, in a few hours. While only the highest tops of the Alps are covered with snow, the north-east wind is but moderately cold, and the thermometer falls at that time, even in the middle of winter only to 5 degrees above 0. No sooner however does the snow lie upon the lower chain of the Alps, than this wind brings with it a penetrating cold; and it may indeed be said that the climate of Nismes depends almost entirely on this wind, since it reigns nearly without interruption from November to February.

Its power begins to decrease in March, but still it hurts vegetation very much, by producing a sort of second winter, with rain and slight frosts. Besides, should it not be overpowered by the *Marin* or south-west wind, the growth of the seed, &c. is at an end; for then such a drought takes place, that not one drop of rain falls before September.

In summer the north-east is insufferably hot, the more from passing the Alps, already heated with the sun; this wind parches up all nature, and changes as it were each latent germ of vegetation. The only period when, impregnated with the exhalations from the Alps, it brings rain, is the autumnal equinox; but these rains continue so violently for eight, ten, and even fourteen days, that great floods are produced, without the water being able to penetrate the hard and parched-up soil.

The north-west is the last chief division of the north wind, with which I shall engage your attention. True it is, that this wind is quite as violent and stormy as the north-east, but it is always accompanied by fine weather, and injures neither animal nor vegetable nature. The most agreeable are the N. N. W. divisions, when it passes over the lower Alps, and becomes thereby in winter warmer, in summer cooler. At these times the thermometer seldom falls at any season so low as the freezing point.

The north-west blows the most regularly in the months of January, February, and March; if the north wind has not before gained the ascendency. In April it is never perceived, and in the latter part of May and June seldom; with so much the more certainty it returns in July and August, and perceptibly cools the glowing atmosphere. If this wind can overpower the north, it prolongs very much the duration of the most beautiful and charming second summer until November. Should it on the contrary in December turn towards W. N. W. it brings rain, and sometimes sleet, and is called *rouergas* in Provence.

LETTER X.

CLIMATE OF NISMES CONTINUED.—WINDS.—SECOND DIVISION.—SOUTH WIND, ITS GENERAL PROPERTIES, AND EFFECTS OF ITS VARIOUS DIRECTIONS.—THEIR PERIODICAL COURSE.—REMARKS UPON THE EAST AND WEST WINDS, AND THE GARBIN, WHICH IS PECULIAR TO THE TOWN AND COAST OF NISMES.

Nismes, Feb. 1804.

IN my former letters I attacked the doctor on the north side, in my present I will shift to the south. In other words, if

the north winds have borne hard upon him, he will find the south still worse. Let him oppose them with what force he may, you will see he never can keep his ground.

You recollect that the south winds are here comprehended under the generic term Marin, because collectively, in spite of their various directions, they blow over the Mediterranean. If the north winds bring dryness, cheerfulness, and purity to the atmosphere; the south winds, on the contrary, bring damps, fogs, and foul vapours. They warm the air when the north winds have too much chilled it; or cool it (although much seldomer) when a preceding west has caused a too violent heat. The points of the compass make however some difference in its common properties and effects.

I shall begin with the direct south wind, which is extremely violent, brings many clouds with it, and continues for seven or eight days in succession without a drop of rain falling. When it rises at a small distance from the coast, and not directly from Africa, it is rather weak, and generally accompanied with drizzling rain. When it inclines a little to the west it is uncommonly unhealthy, as it collects a number of foul vapours from the morasses.

In summer, when there is a perfect calm, and that often happens here, this wind promotes putrefaction to such a degree, that the freshest meat is spoiled in a few hours, and the salt-petre is rapidly engendered. In winter the south wind, from whatever point of the compass it blows, produces an incredible dampness; every thing capable of being affected by it, changes its state, let it be ever so well preserved. The floors, for example, become incessantly wet, and the water runs down the walls, although the doors and windows be ever so carefully closed: sugar and salt melt even when inclosed in screw boxes; the linen becomes damp in the thickest presses, &c.

When this wind takes, in summer, a perfectly S. S. W. direction, it brings with it an insupportable heat and sultriness, and great swarms of gnats; in the winter, on the contrary, it frequently brings stinking and wetting fogs. If the south wind vere one point towards the east, it causes frequent rains; and when it becomes full S. S. E. it resembles the Sirocco and Solano, filling the atmosphere as it were with a consuming glow of fire.

The periodical course of the south winds usually commences with the spring equinox, and brings a rain very salutary to the parched fields; this continues till May, when the weather becomes clearer, the rains give place to heavy dews, which are called *marin blanc*.

Towards the summer solstice, they are generally S. S. W. bringing thunder storms and passing showers. Towards autumn they become again S. E. but are not always attended with rain.

In winter they interchange with the north winds. So much for the *marin* and its various directions: and now a few words on the east and west winds; and on the *garbin* in particular, which is appropriate only to Nismes.

The east wind is damper still than the south-east, and in general blows more frequently. It most usually causes durable rains in the winter months, when it varies backwards and forwards upon the northern points of the compass. The wet produced by this wind is extremely unhealthy.

The west wind is to be regarded as the proper zepyhr* of Nismes, moderating the cold in winter, the heat in summer, and at all times equally pleasant and salubrious. It is called in the provincial jargon *Narbonnais* or *Lar*, as it inclines more or less to the south. Upon the whole, however, it blows but rarely. Sometimes it sets in about the middle of February; regularly in March or April; seldom in May and June; and in the other months hardly ever.

Finally, the *garbin**, or periodical sea wind, which is appropriate not only to Nismes, but to all the coasts of the Mediterranean, blows during the excessive heats of summer, i. e. from the beginning of July to the end of August. It commences in the morning at ten rather feebly, in south-east, and as it follows the sun, runs through every point of the horizon, during which, till two in the afternoon, it becomes progressively stronger; and ceases at six in the evening, in the north-west. It is extremely refreshing, and without it, the heat in the above-mentioned months would be insupportable.

LETTER XI.

CLIMATE OF NISMES CONTINUED.—METEOROLOGICAL APPEARANCES.—RAIN, PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO.—SNOW.—FOGS.—DEWS.—RIME.—THUNDER STORMS.—DEVIATIONS OF THE MAGNETIC-NEEDLE.—GENERAL RECAPITULATION AND REVIEW OF THE CLIMATE.

Nismes, Feb. 1804.

THIS is the last letter which I shall write to you on the climate of this place; it shall contain the remaining meteorological remarks; make the doctor sick, even to fainting, and prevent all his patients from coming here.

To begin with the rain: only forty-two rainy days are yearly reckoned, and the mass of fallen water always amounts to 23

* It extends itself about seven leagues inland; but loses strength in proportion to the distance; it always sets in with fine, and never with bad weather.

inches, 11 lines. This striking disproportion is easily explained, when we know that it always rains in torrents. In the months of August and September in particular, not less than from two to seven inches of water fall in a few hours; April and May are the only months which afford gentle penetrating rains. In general, September, October, March, and April, are months in which it rains the most; July, August, January, and February, the least, although the greatest changeableness of the climate consists in it.

Snowy weather seldom appears here. From the most careful observation during sixteen years, it has only happened twenty-seven times: it snows so little, as seldom to lie three inches deep; it lies but a few days; should it lie a week, it is thought very extraordinary. It snows most regularly, as to time and quantity, when the wind is N. E. and most frequently during the winter solstice, and in the month of January; but always in wettish flakes. Snow in February is no rarity, but snow in November and March is esteemed a meteorological anomaly; besides, it is worthy of observation, that it almost always sets in with a high wind.

Fogs (in the provincial dialect, called *neblo*,) are seldom seen here; but it is remarkable, the most appear in summer, and the fewest in winter; in the former, usually when the wind is S. S. W. in the latter when it is E. N. E. In both cases they are stinking and unhealthy, but only in the latter case injurious to vegetation, when a part of the corn, vines, and olives, are sure to be destroyed. Besides these, (which are, notwithstanding the general prejudice, by no means without humidity) the winter fogs mostly happen in November and December.

The dews are here extremely heavy, particularly in the hot months, and frequently commence not more than half an hour after sunset. They are the most frequent when the wind is S. S. W. and by virtue of this wind, carry with them small particles of salt; whenever the wind is north, the dews are hardly perceptible. They are the most frequent from the beginning of spring to the end of autumn. At this period, the dews in some measure supply the want of rain, and are of great use to the land.

Rime, or hoar frost, (*plouvino*) is here in the months of April and November, very common, although only when the wind is very high, and also with the extremest cold. Rime is the strongest when the wind is moderately N. E. the slightest when it is calm N. W. and the most frequent in December. Rime often appears even in the latter end of October, and in the middle of April.

Storms are not frequent in Nismes; since they fall from the

Cevennes mountains, and follow the course of the rivers to the sea. They mostly happen in June, and if they once approach the town, they almost always do mischief in several parts. In summer little is to be feared from hail, but more so in the spring and last winter months, but in general it is trifling, and almost always mixed with rain.

The deviation of the magnet-needle, given as a middle number, is here 19° 55′ W. The greatest deviations never amount to more than 22′, and are chiefly obvervable in summer. But enough, and more than enough of the climate of Nismes. I will now concentrate the whole in a few grand conclusions, and the victory will be complete.

First then, the climate of Niames affords the strangest contrasts, the most striking extremes; wet and dry, hot and cold, are experienced often in a few hours. No order, no gradation, no proper transition, either in the seasons or temperament. Here the spring is blended with the winter; the winter with the summer; the order of nature seems reversed, and every thing is stamped with the greatest variability.

Secondly, to speak of the seasons individually; the spring, though sometimes mild and rainy, is much oftener rough and stormy, and not seldom changes into a sultry summer, with burning hot days, damp nights, suffocating south winds, and foul fogs. The autumn has, it must be allowed, many charming days; yet even these are interrupted by frequent rains, and sometimes even rime and snow appear; finally, the winter fluctuates between cold bleak north, or damp relaxing south winds; and only now and then a truly fine day recalls to the mind the image of a southern spring in the so much valued and famed climate of Nismes.

Judge then yourself, my dear friend, whether it can be beneficial for pectoral diseases, hypochondrias, &c.—at the same time, ask your physician if he can, in conscience, and as an honest man, defend it any longer?—I repeat, whoever sends his patients here, can never have visited the place himself.

LETTER XII.

TOPOGRAPHICAL REMARKS.—POSITION AND SITUATION.—TOWN AND SUBURBS.—REMARKS ON ITS CIRCUMFERENCE AND STRUCTURE.—DOMESTIC ECONOMY.—REMARKS ON THE WATER, WINE, AND OTHER CHIEF NECESSARIES.

Nismes, Feb. 1801.

HAVING concluded my remarks on the climate, I will proceed to make a few topographical observations, not omitting domestic economy.

Nismes, 43° 50′ 35″ N. Lat. and 2° 1′ 11″ Lon. eastward of Paris, is elevated about 143° above the surface of the sea; and lies in a fertile valley, circumscribed by two parallel rows of hills, open to the N. E. and S. W. The whole forms an immense irregular quadrangle, extending itself from N. to S. and filled by two chief divisions, the town itself, and the eight suburbs. The flat contents of the former are computed at one thousand five hundred and fifty toises, and that of the latter at double the number; the circumference of the whole is computed at three thousand toises. The population, according to the latest and best calculations, amounts to between 39,000 and 40,000 souls.

The town offers nothing but a labyrinth of streets, intersecting each other in innumerable directions, and is extremely close and unhealthy. The houses are small, and inconvenient; the ground floors are mostly sunk into the earth, and even the upper ones are almost always deficient in light and air. Besides, they are all built with the hardest free-stone, and the plaister appears to consist of a sort of sparry lime-stone.

The suburbs, however, are much more airy and healthful, containing broad and straight streets, gardens, avenues, squares, and handsome houses in abundance. The Crucimale and the Richelieu are the most agreeable and healthful spots in the suburbs, both standing on rather high terraces, refreshed with fine breezes, warmed by the sun, and provided with excellent water. The most unhealthy places, on the contrary, are the fauxbourgs St. Laurent and de la Boucarie; the first on account of the numerous cocoa coppers, and the last on account of the many lime-kilns: notwithstanding there are many fine gardens to be met with. Nismes contains very few fine modern buildings, but the more numer-

ous are the remains of Roman antiquity, to the mention of which I shall devote a couple of separate letters.

Provisions, &c. are rather reasonable; lodging, dinner, and supper may be had at the Luxembourg and Louvre, for from eight to nine livres a day; in the suburbs two neatly furnished rooms may be had for from twenty to thirty livres a month; in these houses board is also given, if required. But firing is extremely dear, the wood and coals all coming from the Cevennes.

The water here is as bad as can be conceived, and contains much lime and selenite. In places where there are many dye-houses, drains, &c. it contracts almost always, on account of the great shallowness of the springs, a number of heterogeneous particles. The springs in the northern parts of the town, particularly in the fauxbourg Crucimale, appear to be the very purest and best. The mineral spring has from its visitors obtained the character of being saline and laxative: to keep up its reputation, the speculating waiters incorporate it with all sorts of drastics. But I will proceed to the wine, over which it is easy to forget the badness of the water.

Both red and white wines are to be had here, and the last justly deserves the estimation in which it is held; both indeed have a certain spirituous flavour, but are extremely strengthening and nourishing, although they soon affect the head, even if very moderately enjoyed.

A small difference is made in the prices of the red and white wines, a bottle of the former (of a good quality) costing ten, and the latter twelve sous: besides these, very good Frontignac may be found here at forty, and old Lunel at fifty sous; but which are, notwithstanding, very different from the Hanseatic wines: Languedoc, and other wines may be had here at a very moderate expense.

The fineness of the bread and meat, immediately remind the traveller of the luxuriant meadows and pastures of Languedoc. The fish, which is had either immediately from the sea, or from the salt ponds, is both abundant and delicious. Vegetables and fruits are of equal value, and the seeds of the former constitute an important branch of trade.

CHAP. XIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE POLICE OF NISMES.—SOCIAL LIFE.—WALKS IN THE TOWN.—ESPLANADE.—THE COURSE.—PARK.—EXCURSIONS.—THEATRE.—COFFEE-HOUSES.—LITERARY RESOURCES.—REMARKS.

Nismes, Feb. 1804.

YOUR fears are groundless, my dear friend, I have by no means forgotten to speak of the police of this place; my only difficulty lies in speaking according to truth and propriety. But since you insist on it, I will begin with informing you, that the influence of the all-subverting revolution is in this respect still felt. There is indeed a police bureau, organized like the fourth section of prefecturates; but it appears upon the whole, perhaps for want of sufficient support, by no means active enough. This I think I can maintain in one weighty point at least.

To the cleanliness of the streets, there appears to be not the least regard. In the town particularly, all sorts of filth remains before the doors; even in the populous quarter Les Bourgades, the dung is prepared, as in the small provincial towns: add to this, the slaughtering of all animals before the doors; and that the sinks from all manufactories run into the streets; that the foul dregs of all kinds of preparations are thrown there; that the north-wind seldom blows, and leaves the greater influence for the south. If you take all this into consideration, you will perceive that a negligence in the police, which so much adds to the mortality of a town, can only be excused by their want of resources.

Here is no great want of social intercourse, and the inhabitants of this place are upon the whole, a tolerably social and obliging people. To those who like a walk, without going far for it, I recommend the Esplanade, between the suburbs Richelieu and la Bouronne; the Course, in the fauxbourg St. Laurent, and the Park, as it is called, near the famous spring. The esplanade is the most resorted to in summer, the course in winter, and the park in spring.

For strangers, the former possesses the greatest attractions, on account of its fine prospects; and the latter, for its remarkable springs; yet both are exposed to the wind. Those who like more

extensive walks, will find them in the country which surrounds the town, and in the whole district le Faillable.

The lovers of other amusements are provided with two theatres (the largest of which, in the town, is pretty good), several neat coffee-houses, (among which the Café de Martinet deserves notice) balls, concerts, and licensed gaming-houses.

Those who like reading, will find full satisfaction in the public library of the Lyceum, open every other day, near the great theatre, and in the shops of many good booksellers.

Finally, those who like to pass their time in studying of antiquity, natural history, or rural life, will find full employment in contemplating the splendid ruins of antiquity and surrounding scenery of Nismes, and in examining the various interesting cabinets which are here open to their inspection. I shall avail myself of these advantages, and intend devoting a few letters to the subjects they offer, which I wish however to recommend to your kind indulgence.

LETTER XIV.

COMMERCE OF NISMES.—SILK TRADE.—RAW SILK.—SPUN SILK.—SILK MANUFACTURE; REMARKS UPON IT.—CLOTH TRADE.—LINEN AND LACE TRADE.—CORN TRADE.—SEED TRADE.—TRADE IN DRUGS.—LEATHER TRADE.—PARTICULARS.—GENERAL RETROSPECT.

Nismes, Feb. 1804.

PREPARE yourself, my dear friend, to read in this letter of nothing but trade. I have been employed during the whole of this day in collecting information concerning the commercial relations of Nismes; and will impart to you all that I have heard and read on the subject. The trade of Nismes branches into several divisions, the first and chief of which is formed by the silk trade; which is again divided into three parts, namely, the trade in raw silk, spun silk, and silk manufactures. That in raw silk may be either active or passive: active, since in plentiful years much is sold to the other provinces; and passive, when foreign silk is imported either for immediate use, or for more extensive debit as transit goods. The trade in spun silk extends itself to every sort and possible preparation, and descends even to flock and floret silks: it is, indeed, confined totally to the supply of the town manufactories; yet they sell every year, upon an average, fifty thousand pounds. The trade in silk manufactures is divided into that in ribands, stockings, floret, and

stuffs. The ribands are sold to the amount of 158,000 pieces, which, if calculated at the average price of 50 sous, produces a sum of 392,000 livres: they are dispersed over all France, and a great part of Europe.

Formerly not less than a hundred thousand dozen of silk stockings were disposed of in Europe, of which at least a sixth part went to Spain; but the preference given to English silk stockings in the northern parts of Europe, and the regulations in Spain which exclude the French, have materially diminished this branch of exportation; but yet it remains one of the most considerable and lucrative in Nismes, since it may be estimated at 5,616,000 livres yearly.

The trade in silk stuffs embraces also sarsnets, and stuffs made of woollen and silk, which are called *burats*. The former, on account of their cheapness, lightness, and variety of patterns, are exported annually, throughout all Europe, to the amount of 4,875,000 livres. Of the latter, which also have a good appearance, there is usually sent partly to other parts of France, and partly to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, every year, to the amount of about 750,000 livres.

I now come to the second chief division of the Nismes trade. A great part of the cloths and other woollen stuffs which are manufactured in the province, pass through the hands of the great woollen-drapers of this place, and receive here their last finishing; after which they are exported by sea and land under the general title of Languedoc cloths: including the retail trade, this branch amounts to 2,500,000 livres.

A third branch is formed by the linen and lace trade, which, in union with other manufactures, produces also annually 2,500,000 livres. Corn constitutes a fourth branch; and, including the trade in seeds and drugs, affords an annual produce of 2,100,000 livres.

The corn trade is partly active and partly passive: active, when they send corn to Languedoc and Burgundy: and passive, when in bad years they receive it from Italy and Africa. The seed trade is very considerable to Holland, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, where the seeds of Nismes are in great repute. The trade in drugs is particularly lively with the Cevennes, and is carried on by exchange. The leather trade is, finally, the most active in Spain, Italy, and the interior parts of the republic: it amounts yearly to about 440,000 livres.

Having communicated to you what knowledge I have been able to gain of the trade of Nismes, I shall affix to this letter a view of its whole produce.

View and particular Statement of the Trade of Nismes.

	Livres.
Silk trade	
Raw and spun silk	2,350,000
Ribbands	392,500
Stockings	5,616,000
Sarsenet	4,875,000
Burats	750,000
Cloth trade	2,500,000
Linen and lace trade	2,500,000
Corn, seed, and drug trade	2,100,000
Leather trade	440,000
Sum total	21,523,500

LETTER XV.

INDUSTRIOUS ECONOMY OF NISMES.—SILK MANUFACTURERS AND THEIR VARIOUS CLASSES.—CLOTH-SHEARERS, WEAVERS, AND BOBBIN-MAKERS.—GARDENERS AND TANNERS.—GENERAL REMARKS UPON THE INHABITANTS OF NISMES; THEIR GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS, PARTICULAR CHARACTERISTICS.—MANUFACTURERS.—LABOURING MANUFACTURERS.—CIVIL RESTRICTIONS OF BOTH.—DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF NISMES.

Nismes, February, 1801.

YOU have so well received my last on the commerce of this place, that I am encouraged in the present to treat of that industry which forms it basis. Above, the manufacturers of silk are distinguished through all their ramifications, from the first preparation of the silk to the last perfection of it.

In winding the silk from the cods, spinning, reeling, and twisting, &c. above two thousand persons are employed, chiefly consisting of women. Of ribband-weavers, here are a hundred and twenty; of stocking weavers, four thousand; of women employed in sewing and knitting stockings, two thousand three hundred; of taffety and burat manufacturers, three thousand; of floret silk-dressers, one thousand; and of dyers, a hundred and sixty.

There are about sixty cloth-shearers; about thirty bobbin-lace-makers; nine hundred and fifty gardeners; and about forty-tan-

ners; you perceive by this statement, that the persons employed in the silk manufacture, are by far the most numerous.

Thus we find, according to this computation of the inhabitants, half of them to consist of labouring manufacturers, artisans, and mechanics; one fourth of speculators, manufacturers, and rentiers; and one fourth of day-labourers, porters, servants, &c. I will endeavour to give you first a general outline of these people, and then a more particular account of their different classes; which may at any rate contribute to a general view of the French people.

The physical and moral character of the native of Nismes, exhibits, as I may say, a certain mixture of fire and water peculiar to itself; it seems to bear the stamp of the climate as above described. The figure exhibits a sort of stoutness divested of strength; the countenance possesses a delicate attraction, without being intellectual; the hue, the hair, the eyes, discover a degree of lassitude, which is, notwithstanding, united with much that is pleasing.

In a moral point, the inhabitant of Nismes appears to possess more violence than strength; more impetuosity than cheerfulness; more shrewdness than sense, united with sociability and good-nature; but which, by the way, will not bear putting to the test.

The different classes, however, as is natural to suppose, present moral and physical variations of character, according to their different modes of life. The opulent merchant, the rich manufacturer, has, in his whole *tournure*, that mercantile formality, that counting-house punctuality, which is generally found among the wealthy traders of country towns. If he be a native of Nismes, he is, as a rule, tall and haggard, though graceful; but if he be a native of the Cevennes, and one of the many who rise by their industry, he is distinguished by his robustness. If he be a Catholic, there is nothing remarkable in his gait; but if he be a Protestant, an air which I cannot positively disapprove, but which appeared to me a little methodistical.

These merchants and manufacturers spend nearly the whole day in their counting-houses, either in weighing money, writing, making up accounts, or receiving goods; and only amuse themselves in an evening in a select circle in summer, in a garden; and in winter in a large room hired and kept for the purpose. They generally inhabit the most unhealthy part of the town, their choice being alone determined by the nearness to their manufactory, or the size and convenience of their warehouses. They live for the most part rather meanly, especially since their gains have been so much diminished. There is a

narrowness in the nature of all their speculations; and still more in the character of the natives of Languedoc, in which a degree of parsimony is always to be observed. They are, on the contrary, while young clerks, remarkable for extravagance.

The working part of the community, among whom are many from the Cevennes, from Lyons, and Avignon, are distinguished upon the whole by their flightiness and self-sufficiency, and still more by their licentiousness. The men love liquor and gaming; and the women, of whom you recollect great numbers are employed in the manufactories, abandon themselves to the grossest irregularities.

The lot of the working poor, particularly manufacturers, is truly miserable. Their abode is generally damp, dark, several feet under ground, and situated in the most unhealthy parts of the town. Among their coarse and wretched food, pork and tough salt-fish form the best dishes; their cloathing is such as in Germany is appointed for prisoners in houses of correction. Here you have a sketch of the existence of that numerous and unfortunate class of beings, whose time is devoted to the preparation of luxuries for others, and whose lives form one unvaried scene of suffering.

If, in addition to this, we reflect that these persons are not paid more than thirty or six and thirty sous daily for working in the summer, from five in the morning till nine in the evening; in winter, from six in the morning till ten or eleven at night; that they are only allowed half an hour for breakfasting, an hour for dining, and, according to an established custom, half an hour in the twilight for taking a *walk*, and that many of them are females, we shall be surely led to conclude, that all manufactories are fundamentally injurious, and that only their produce can be pleasant or desirable.

But I will now proceed from their characteristics to speak of the civil connection between them and their employers. This connection has been regulated, as I think, very wisely by a Consular decree, by which all tumultuous proceedings among the workpeople are punished with fines or imprisonment; and the masters, on the other hand, are threatened with punishment for injustice or oppression. I think it would be very interesting could the various codes relating to the labouring manufacturers of the principal towns be collected and compared with each other, for the purpose of extracting all that might be applicable. Thus a complete code would be obtained, upon the utility of which I am certain your opinion and mine must accord.

I shall conclude this letter with a few remarks upon the servants of Nismes, among whom, as in most other places, the

females are the most numerous. This class is here as bad as it can possibly be. More rude, lazy, licentious, dishonest, and dirty servants cannot exist, although the females, particularly those from the Cevennes, are, upon the whole, far from ugly. The only good cooks, &c. found in Nismes, are from Provence, particularly from the former district; others come from Lyons, &c. and are distinguished, though not for their modesty or fidelity, at least for their knowledge, industry, and cleanliness.

LETTER XVI.

DISEASES OF NISMES.—COMPLAINTS IN GENERAL.—COMPLAINTS OF PARTICULAR CLASSES, LABOURING MANUFACTURERS, SPINNERS, RIBBAND-MAKERS, STOCKING-MAKERS, STOCKING-SEWERS, TAFFETY AND BURAT MANUFACTURERS, FLORET SILK-PRESSERS.—SOME REMARKS UPON THE LENGTH OF THEIR LIVES AND MORTALITY.

Nismes, February, 1804.

IN order to present my subject to you in every point of view, I must not pass over in silence the diseases of the place. To this end I hope you will not think the following remarks unworthy your approbation.

The most prevalent diseases of Nismes are either bilious or catarrhal, as may be easily imagined from the nature of the climate. The innumerable modifications, fluctuations, and sudden changes of the same, produce a number of other complaints, among which is the endemial intermittent fever, in its most virulent degree; it often proves very fatal.

Independent of these local complaints, the labouring manufacturers are exposed to others, peculiar to their particular occupations. Thus we find the women who wind off, spin, and twist the silk, are for the most part liable to tightness of the breast, rheumatisms, imposthumes, and putrid fevers. Not less afflicted are the children employed in turning the silk, being subject to spitting blood, vomiting, tumours on the arms and legs, and similar diseases, easily engendered by such a fatiguing employment in so unhealthy an atmosphere.

The ribband-makers are exposed to the most dangerous pectoral diseases, lameness, sore legs, inflammation of the bowels, and violent fevers.

The stocking-makers, the most healthy class, are, notwithstanding, subject to hemorrhages, weak eyes, and tremblings.

The women employed in sewing and knitting stockings we find subject to the most complicated abdominal diseases, together with hysterics, defluctions of the eyes, &c.: besides, this class may be known by their sunk heads and round shoulders, of which the right always projects.

The persons employed in the taffety and burat manufactories, suffer mostly from pulmonary ossifications and phthisis, besides being subject, through their whole lives, to articular diseases, lameness, obstinate astringency, ulcerations of the legs, &c. These two classes are the most unhealthy of all, the nature of their labour being so calculated as to destroy the constitution. It has been computed that one of these labouring manufacturers makes, in every minute, at least *three-and-twenty* violent exertions, and every day from *seven* to *twenty* thousand.

The diseases incident to the floret silk-pressers are mostly pains in the limbs and breast, difficult respirations, inflamed eyes, &c. From the hardness of the labour, and the unhealthiness of their working-rooms, for which they chuse the dampest places under ground, we find the strongest woman's health ruined in two or three months. Can it then be a matter of surprize, that in a place where both the climate and technical order of things conspire to destroy the vital principle, that the middle age should not exceed, at most, twenty-five; that the surplus of births does not, on an average, amount to more than ninety, although the women are said to be very prolific; that with a population of at most forty thousand souls, the deaths, calculated one year with another, amount to twenty-three out of every hundred; and that, finally, the number of old persons should be very small.

The greatest mortality takes place from the summer solstice till the autumn equinox. In August, particularly, it is not rare to reckon fifty deaths in a week. The epidemical rage of the small-pox no doubt contributes much to increase the mortality; from which it is much to be wished that vaccination were here also introduced.

LETTER XVII.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF NISMES.—PHILANTHROPICAL INSTITUTIONS.—HOSPICE D'HUMANITE.—HOSPICE CIVIL ET MILITAIRE.—ŒUVRE DE LA MISERICORDE.—REMARKS ON RUMFORD SOUP.—LOMBARD.—LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.—CENTRAL SCHOOL, NOW LYCEUM.—COURS D'ACCOUCHEMENT.—ACADEMIE DU GARDE, CHIEF MEMBERS.—SOCIETE DE MEDICINE.—SOCIETE D'AGRICULTURE.—PETITES AFFICHES DU GARDE.—THE LIBRARY OF THE LYCEUM.—THE CABINET OF BUCHET.—BOOK-SELLING.—COMMUNICATIONS.

Nismes, February, 1804.

I NOW proceed to speak of the public institutions of Nismes, which, in many respects, deserve our attention, and shall distinguish them by philanthropic and literary.

To commence then with the former, let me recommend to your attention the Hospice d'Humanité, formerly known by the general term hospital. This was once a place for the reception of old and poor persons of both sexes, and was at the same time used for sick, lunatics, orphans, and foundlings. The persons were attended by the nuns called "Dames de Nevers," whose order has been wisely restored by the government; but with regard to the internal arrangements, particularly their administration, much still remains to be done. The greatest complaints are made against the food and treatment of the sick, as also against the disproportionate mortality of the children. Not less reprovable is the construction of the building, in which one division of the wards, towards the north, is the whole year without sun, and always damp and unhealthy; while in others, towards the south, a heat prevails in the hot months of 45 degrees of Reaumur; and every part is filled with insects. In this latter are deposited mostly lunatics, of which, by the way, here are not reckoned less than one to each thousand of the population, and always two women to one man.

A second institution here is the former "Hotel Dieu," now called Hospice Civil et Militaire, in which attendance is administered by the nuns well known by the name of "Dames de St. Joseph." They are praised for deligence, but not for cleau-

liness or regularity, although the apartment allotted to the military is said to be the most supportable.

A third institution, called Œuvre de la Misericorde, is devoted alone to the relief of the poor in their own houses. The whole is regulated by the *sœurs grises*; and from the house bread, meat, medicine, linen, &c. are distributed to the poor of every quarter. It is said to stand in the place of the former Hospice de Charité, which, from the failure of its revenues, went to decay; and which, notwithstanding its great donations, was badly administered. I have been assured that the new institution has many preferences, and is supported with much zeal by the rich inhabitants. This is certainly rendered the more necessary, since the excellent institution known so well by the title of Association Patriotique, for the relief of the distressed labouring manufacturers, has been, by the revolution, deprived of its considerable capital.

Not without astonishment did I hear of the falling off of the benevolent Rumford Soup Institution, which had been commenced by some philanthropic persons. This took place not from any diminution of the public zeal, but for want of partakers. The poor manufacturers shew a decided detestation of it, arising from no physical reason, but from a certain ridiculous and pitiable pride. I must observe, that the funds of the former useful institution for the poor, called the Lombard, were also plundered during the revolution. They speak, however, of its restoration, which appears indispensable in such a town.

With regard to literary institutions, I mention, first, the Central School, now the Lyceum. It has hitherto had very good teachers, two of whom have opened boarding schools; from what is at present known of them, their success is much to be wished. Of the other four or five public institutions which were in Nismes before the revolution, there exists at this time not one. One instituted in 1787, for the instruction of women in the obstetric art, has been, though very imperfectly, restored under the direction of professor Sarray, and is now denominated Cours d'Accouchemens.

To supply, however, this deficiency, the former Academie de Nismes, afterwards called Lycée du Gardo, has been renewed under the title of Academie du Gardo. This has been effected chiefly by the zeal of the learned and humane Prefect Dubois. It is divided into six sections, which are devoted to politics, agriculture, trade, industry, mathematics, physics, literature, and the arts. Among the members I have observed the following famous and well-known names:—Banks, Barbé, Marbois, Bodoni, Buonaparte, Bourgoing, Caillard, Cambaceres, Cavanilles, Chaptal,

d'Anse de Villoison, Fourcroy, Prince Dimitry Gallizin, Goethe, Heyne, Hufeland (the physician), Lacepede, Lagrange, Lalande, Laplace, Lebrun, Millin, Pinel, Portalis, Roederer, Van Swinden, Talleyrand, Tischbein, Wieland, and Von Zach.

The place of the former College de Medicine is also supplied by a Societé de Medicine, which is said already to have effected much good. In addition to these learned societies, a Societé d'Agriculture is added, which may doubtless produce many useful improvements. A part of their hints, proposals, &c. are to be found in the Petites Affiches du Garde, a sort of provincial paper which appears twice a week at Nismes, in octavo, and contains much useful information for strangers.

This leads me to the resources, libraries, collections, &c. upon which I must make a few remarks. I wish first to direct your attention to the public library of the Lyceum, where at present the famous collection of Seguier is to be found. The library is estimated at 30,000 volumes; among which are many valuable works on natural history, collected from the private cabinets which have been confiscated; there is also a rich cabinet of medals. It is open on Tuesdays Thursdays, and Saturdays, from ten to twelve in the forenoon, and from three to five in the afternoon. The librarian is a Monsieur Trelis, a very civil and obliging man.

Besides the abovementioned, we meet with several circulating libraries, well stocked, also reading societies and booksellers, at Nismes. Buchet Faux Calgiveres is proprietor of a considerable cabinet of curiosites, which I must describe more particularly.

Besides a number of Egyptian, Indian, Etrurian, Grecian, Roman, and other antiquities of every kind, we find a tolerably complete *suite* of Grecian and Roman coins, amounting to three thousand in number, several artificial curiosities of wood, wax, ivory, &c.: a small collection of rare or remarkable pictures of the three chief schools; various technological singularities, among which are, an old firelock, with powder-horn, &c. bearing marks of being among the first of the invention; and a number of scarce books and MSS. mostly French, among which is one bearing the date of 1407, on parchment, with six hundred and sixty miniatures. it appears to have been a royal prayer-book from its containing a calendar and the usual prayers to the Holy Virgin, together with the life of our Saviour. It is bound in green morocco, with gilt edges, and is estimated at 4,800 livres.

This cabinet may be visited daily, from seven till twelve in the forenoon, or from three till seven in the afternoon, for the trifling sum of thirty sous each person. As the good old friendly

Buchet has been collecting this cabinet for thirty-seven years; he regards it as his darling child, and is always desirous of showing it himself to strangers. He appears to possess a good stock of knowledge in this department, and has likewise a tolerably complete collection of works on the principal antiquities of the southern part of France.

The situation of Nismes affords it three grand and considerable *routes* for communication; from Paris and its *route*, Marseilles and *route*, and that from Toulouse and *route*. The couriers throughout France take, as you will surely know, besides the letters, also passengers at about thirty sous a league.

The first great diligence coming and going daily to and from Nismes, is that from Avignon to Toulouse, and from Toulouse (always by Montpellier and Nismes) to Avignon. From March to October, it arrives in the forenoon at ten o'clock, and sets off again as early as one; from November to February, on the other hand, it gets into Nismes at four in the evening, and does not set off before the next morning.

Besides this daily diligence from and to Montpellier, a second has been established, which sets off in the summer at four in the morning, and in the winter at five. It corresponds with the direct diligence from Barrachin, which comes every other day from Marseilles, and has its inn in the Louvre itself, on the right hand of the entrance into the yard.

There are two other daily conveyances in Nismes, going backward and forward to Alais and Vigan, and also the Fourgons as they are termed, to Beaucaire; besides coaches three times a week to Elzes, and diligences to Marseilles by Arles, and frequent coaches and cabriolets to the *Pont St. Esprit*, and a number of other accommodations to the Cevennes, the southern and northern parts of France, for which enquiries may be made in the Louvre, the Luxemburg, and the *rue Notre Dame*, at the widow Gras's, and Dudon's, &c

LETTER XVIII.

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF NISMES.—UNIVERSAL NOTICES AND RESOURCES.—THE AMPHITHEATRE.—THE JULIAN TEMPLE.—LA TOUR MAGNE.—THE DIANA TEMPLE.—PARTICULARS.—FIRST IMPRESSIONS.—DIMENSIONS.—DESTINY,—PRESENT CONDITION.—NUMBER OF OTHER ANTIQUITIES.—SOME DETAILS ON THE FAMOUS SPRING.

Nismes, February, 1801.

THIS letter is penned from amidst the ruins of Nismes, which have acquired the town so just and universal a reputation. Follow me, my dear friend, through all the interesting tracts, and I will promise not to weary you by too long a rout. Great as my devotion is to this pursuit, I shall content myself with giving you an appropriate sketch of this ample subject, which may serve as a guide for you or any traveller desirous of visiting this antiquarian repository. If you wish to enter into the minutia of this science with the same ardour as I have done, I should then recommend to you Menard †, Vincens‡, and Clerisseau's ‖ masterly paintings.

The first, greatest, and most splendid monument of antiquity, which can be admired at Nismes, is the Roman amphitheatre, perhaps the only one that has been so well preserved. It lies in the suburbs, very near the esplanade, but is viewed best from the other side, particularly in the middle of the street leading to the course. Whoever has been in Italy, will enter into my feelings as fully as you can, when I speak of the solemn and awful sensations awakened by the first view of this grand object. We feel that another world has existed, even surpassing the present in strength and greatness, and the reflection is attended with no favourable impressions towards the pigmy forms and creations

† Histoire de Nismes, p. Leon Menard. 7. vol 4. 1750—1758. The whole seventh volume is dedicated to antiquities, at least to as many as were discovered to the year 1758.

‡ In the *Topographie de Nismes* before cited. He describes every antiquity found since 1758 to 1809.

‖ *Antiquitées de la France*. p Clerisseau vol. 1. 1788, fol.

of the arts in their present existing state. How much then are these impressions heightened by a contemplation of this structure in the stillness of a moonlight evening.

The amphitheatre is of an elliptic form, and built merely of large free-stone, many toises long, without any mortar or cement. Its exterior circumference is estimated at one thousand one hundred and forty French feet, and the height of the whole at sixty-six. The great diameter from east to west is four hundred and five feet, the smallest, from north to south, three hundred and seventeen feet. It consists of two stories, each divided into sixty arcades, without reckoning the attic, that adorns the whole like a massive crown. The interior is encircled by thirty-two large rows of seats, which appear sufficiently spacious to hold sixteen or seventeen thousand persons.

On the outside the amphitheatre is at present left tolerably open, one side only being built in; but the interior is unfortunately occupied for the most part with buildings of all descriptions. The upper gallery is indeed left so clear that we can walk entirely round the edifice; the under part, on the contrary, is always used for barbers' stalls, cookshops &c. One of these places is set apart for the habitation of the ignorant cicerone who usually shows the upper gallery to strangers, for a compensation of from thirty to sixty sous.

This amphitheatre would surely have been cleared, had the revolution not intervened. The government, the province, and the town had contributed great sums to this purpose, and a beginning had already been made in the labour. The unhappy years which however succeeded, defeated every similar good object, notwithstanding the estimable Girod Pouzol, as representative of the people in 1794, revived the hopes on this matter. At present all eyes are turned to a man who has shown a predilection to antiquity, on every great occasion, and who will surely not overlook this species of ancient refinement. I at least form great expectations of Bonaparte's influence and activity in preserving these vestiges of human ingenuity.

If the amphitheatre awaken admiration from its grand, solemn, and majestic character, the Julian Temple, here called *Maison Carrée*, not very distant from it, attracts the observer by its elegance, symmetry, and perfect beauty. Clothed in all the light and lovely forms of youthful grace, this charming edifice is a masterpiece of Roman architecture. It rests on a base five foot high, forming an oblong quadrangle seventy-two French feet in length, and thirty-six in breadth. Round the whole are thirty chamferred or channelled pillars,

ten of which bear the fronton of the main façade, by which a peristyle of twelve steps is formed.

This peristyle is the only part of the *Maison Carrée* that has been damaged, though it has been used for very different purposes, one time serving as a stable, and another time as a Capuchin chapel. There is a report of erecting a statue of Buonaparte in it, which is certainly an idea more suited to the place. In this case the old cloister will be pulled down, which disfigures this fine building in one quarter.

On leaving the Julian Temple to the left, we at length reach the famous spring, above which stands *Tour Magne* on a high chalk hill. In all probability this antique watch-tower was four or five stories high, yet so erected as to rise to a point. At present the ruins of two only are visible, the lowest being eighty-one French feet in diameter. Here and there a thyme or or lavender bush sprouts out from the old brown stone work; and sometimes we discover even a small olive-tree in this monument of the ancient heroic world.

Far below the brink of the spring are perceived the ruins of a supposed Diana's temple, but which was properly a sort of Pantheon. The four main walls with the bas-reliefs introduced in the inside are still remaining; but the fragments of the magnificent columns that surrounded the temple are very scattered and indistinguishable. Every thing evinces, however, that this edifice was the offspring of the greatest genius and refinement in the Roman artists; and its destruction during the religious wars in Languedoc, is so much the more to be lamented.

I could entertain you, my dear friend, with descriptions of innumerable ruins, statues, mosaics, and antiquities. But having once referred you to those above-mentioned, I must conclude with some particulars on the famous spring, which must attract every one's attention.

It is found, as I before observed, at the foot of a barren chalk hill, or the *Garrigue*, on the summit of which stands *la Tour Magne*. Here it rises from a tolerably deep and broad bason, bordered with very beautiful water plants. Since the laying out of the park it has been carried into many large canals, which are provided with magnificent bridges.

In its usual state, the spring yields about two hundred and thirty inches of water; but in a great drought, only one hundred and forty-five. On the other hand it sometimes swells from perpetual rains, to such an extraordinary height, that the water will often rise three feet higher than usual.

Excellent as this water may be, it unfortunately by no means

supplies the wants of the inhabitants here, who are compelled to draw resources from other springs: this beautiful fountain being used only by the washerwomen at the lower canal. In the months of May to September, when the water is at the lowest, all these canals are usually too shallow to flow off, which occasions an extremely unpleasant smell, and renders the beautiful promenade here insupportable to the lovers of walking.

LETTER XIX.

AGRICULTURAL REMARKS.—COUNTRY OF NISMES.—SOIL.—PRODUCTS.—MODES OF HUSBANDRY.—CULTURE OF CORN.—PROPER CULTIVATION OF GRAIN.—WHEAT.—SEED TIME.—HARVEST AND CROP.—TREADING OUT.—CULTURE OF RYE, BARLEY, AND OATS.

Nismes, February, 1804.

To-day, my dear friend, I shall conduct you round the country of Nismes, and make you acquainted with the scenery, as also with the soil, the productions, and methods of cultivating the land here. It is always interesting to be informed of the various modifications of this artificial and vegetable creation, under different latitudes, and in different climates: I flatter myself therefore, with no small presumption, that this letter will not be entirely undeserving your approbation.

The country of Nismes is the lowest part of a flat valley about three thousand toises broad, extending from north-east to south-west, and inclosed by two chains of hills running parallel. The latter, as well as the valley lying between, form the district of Nismes, or, as it is here called, *Taillable*.

The quality of the soil is variable. The northern range of hills, for example, is composed merely of a compact chalk stone, sand, and clay; but the greatest anomalies are discoverable on examining the soil of the valley itself. The whole is watered by the Vistre, which appears to form the boundary between these too opposite districts. There are besides several small rivulets interspersed throughout.

The variety in the products of this country keep pace with that of its soil. While the hills are covered with vine and olive plantations, fig, granate, almond, and mulberry trees; the valley itself presents the finest prospect of cornfields, vegetable gardens, and a number of luxuriant meadows. Thus Nismes resembles a vast and fruitful garden, which in spring affords every rural allurement.

The most considerable objects of the farmer's attention in the culture of grain, are the winter wheat, *Triticum hibernum*

Aristis carens, and some Polish and English wheat, *Triticum polonicum, and Triticum turgidum.*

If the winter be mild and damp, the seed strikes up very stoutly; but if a dry spring succeed, it flags and shoots up from a sudden heat into weak thin ears. It grows commonly to the height of three feet six inches and upwards, the ears being filled with plump grains.

The harvest generally commences here towards the fifteenth of June; though the sickle and scythe are both known here, yet the former is used only by the country people on the borders; and the latter by the inhabitants of the Cevennes, labouring as reapers. These people usually cut with them in nine hours (a day's work) from seven hundred and fifty to eight hundred square toises. The produce of the fields is estimated here upon an average from the best soil at nine to ten; from the middling at six to seven; and from the worst, at four to five grains. The cubic foot of wheat weighs about fifty-five pound ten ounces.

Thrashing is perfectly unknown here, as in all the southern parts of Europe. Instead of this practice the corn is immediately after cutting trodden out on the field by horses or mules, trained peculiarly for the purpose; which is performed with great expedition, even in violent heats, and perpetual North winds. Thirty-two horses or mules, twenty-four of which are always at work, may thus tread out thirty-two thousand pounds of grain, from which four per cent. must be deducted for labourer's wages, reckoning, however, no more than two men as necessary. The grain is besides winnowed merely against the wind without fanning, and then passed several times through a sieve in the usual manner.

In addition to wheat are also cultivated rye, barley, and oats. The rye is used as winter fodder for the sheep; the barley is employed as a green fodder for the horses; and the oats are cultivated for this purpose, and kept also for the winter.

LETTER XX.

AGRICULTURAL REMARKS CONTINUED.—PASTURAGE.—ARTIFICIAL MEADOWS.—LUCERNE.—USE AND PRODUCE. ESPARCETTE.—USE AND PROFIT.—VEGETABLES.—PARTICULARS OF THEM.—FLOCKS.—REMARKS ON BREEDING.—THEIR PRODUCE AND WOOL.

Nismes, February, 1804.

AGRICULTURE, my dear friend, will be the subject of this letter, and particularly that branch of it called pasturage. Natural meadows are very rare here, but are amply supplied by

those of art, of which kind the lucerne and esparcette, or sainfoin, are the most cultivated.

All lucerne grounds are here cut five and even six times if the weather be any way favourable. The ordinary amount of a crop from a lucerne-meadow is about 1100 -1150 lbs. of hay to a hundred square toises. This, however, is to be understood only of the five usual cuttings, the sixth being of course more considerable. It is very possible at the same time to have a much smaller produce when great heats in February are succeeded by hoar-frosts. What grows after the sixth harvest affords good winter fodder for the sheep. I must observe that the *Lytta marginalis, Fabr.* as also the chrysalis of the *Coccinella septempunctata, G.* besides other well-known insects are here very dangerous enemies to the lucerne.

The produce of the esparcette, (*Hedysarum onobrychis*) is trifling, a hundred square toises yielding only 550—580 lbs. of hay. On the other hand the esparcette thrives in every soil, needs no manure, suffers little from drought, and improves the earth astonishingly. The real clover is, however, not cultivated here, the climate rendering it impossible.

The vegetables of this place are excellent, as you know, from the seeds that form so considerable a branch of trade in Nismes. All kitchen gardens or fields are watered by means of the Persian wheel, as it is called, from the *Vistre*, and have, therefore, even in the hottest summers, a very fresh and luxuriant vegetation. The principal vegetables here, some of which attain an extraordinary size and thickness, may be classed as follow:

The branched selery, which grows here above thirty inches high; caulitlowers, in many different species, which are kept through winter in the open air; the African gourd (*courge barbaresque*) which is often two hundred pounds weight*; the melons, particularly the water-melon (*melon de Malthe*), which is extremely soft, and yet is kept till Easter; the artichoke, which may be had here the whole year, without being transplanted into beds; beans, peas, &c. cannot be cultivated to any considerable extent on account of the dry climate; and potatoes are also considered as a garden rarity.

With respect to the breeding of cattle, that of the sheep is the only one carried on in a manner to merit attention. In general there are few large flocks; the small ones are of course more numerous, which every owner feeds entirely with the produce of his meadows, without the aid of commons, &c. &c.

Cucurbita citrullus. Linn. is used, when mixed with grapes, as a sort of preserve.

The first sheep are said to have been brought here from Spain; but this aboriginal breed has been so degenerated by the yearly mixture with the sheep bought up in Provence and Auvergne, that it bears no longer any marks of its origin; notwithstanding the breed here may be regarded as one of the most distinguished in the south of France. The sheep are commonly three feet four inches long, and two feet two inches high; when alive they weigh mostly forty pounds and upwards.

The flocks here commonly spend the greatest part of the year, from the end of February to the beginning of December, in the open fields; in the hottest weather only, and when no shade is at hand, they are driven home. On the other hand, during winter, the sheep are kept regularly in sheds, which, towards the south, are perfectly open, admitting at the same time the north wind. However the winter pastures are always used daily, according as the weather will permit.—Salt is not given because it is too dear; but they endeavour to supply its place by stinking salmon, which surely can never be wholesome.

With regard to the wool, it does not possess Leonian fineness, yet it is generally of a very good quality. On account of its whiteness and softness it is particularly serviceable for the swan-skin manufactory, being commonly used for the wefts. The weight of an ordinary skin is estimated at five or six pounds.

LETTER XXI.

POMOLOGICAL REMARKS.—THE MOST REMARKBLE FRUIT-TREES.—OLIVE-TREES, VARIOUS SPECIES; CULTURE, CROPS, TREATMENT, PRODUCE.— MULBERRY-TREES, DIFFERENT KINDS OF; CULTURE, PRODUCE.—BREEDING OF SILK-WORMS.—GENERAL REMARKS.

Nismes, February, 1804.

IT is impossible, my dear friend, for me to communicate to you any scientific remarks on forests, there being no appearance of a forest in the country of Nismes; but you will receive with this a few pomological hints, which may, perhaps, not be unimportant. I must, however, confess, that in the article of fruit they are very deficient: I shall, therefore, pass over their modes of culture, and proceed to the sorts that are most remarkable.

The first in rank is the fig-tree, which thrives most luxuriantly, and almost entirely without any aid of art. Then the almond-tree, that grows best in the driest soils, running up in some measure wild, even in the fragments of chalk-tone. The jujub-tree (jujubier), the small medlar (azerolier), the service-tree

(alizier), and the granate, which are planted particularly in the vineyards, and the latter of which is used for forming hedges. The cherry, plum, pear, apricot, peach, and quince trees, generally yield but little fruit, on account of their premature blossom, yet the little that is produced is very excellent, and has a particularly rich odour.

I must however observe, that for some time past attempts have been made, and with success, to naturalize the pistachio-tree; but the date, which blossoms plentifully in the open air, never sets for fruit; and many other African and West Indian plants require to be protected from the north wind in order to thrive.

I now come to the olive, the culture of which is of such immense importance in the southern parts of Europe. This tree thrives best here when sheltered altogether from the north wind and its withering influence; it is the same if it stands in a ferruginous chalk soil. In cultivating the olive it is necessary to observe, that it is planted in the vineyards, betwixt the ploughed grounds, or in places marked out for the purpose; in which case, they are the trees always arranged in a quincunx order; and rye, or any green herb for provender, is usually grown between them.

The olive harvest commences with the month of November, sometimes even before the fruit is perfectly ripe, and lasts till the end of December. All are gathered at first promiscuously, which is not improper; but their method of proceeding afterwards is very objectionable. Thus, for instance, the unripe fruit, gathered so early as August, is mixed with that plucked later in the season. The olives are left to ferment in a heap before they are put into the press, and both before and after the pressing there is a total disregard to cleanliness. However the olives here, when carefully managed, yield a very good oil, which, though not so fine as that of Aix, is still fatter, and keeps good for a considerable length of time. With the *vicholines*, as they are called, or what is prepared for fining or clarifying the oil, they are more careful. For this purpose alkaline lees are used, which must, however, be sharpened with an addition of chalk. An olive-tree that has retained its lower branches, and is twenty feet high, and thirteen or fourteen toises in circumference, may, in good years, yield about two cubic feet and a half of fruit, from which seventeen or eighteen pounds of oil may be got, at fifteen sous a pound. But, unfortunately, such a season is rare, as the olive-tree has to stand not only the winter colds, but the summer mists and heats, particularly from the month of June to August, which often prove fatal to a whole crop.

I shall conclude with some remarks on the mulberry-tree,

which is to be regarded as the main source of industry in this place. Round Nismes, and throughout Languedoc, it is usual to raise the black and white mulberry (*Morus alba* and *Morus nigra*), the former for its leaves, and the latter for its fruit. The first is distinguished again by the names of the *murier sauvageon*, the grand species, which is not abundant; and the *murier greffé*, which is obtained from the former by artificial means, and admits of innumerable modifications. The leaves of the *murier sauvageon* have the best taste and afford most nutriment; those of the *murier greffé* are distinguished by their size, stoutness, and number. The latter tree has, therefore, for ninety years maintained the preference.

The mulberry-trees here are extraordinarily beautiful, and afford in the spring, before they are robbed of their leaves, a very charming sight along the rich green fields. They are most productive in the twentieth year, and then last fifty or sixty years at least. A mulberry-tree of thirteen toises in circumference and five in height, may yield three hundred and fifty pounds of leaves yearly, a hundred weight of which fetches from twenty-five to thirty-five sous.

The frost appears to be of little prejudice to the mulberry-trees, although the most trifling hoar is injurious to the young buds. But from a very great heat succeeding a hard frost the trees suffer, as the leaves commonly become shrivelled, and all their essence is evaporated.

Much as the climate of Nismes favours the culture of the mulberry, it appears, however, to be by no means fitted for silk-worms, particularly when compared with the Cevennes. Thus, for example, one ounce of nymphs yields, upon an average, only thirty pounds of cods, from which twelve drachms of silk at most are obtained to the pound. In the Cevennes, on the other hand, may reckon to the same quantity of nymphs fifty, nay sometimes a hundred drachms of silk, without the nourishment being better. For two thousand pounds of worms they take here as well as there, about the same quantity of leaves. Several causes have been assigned for this striking disproportion. In the first place, the air of Nismes is by no means so healthy as on the Cevennes. Secondly, the summer here is too hot, and the frequent south winds are injurious; but with a long-continued north wind the harvest will always prove more plentiful, particularly when it blows in spring, and towards the spinning-time. Thirdly, the repositories for the worms with the stands, are always fixed in the kitchens, which are never free from smoke and noxious vapours. Fourthly and lastly, the keepers, who never modify the methods they learned in the Cevennes, are too negligent and improvident in their management.

LETTER XXII.

AGRICULTURAL REMARKS CONCLUDED.—CULTURE OF THE VINES.—VARIETY OF THE SOIL, AND ITS TREATMENT.—SORTS OF GRAPES.—VINTAGE.—BAD MANAGEMENT.—BRANDY DISTILLERIES.—SPIRITS OF WINE DISTILLERIES.

Nismes, Feb. 1804.

TO-day, my dear friend, we will mount the chalk-hills, whose acclivities are covered with vineyards. This is the last agreeable branch of agriculture which deserves our attention before we pass over to other subjects.

The soil of the hills destined for the cultivation of the vines may be either chalk or gravel, each of which requires a distinct treatment.

The vines are propagated by layers without joints and roots, which are laid into the rills made for the purpose, without any previous preparation, in a careless manner. Notwithstanding this simple method, as well as the bad soil, and the parching climate, the plants grow well merely by the aid of the nocturnal dews and the fresh sea-breezes above described. With only a moderate soil they often rise nine feet and upwards. Manuring is never thought of, nor are props required. There are about thirty different sorts of grapes, of which the *spiran verdaou* is the best; among the white, the *muscat Grec* is distinguished for its fragrance and durability; and among the red, the *spiran* is greatly sought after by epicures.

The vintage generally commences in the middle of October, without regard to the different degrees of forwardness of the fruit, and still less to a separation of the different sorts. The press used here is what is termed a spindle-press, and is very bad; and the whole management of the must, &c. is such as would perfectly vex a Rhenish vintner. It is remarkable, at the same time, that the wine is here left to ferment in large vats, and in good years they also serve in the place of casks, by laying sand, earth, or lees six inches thick on the wooden cover, or even inclosing them with brick and mortar.

The produce of a vineyard here is as various as the quality

of the wine. A hundred square toises planted with one hundred and seventy stocks, often yield from a bad soil only forty pints, from a good soil not unfrequently three hundred; yet there is a medium between these two extremes. Wine from a gravelly soil or a granite sand, is more spirited than that which comes from a chalk land. Vineyards with clay or lime soil yield of course only bad wine. From this, as well as from any superfluous quantity of the better sort, brandy is distilled, which is here the occupation of the country people, who set about it, however, in no very skilful manner.

Yet one hundred pints of the worst wine usually yield forty-six pints of the strongest brandy, and occasionally more when the wine is grown in a gravelly soil. In the village of Aigue-vives the brandy-distillery has been established for fifteen years with such success, that three thousand casks have been sold yearly at fifteen hundred franks a cask.

LETTER XXIII.

NATURAL HISTORY.—VIEW OF THE COUNTRY IN GEOGNOSTIC AND ORYCHTOGNOSTIC RESPECTS.—THE NORTHERN CHALK HILLS.—THE SOUTHERN CHALK HILLS.—THE PLAIN OR VALLEY.—BOTANICAL, ZOOLOGICAL, AND ORNITHOLOGICAL REMARKS, &c.

Nismes, Feb. 1801.

MY last letter from Nismes will, I hope, afford my very dear friend no less amusement while reading on his favourite subject of natural history. Though it will scarcely add much to his ample stock of knowledge, he will find some pleasure in being able to judge of the accuracy of the remarks.

The geognostic view of the country leads us every where to observe traces of its having been in early periods covered with the sea. The chalk-hills filled with muscle beds, petrifactions, and sea-weeds, &c.: the low situation, the layers of earth, the salt springs of the vale itself; finally, the morasses, sloughs, and ponds at the passage out of the same along the coast, all contribute to support this conjecture.

When examining the two ranges of hills that encompass the valley in an orychtognostic respect, we find a visible difference between the southern and northern chalk-hills. The northern are composed merely of chalk-stone, and have the aspect of the first ridge in the great mass of the Cevennes. The chief of them contain monstrous crystal spars, which are often many toises high, and of a rhomboidal form. Veins of quarry,

marble-stone, beds of ammonites, nautilites, belemnites, echinites, petrified fish-bones, &c. are to be found there in abundance. The lower rows contain layers of mountain flour *(farina fossilis)* resembling the finest powder. Whole stems of trees, and particularly of the larch, are not unfrequently to be met with, especially in layers of clay.

The southern range of hills exhibits materials and compositions very different from those of the northern. It consists merely of Alpine stony substances, and volcanic ingredients. There are irregular layers of quartz, gravel, jasper, spar, slate, marble, granite variolite, chalk-stones with the impressions of organic bodies, turf, petrified pieces of wood, hard and porous lava, basalt, &c. mixed together without order or connection; at the same time it is necessary to observe, that this row of hills is much lower than that to the north.

Thirdly, the vale lying between also affords innumerable proofs in corroboration of this hypothesis. The half-petrified muscles, chamites, tellintes, &c. which are often found in whole beds; abundance of alkaline plants, salt springs, saline crystallisations, &c. all denote that it had formerly been the bottom of the sea, and prove that this was a vale in the gulf of Lyons.

The botanic department next claims our attention in this quarter. Hill and dale are equally enriched by the gifts of vegetable nature, whose variety is no less remarkable than their abundance. The ornithologist will be no less entertained in the surrounding country of Nismes, than the botanist. A fertile vale in the neighbourhood of the Cevennes, and the sea, as well as the vast number of ponds and marshes, must naturally attract a considerable variety of the feathered tribe. In the summer and in the breeding-time they absent themselves, partly on account of the excessive heat, and partly for want of water; but in the winter they return in vast crowds, with a treble number of other birds of passage. I present you with a complete list of the abovementioned, adding only a few remarks on some particular species.

Birds of prey are here very little known, and are mostly classed quite erroneously, so as often to make two distinct species of male and female. In general the large are called *russos*, and the small *monisse*. Quails pass this way in great flocks; some, however, winter and have their young here, so that young quails are to be met with by the fifteenth of May. The nightingale often warbles here till the middle of August: in the cage it is fed with the nymphs of the silk-worm, which have been dried in the ovens. The lark remains only till spring; it is a rare case to see one in summer. The water-fowl is here so plentiful, that with ordinary sporting success you may kill from fifteen to eighteen hundred.

The entomologist is the third and last person who will profit in his observations on the country of Nismes. In fact, it contains many insects which, according to the usual designation, are esteemed foreign. The scorpion and tarantula are here very abundant, but by no means noxious; the *chermes (Coccus ilicis)* has very much diminished since the frequent extirpation of the trees; in consequence of which this considerable branch of trade has been almost ruined.

I must now, my dear friend, conclude my remarks on a town which is unquestionably one of the most interesting in France, and deserves the attention of every traveller. The day after to-morrow I shall go to Montpellier; and whatever I may collect sufficiently interesting for a letter in similar topographical, mercantile, historical, and other details, you may rely on my communicating it to you immediately.

LETTER XXIV.

DEPARTURE FROM NISMES.—PASSAGE TO MONTPELLIER.—COMPANY AND OTHER PARTICULARS.—INCIDENT IN THE DILIGENCE, AND OTHER LUDICROUS SCENES.—LUNEL WINE AND ITS QUALITIES.—COUNTRY.—ARRIVAL AT MONTPELLIER.—FIRST IMPRESSION.

Montpellier, March, 1801.

YOU now receive the first letter from this French hospital. To be sure, there are no dead men's bones bleaching in the market, nor have the inns medical names, as our amiable Thummel humorously relates; but it is certainly true that we immediately perceive here a chemical pharmacopeiacal bustle, and that the whole town smells like a great apothecary's shop. Yet before I enlarge on these and other particulars, I must say a few words of my journey hither.

We departed at five in the morning, the remaining four places in the diligence being occupied by two gentlemen and their ladies. The sun soon rose, and the day became as warm and agreeable as if it were in the middle of May. The larks sang, the butterflies fluttered past the carriage; fields and meadows, trees and hedges, shone in full splendour. Thus we fled light and merrily over the charming plain, while a number of large villages—desert masses of stone encompassed with walls, passed before our eyes in quick succession to the right and left.

Half a league before we reached Lunel, the road, however, became all at once bad, and we proceeded with considerable difficulty. The horses suddenly sunk into a hole, the diligence

was overturned, and we fell over one another. After some exclamations, we made shift to get up, and creep out of the coach window one after another in the drollest manner imaginable.

There we now stood in the middle of the mud, which reached up to our knees, looking wistfully at the firm ground opposite to us ten or twelve paces distant. We finally resolved on taking the ladies up between us, and wading on at all events till we gained a solid footing. The agreeable office we had to perform made us forget our own situation, and enabled us to reach the dry land with facility and convenience. We then sent some lusty peasants to the assistance of the poor postillion, and hastened with genuine French vivacity into Lunel, to a very good dinner and a few bottles of the best muscadine. We very soon forgot the little misadventure, and were extremely well pleased to find, when the diligence arrived, that nothing was broken.

Lunel is a place that bears the marks of considerable opulence. We are gratified with the sight of pretty houses, neat gardens, large magazines, and even a small canal, on which the wine-barges go to Cette. But, if a bottle of genuine old Lunel of the first quality even here costs three livres, what sort of goods can be consigned to Germany at the usual prices, and what a miserable compound must be sold for this wine! Agreeable and strengthening as it may be, it is notwithstanding very treacherous, spirited, and desiccating.

Beyond Lunel the country grows more and more chearful; but it is the most cultivated in the neighbourhood of Montpellier itself, where the eye is caught with a number of pretty country-houses. It is, however, very deficient in necessary shade; nay, in fact, it appears rather agreeable and pretty, than beautiful and picturesque, if I except some knots of woods on the Lez, near the small village of Castelnau.

Thus we reach at length the gate of Montpellier, and immediately enter into the narrow dirty suburbs. But the road soon begins again to improve: a beautiful row of houses, with terrace gardens, is seen on the right hand, and on the left a broad esplanade laid out into avenues of trees. The impression they produce is very pleasing, especially when beheld by moon-light.

LETTER XXV.

CLIMATE OF MONTPELLIER IN GENERAL.--TEMPERATURE, AND ITS RELATIONS.—STATE OF THE BAROMETER.—PREVALENT WINDS.—VARIATIONS, AND A NUMBER OF RAINY DAYS, &c.—PARTICULARS.—WHOLESOMENESS OF THE AIR, AND GENERAL REMARKS ON PATIENTS TRAVELLING THITHER.

Montpellier, March, 1801.

YOU congratulate me on being in this heavenly climate; you tell me that the doctor will send all his hypochondriacs hither, and more especially persons labouring under pectoral diseases. But I must sincerely confess that the climate here has nothing celestial in it; and in my mind is very ill suited for the hypochondriac, and still less favourable for pectoral disorders; it resembles that of Nismes but too much in its variations and extremes.

The temperature here has neither uniform gradation, nor positive order. The summers are hot almost to suffocation, the thermometer keeping at between 25 and 30 degrees: the winters, on the contrary, are severely cold, the thermometer often falling to 4 or 5 degrees, not unfrequently to 6 or 7, and sometimes even to 8 or 10. The spring is extremely short; for commonly the all-consuming heat commences with the early part of April; the autumn is agreeable, yet, in the vale, always rainy. But in all seasons the climate is so changeable, that the difference often amounts to 10 or 12 degrees in four and twenty hours, and accordingly we may have charming May days in winter, and autumn nights in the middle of summer. But the state of the barometer appears to be much more uniform, as its middle height in winter is 27 inches 11 lines; in the summer 28 inches; and betwixt the lowest state of 27 inches 1 line, and the highest of 28 inches 8 lines, no striking and sudden transition is usually perceivable.

The boasted serenity of the sky and the purity of the atmosphere here, even during the winter, come just in this season only from the prevailing north, also north-north-east winds, but which are on that account so much the colder and more cutting. When these abate, the damp relaxing south and south-east winds begin to blow, and bring with them, as at Nismes, clouds

and vapours. The east and north-east winds are attended with abundance of rain: only the north-west wind, the zephyr of Montpellier, brings mild and chearful weather. But the boisterous west-north-west is here very little felt. The winds mostly prevalent at Montpellier are those which blow from different directions, and vary much in their violence at the end of March and the beginning of April. The *cavaliers* are mostly perceived at the end of April and the beginning of May; and, finally, a sort of *garbin*, or south wind, here termed *le paresseux*, which resembles that of Nismes.

The scarcity of rain at Montpellier appears to be no less exaggerated than its temperature, as the number of rainy days is computed to be at the utmost twenty-three in the course of the year. But it has lately been proved by six and thirty years' observation, that there are every year at least forty whole days, and as many half days, in which it rains. The quantity of rain is at the same time, according to a moderate calculation, 28 inches 3 lines, of which almost the half is to be reckoned for the months of October and November.

Mists are extremely rare; there is also upon the whole but little snow to be seen. There have been winters however, as in 1789, where it lay with a hard frost for six days; or in 1799, where it remained almost eleven. Hail, on the other hand, very seldom falls, and even then never but in small quantities. There are also at the utmost not more than six or eight thunder storms yearly, which pass over in the neighbourhood of the sea, mostly with great rapidity, and almost always without doing any injury.

The salubrity of the air here in general is what I will not by any means dispute. I do not deny that there are very many old persons: I even grant that one out of fifteen or sixteen persons may always be seventy or eighty years old, although the mean age for the female sex may be estimated at only twenty-four, and for the males at twenty-eight. But from all this we are not to conclude that the climate of Montpellier is exactly adapted to persons troubled with hypochondriacal or pectoral disorders.

No, certainly not, my dear friend; for the influence of those cold cutting north-winds, those damp warm relaxing *marins*, those incessant variations of temperature, require no farther investigation, and it has been proved that a great many patients of that description have not only grown worse at Montpellier, but that a number of travellers, particularly English, have been victims to their stay there. I am, however, not speaking of physicians; I have merely to do with the climate: the former are out of my sphere; but the latter has been the subject of my own experience and that of others. Yet I will forbear any further remarks, for fear I should fall into the error of repetition.

LETTER XXVI.

MONTPELLIER.—SITUATION AND ASTRONOMICAL POSITION.—TOPOGRAPHICAL RELATIONS.--TOWN AND SUBURBS.—POPULATION AND ADVANTAGES.—DOMESTIC ECONOMY.—INNS AND BOARDING-HOUSES.—PROVISIONS.—SOCIAL RELATIONS.—THEATRE.—CLUBS.—LIBRARIES.—WALKS IN THE TOWN.—THE PEYROU.—THE ESPLANADE.—THE BOTANIC GARDEN.—COUNTRY EXCURSIONS.

Montpellier, March, 1804.

MONTPELLIER is situated in 43° 36′ 25″ N. lat. and 1° 32′ 45″ E. long. of Paris; it extends down the connected declivities of a hill, the broadest side of which lies south-east, and contains a mine of quick-silver. It constitutes a point of the great chain that forms a sort of bason, and closes in the form of terraces to the Cevennes. The town itself presents, with few exceptions, nothing but a labyrinth of narrow, steep, angular, and dirty alleys; it is, however, not totally devoid of fine edifices. The suburbs, on the contrary, have mostly broad and regular streets, and give the whole a not unfavourable appearance. The town and suburbs together are estimated at 1800 *metres* from north to south; at 2000 from east to west, and the elevation of the highest point over the surface of the sea at 29, 25 metres There are no public buildings worthy of particular notice; but the façades of some churches in the suburbs de la Saunerie and Dominique must not be passed over. The splendid, and perhaps too massive structure of the Peyrou will be spoken of in another place.

The latest calculations fix the population of Montpellier at thirty-two thousand: the garrison, however, appears to be included in the number. Montpellier is the chief place in the department de l'Herault, and of course the seat of the civil and military administration; at the same time being the central point of trade and industry for all Lower Languedoc, it is very lively and crowded.

It has, however, one disadvantage resulting from its magnitude and situation common to most great places, namely, that living is by no means reasonable. At a good inn the daily charges

for board and lodging may be reckoned at about ten or twelve livres. Persons desirous of engaging with a family, can find none to take them under four guineas per month; and there are some who demand from six to fifteen. When we take rooms only in a lodging-house, it costs twenty livres a month, and the meals at a tavern from thirty-five to forty.

But if provisions are dear, they are very excellent and plentiful. Fish, fowl, and fruit, even from Spain by Cette, are to be had in abundance. The wine is very good, and the very best sorts may be bought at a moderate rate. The water is, generally speaking, not bad, but it is advisable, however, to keep to the *eau de St. Clement*, as it is termed, which comes from the Fontaine du Peyrou. But to those also who will not leave the delicacies peculiar to Montpellier untasted, the *patés de rougets*, the *dragées* and *pastilles à la rose* and *à la vanille*, the *crême de Moka* and *huile de rose (liqueurs)*; and, finally, the *raisiné marmelade* of grapes, are above all to be recommended; the latter is at the same time an excellent solvent.

Whoever wants clothes, may be provided with the well-known Languedoc clothes, or other manufactures, at tolerably reasonable prices. Woollen manufactures, such as blankets, flannels, &c. appear to be by no means dear. But firing in Montpellier is a shocking article; the wood being brought here as far as one or two leagues, and no coals burnt in the fire-places; a last of oak (four hundred pounds), frequently fetches from fifteen to eighteen livres; a last of olive ten or twelve, and other lighter sorts in proportion.

With regard to society, Montpellier cannot boast any extraordinary resources. It has a theatre, which cannot be placed above the middle rank; and two CLUBS for reading, balls, concerts, &c. to which the stranger can gain admittance by a liberal payment: he may profit by the library of the central school, and, besides that, meet with a tolerably good circulating library at Durville's.

A lover of walking will find ample amusement in the Peyrou, and the esplanade in the botanic garden, and the country round Montpellier. The Peyrou is a very fine large terrace on the level point of the hill on the side of which Montpellier is built. The prospect is excellent, from the command of the sea, the east Pyrennees, the Cevennes, and the Alps: the whole exhibits something grand and majestic, which is not easy to be clothed in language. It is only to be regretted that this walk, as well as both the lower side-terraces, is totally void of shade, and so perfectly exposed, that with the north-wind it is rendered quite unpleasant. The water-temple and the adjoining aqueduct in Roman taste, demand every regard; though the former has,

however, been very much damaged during the revolution, and the latter is beyond all proportion too splendid for the conveyance of so small a mass of water.

As the Peyrou is situated on the most elevated point of the hill, the esplanade occupies the most depressed part of the declivity, forming a difference of at least fifteen metres in the level. This esplanade lies between the town and the fortress, and being planted with many rows of lofty shady trees, has the peculiar advantage of affording protection from the north wind to such as frequent its walks. Along one side runs a beautiful row of houses, with their gardens and terraces; and on the other is a beautiful prospect of the sea at a distance over the country of Montpellier. As this walk lies completely open to the south, it is the proper winter promenade of Montpellier.

A third walk in the town is the botanic garden, or rather the middle part of it. It is unfortunate that the ground is too unequal, and the whole out of repair. There are, however, hopes that, with the restoration of the garden itself, of which mention will be made in the sepuel, this agreeable promenade will also undergo some improvements.

The country round Montpellier abounds in walks, but they are wretchedly deficient in shade. One of the prettiest and most shady among them is the road to Castelnau, half an hour's walk from the town, and up the banks of the Lez. Whoever wishes to extend his excursions on horseback will be gratified by visiting the country-houses of *Montferrier, la Piscine, Clos de St. Martial, Chateau d' Eau Bionne,* &c. but particularly la Verune, with its charming gardens, now the property of Madame Brunette. A still farther tour may be advantageously made into the neighbourhood of Cette, Maguelonne, and even the Cevennes, which I shall have occasion to mention more particularly elsewhere.

LETTER XXVII.

INDUSTRY.—CALCULATION OF DIFFERENT MANUFACTURES, WITH CURSORY REMARKS.—TRADE OF MONTPELLIER.—ITS DIVISION.—STATISTICAL AND MERCANTILE OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRINCIPAL MANUFACTURING AND TRADING PLACES IN THE DEPARTMENT.

Montpellier, March, 1801.

I WILL not delay satisfying your repeated wishes to know the state of trade in Montpellier as far as lies in my power; but I will not flatter you or myself with my account being complete, as such affairs are conducted here with a great deal of

closeness and mystery. There is, however, still sufficient known for an attentive observer to render a letter new and interresting.

Beginning with the industrious classes, we are led to consider the flannel-printers and blanket-manufacturers. The former print what they receive from the departments of the Lozère and Upper Garonne. The latter manufacture the wool produced in these departments: of the first description there are three, and of the second ten. We find five cotton-weavers, particularly for handkerchiefs; three Turkish yarn-dyers, to whom Rouen and Vau, as well as Cholet, &c. send their yarn; five tanners, who use the double strong peel from the bark of the *quercus coccifera*. Three distilleries for vitriol, tartar, and aqua-fortis, each of which manufactures the articles above mentioned.

Besides these, are fourteen large perfumeries and liqueur-distilleries; eleven wine-coopers for the methodical clarification and management of wine; nine brandy-distilleries, which are in like manner carried on by a regular process; and also three manufactories for the purification and crystallization of verdigrease. The raw verdigrease manufactories, which supply the former, constitute here a branch of domestic industry, being mostly the occupation and concern of the women. The simple process of making this article with copper-plates and wine-lees, is a circumstance with which you are too well acquainted to need farther illustration. We will therefore proceed to the commercial department.

The exports and imports which form the trade of Montpellier, are among the first objects that deserve our attention; but it is necessary to distinguish between the town itself and the country of Lower Languedoc. The town of Monpellier exports all the abovementioned products of its own industry, and likewise the staple commodities or manufactures of Languedoc, such as corn, wool, oil, wine, silk, and brandy. It imports for its own consumption, as well as that of the country around, Northern, Levantic, West India, and even some Spanish productions, as esparto, cork, &c.

The course of trade in Montpellier generally proceeded by two routs: all merchandizes destined for foreign parts or the southern French ports, are conveyed by Cette; and all to be sent for the rest of France, by Agde. In like manner the foreign imports arrive at Cette, and the inland at Agde. Cette keeps up a brisk coasting trade with the neighbouring ports, and a considerable intercourse with Hamburgh, Bremen, Copenhagen, &c. From Agde, at the entrance of the great canal, goods are sent by Toulouse and Bourdeaux through all France, and by the same channel are transported the returns for Montpellier. Besides,

the inferior communications of the department are kept up by numberless carts, mules, &c.

The commerce in this place is far from being contemptible, although it has experienced, in common with all French trading towns, the grievous effects of that revolution which agonized the whole country. It can boast a considerable number of rich and respectable houses, that maintain a correspondence with the principal commercial cities in Europe, and are not unfrequently their agents. Many of them extend their speculations even to foreign loans, West India plantations, or great inland enterprizes in building, &c.

I shall conclude my letter with some short statistico-mercantile remarks on the principal manufacturing and trading places in the department.

Lodéve, a place famous for its mechanical inventions, has seven thousand nine hundred inhabitants. It contains manufactories of stockings, wax-lights, hats, tartar, neckhandkerchiefs, paper, soap, verdigrease and brandy; besides several glass-houses. Clermont l'Herault contains four thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight inhabitants, and a number of clothiers and tanners. Gignac, with two thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven inhabitants, carries on a considerable trade in wine, corn, brandy, verdigrease, oil, and particularly preserved olives.—Ganges, with three thousand five hundred inhabitants, is intitled to notice, both on account of its silk stockings and its excellent sheep.—Meze has two thousand one hundred inhabitants, and extensive brandy-distilleries.—Beziers twelve thousand five hundred and one inhabitants, famous on account of its fine Indian cloth and stocking manufactories, essences, wines and brandies.—Vezenas, with seven thousand two hundred and forty-nine inhabitants, carries on a considerable trade in corn, wine, oil, leather, silk merchandizes, and excellent vegetables; and has also a very crowded fair, that is the central point for the whole trading community of Languedoc.—Bedarieux, with one thousand three hundred and seventy inhabitants, deserves mention for its important manufactories of cloths, hats, and stockings—St. Pons, with four thousand four hundred and seventy-five, for its fine and coarse stuffs, wool and cotton-spinning.—St. Chinian, with one thousand five hundred, has perhaps the best cloth-manufactures in all Languedoc, &c.—Cette, Frontignan, &c. will be noticed hereafter.

LETTER XXVIII.

LITERARY RELATIONS OF MONTPELLIER.—FORMER UNIVERSITY.—PRESENT SCHOOL OF MEDICINE.—ITS SITUATION AND ENCOURAGEMENT.—PROFESSORS.—OTHER PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.—PUBLIC LIBRARIES.—PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.—LEARNED SOCIETIES.—BOOKSELLERS.—PRINTING OFFICES.—REMARKS.

Montpellier, March, 1804.

AT length I am enabled to communicate to you some authentic information relative to the literary relations of Montpellier; particularly concerning the changes, and, I may say, improvements, which they have undergone since the revolution.

You remember that Montpellier formerly possessed a university consisting of three faculties; theological, juridical, and medical: you also know that there was here a particular chirurgical school erected by the meritorious Peyronnie. This university has been dissolved; the medicinal faculty and the chirurgical school blended into one, and from thence a new institution formed, under the title of *école special de medicine*, with many celebrated men for teachers, and above a hundred students.

This institution is indebted for its present organization, and probably, for its rising credit, to the minister Chaptal, formerly professor of chemistry at Montpellier. He has transplanted it from its former circumscribed situation into the large episcopal palace, and has erected an anatomical theatre, as well as a chemical laboratory, which are constructed with no less taste than convenience. He has besides granted considerable sums for the enlargement of the library, and the restoration of the botanic garden, &c.

The professors appointed for the medicinal school, are, for the greater part, famous in their line as physicians, or as medical writers, particularly Messrs. Réné, Barthez, Dumas, Gouan, Baumes, Fouget, and Broussonet, whose merits are admitted by every impartial physician, even should he question the excellence of the Montpellier climate; many of the adjuncts are also esteemed very skilful, among whom Messrs. Broussonet, jun. Megean, and Draparnaud, hold a distinguished rank.

The other seminaries in Montpellier consist of a central school

in the Jesuit's college, which is now to be converted into a Lyceum, and nine secondary schools, which also admit boarders. Among the public libraries that of the *école de medicine*, and of the central school, claim the first attention. The periodical works which are published here are, the *Annales de Medicine* and the *Journal du Department de l'Herault*. The former is edited by the very meritorious Dr. Baumes, who directs his attention to foreign literature, particularly English and Italian; the editor of the latter is a M. Paris, who also publishes a yearly almanac for the department: it stands upon a level with any French weekly production of the kind.

Of learned societies there is first, *Societé de Medicine*, of which Dr. Baumes is the president, under whose inspection the abovementioned journal appears; secondly, *Societé Libre des Sciences et Belles Lettres*, which manifests, at least, very much zeal; thirdly and lastly, *Societé Libre d'Agriculture*, of which a second division exists at Gignac. Montpellier reckons besides six booksellers, and eight printing-offices, which is more than double the number of what existed during the revolution.

LETTER XXIX.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INHABITANTS OF MONTPELLIER, IN GENERAL AND IN PARTICULAR.—POPULAR FESTIVALS, &c.

I AM now come to the most interesting part of my observations on the moral economy of Montpellier. I shall endeavour to give you a general and particular sketch of the inhabitants, with the addition of some remarks on the popular festivals.

The general character of the inhabitants appears to me to be a perfectly singular mixture of Jewish, Christian, French, and English spirit. So at least I have endeavoured to explain, on the one hand, that love of gain and bigotry; on the other, that petulance and roughness. In buying and selling they are of the Hebrew tribe; in believing and thinking, fanatics: hasty, forward, and restless as the French; and yet rude, uncouth, and unsociable as the English. Here you have, summed up in a few words, the characteristics of the Montpelliard. Universal report and many concurrent proverbs, will, at least in some measure, serve to screen me from the charge of partiality.

One proverb, for example, says, "pound seven Jews in a mortar, and the juice that is pressed from them will make a single Montpelliard;" a second, to denote his bigotry, "he turns up his eyes like a saint of Montpellier;" a third proverb, speaking of their irritability, declares the men of Montpellier to be like

sparrows, and the women like blackbirds. Finally, their egoistic niggardly unsociableness is designated by the saying, "Whoever does not wish to keep a person to dinner, invites him, as in Montpellier, on the stairs, or at the house-door," &c.

In regard to these fundamental traits, there are some small modifications, from the difference of rank and sex. Thus, the higher classes are by no means so fanatic and brutal as the common people; the women distinguishing themselves in the former case more by prudery, and in the latter more by boldness; but upon the whole, the same general tone prevails. That, however, there are at the same time in Montpellier very estimable individuals, and even excellent men, is what no man would venture to deny, who had ever made remarks on variety of characters.

The two most remarkable popular festivals, and which survived the revolution, are the two solemn processions, or rather ballets, called *las Treijas* and *lou Chicalet*. As I cannot however speak of them as an eye-witness, we will give a relation of them in the words of Mr. Fisch, though upon the whole, he is inclined to illustrate rather more than is consistent with accuracy. He begins first with the Treijas.

"The propensity for dancing is so universal among the lowe classes, that there is not a guild which has not every year its festive day, celebrated by dancing and music. Thus I have seen the stocking-weavers, coopers, gardeners, and other companies, commemorate their anniversaries with dancing through the town. Nay, even the porters have such an honorary day, on which they are accustomed to go through the awkward movements peculiar to their guild before the houses of their customers. The stocking-weavers carried on a stage, adorned with flowers and ribands, a wooden weaver's chair, on which a boy appeared to be working. The gardeners had a tub with a pole in it, from whence, instead of branches, hung a number of flower-garlands. The coopers carried half hoops, which were also decorated with ribands and wreaths. All had learned very pretty dances, and made such masterly turns with their ringlets of flowers or hoops, and disengaged themselves again with so much dexterity and order, that I could not help admiring their art.

"But what engaged my attention the most was, the extraordinary vanity of these people, which manifested itself on these solemnities under the most varied forms, and occasions a number of ridiculous scenes. Poverty allows only a few of them to put on decent clothing: but with all the indigence and dirt that is evident from their dress, they all wear white silk stockings, which are quite covered with feathers of all colours, and a threadbare scarf from the wardrobe of the theatre, and some other showy tatters from the rag-shop. The females are commonly worse

dressed, and yet have fashionable ladies' hats, which they mostly borrow or beg from the houses where they serve milk or vegetables. These head-dresses form a singular contrast with the brown and coarse faces which they shade. Many a girl appears also, for want of a female head-dress, in a man's hat, on which is stuck a number of shabby feathers.

"The porters also adorn their hats on these days with ostrich feathers, and bind a scarf with gold or silver tassels, round their bodies. The most favourite dress among these people is that of an officer. In all their processions there are some who prance about in a soldier's coat, with a stick, sword, and epaulets; all hired from the theatre. The gold epaulet has above all things so many charms for them, that many a one attaches it to his dirty clothes, who has not the money to pay for its hire. An indispensible article in all these festivals are the flags, of which I saw a great number of various colours, decorated with inscriptions and paintings. Twelve porters had with their dance as many different colours, of which some, to judge by the dirt, might have already served their great-grand-fathers.

"All these festival days are very prejudicial to the young people, and commonly still more so for the poor, but just as vain, parents, who often pawn their beds and clothes in order to show off their children upon these occasions. I was assured that there are never so many silver crucifixes, inherited from their mothers, so many wretched articles of household furniture and wearing apparel, lying at the pawn-brokers, as in the months of April and May, the season for these festivals.

"Another popular festival pleased me still more, because it awakens less gloomy associations, and announces on the first glance, an important event for Montpellier. This festival is called the "DANCE OF THE LITTLE HORSE" (*la danse du chevalet*, in the *patois* "*lou chivalet*") which is usually kept in autumn by the youths of the best families, and consequently can be attended with none of the ill consequences accompanying the former festival. This year they all wore blue silk breeches and white silk stockings; their white shirts were bound with ribbands on the arms, and round the body with blue silk scarfs. On their hats they had white plumes, the favourite ornament of the nation. The leaders were also in officer's uniforms. In this procession the dancers of the chevalet proceeded in great numbers two and two through the streets, dancing to fine Turkish music, in the open places and before the houses of the chief magistrates.

"One of the youths had a little horse of pasteboard, of the size of a foal, bound to his body, so that he looked like a horseman mounted: a silk cloth covered the legs of the centaur. Another youth carried a tambour de baske, filled with oats, as fodder for

the horse, which, when offered him, he rejected by dancing away from it. In the mean time the remainder of the company danced with various evolutions round the two chief persons, and appeared to give way, by alternate positions, one time to the little horse, and another to its importunate benefactor, until at length the capricious animal was so inclosed, as to be obliged to stand still before the proferred corn. This dance has something very pleasing in it, and was executed with great dexterity.

"I suspected that it was originally intended to designate something real, but could obtain no satisfactory information. Every person whom I asked, gave me a contradictory account. The dancers themselves were by no means instructed in what they were to represent. All, however, concurred in saying, that it had been handed down for ages, from one generation to another, and had retained, by means of tradition, its original form. I found at length, in the history of the town of Montpellier, which a certain canonicus d'Egrefeuille has written, in two folio volumes, and particularly in the French Mercury of October 1721, the desired information, in a very pretty anecdote which I will communicate in a brief manner.

"William, the last hereditary lord of Montpellier, left by his wife Eudosia, daughter of the Grecian emperor Emanuel Comenus, an only legitimate heiress, who after being twice a widow, was married to Peter the second, king of Arragon. But her new husband having no great attachment to her, left her at Montpellier, and absented himself entirely from her company. The inhabitants of Montpellier, who loved their lady extremely, and would willingly have had an heir of the Arragonian states among them, were no less affected by this neglect than the queen herself. The king was once led by business to Montpellier, where he fell in love with a beautiful widow at the court of his spouse, and made her many offers, which were all rejected. The consuls of the town, animated by a love for their good queen, ventured to deceive their lord, by persuading the beautiful widow to make an assignation with him in her bed-chamber, and inducing the queen to occupy the bed that was destined to illicit gratification.

"The king, who was to go in the dark, did not perceive the deception before morning, when the consuls, who had spent the whole night praying in the church, crowded with torches into the bed-chamber, and throwing themselves at his feet, entreated pardon for the well-meant fraud. He laughed himself at the pious zeal of these good people, and pardoned their bold enterprize. The following day he went to the chace accompanied by his spouse, and returning to the town in the evening, with the queen sitting with him on his horse, the inhabitants, who were in

the mean time informed of it, ran from all quarters, dancing for joy round the horse which carried the royal pair, and lead it in triumph round the town. The queen was afterwards delivered of a son, who, under the name of James the Conqueror, enlarged the dominions of his father. When this prince visited Montpellier in the year 1239, the inhabitants represented, among other testimonies of joy, the entry of his royal parents on horse back, and repeated the dance to which their festivity had given rise thirty-three years before. King James, moved by this simple expression of his subjects affection, commanded the memorial of an event so nearly related to him self, to be transmitted to the latest posterity, by the yearly repetition of the same festive dance.

I shall conclude this letter with a remark on the Languedoc *patois*, avoiding at the same time all quotations, however favourable the opportunity to display learning may be. Whoever studies the dialect of Languedoc will perceive, that it is composed from many nations, by three many words and idioms. You will remember, that it was first tinged by the Romans, next by the Goths, then by the Arabians, and lastly, by the French. In which consists the mixture of Celtic, Punic, Gothic, Arabic, and French words, which compose this dialect.

But, as the Romans were the most cultivated, and as they ruled these provinces the longest, the Languedoc tongue resembles the Latin most in its construction, and contains nearly three-fifths of Latin expressions. The Goths had less influence, these barbarous hordes adopted the language of the vanquished. Some vestiges are, however, still remaining, as is manifest from the words, "*flegel*" (DRESCHEN FLEGEL, flail) "*hose*" (HOSE, breeches), "*ganza*" (GANS, goose), "*lato*" (LATTE, lath), "*barro*" (SPARRE, spar), &c.

The Languedoc language was still less modified by the Arabic, which is very conceivable from the short duration of the Saracen government. A great part of the botanical, pharmaceutical, and anatomical expressions, however, are borrowed from this language, and even the usual form of asseveration, "VIRMORA," is to all appearance derived from the Arabic.

But the influence of the French must naturally preponderate over all others, as from this language the whole mass of modern mechanic and moral ideas are transfused into that of Languedoc. In fact, this has gradually amalgamated itself with the former to that degree, that the ancient language of the Troubadours is not to be distinguished without difficulty. Besides, the literature of this province was confined simply to some prayer-books and collections of hymns.

LETTER XXX.

COUNTRY OF MONTPELLIER.—GEOGNOSTIC OBSERVATIONS.—MINERALOGICAL CURIOSITIES.—MASSIVE QUICKSILVER.—BOTANICAL REMARKS.—ENTOMOLOGICAL CURIOSITIES.—WALL-SPIDER.—AGRICULTURE.

Montpellier, March, 1804.

THIS country is no less abundant in natural curiosities than Nismes. I have therefore taken particular pains to collect as much information as possible on those points which have a peculiar interest for you. There are evident traces in all parts, of the whole basin, as far as the foot of the surrounding chain of mountains, having been formerly covered with sea; and in excavating, we soon meet with muscle sand and muscle beds. One of the greatest muscle beds is to be seen at Fort Chaude, about a league from Montpellier: it is many thousand fathoms long, and appears to consist of mere extractes.

A second geognostic observation relates to the volcanic productions which are to be met with in the country of Montpellier, particularly at Montferrier, a league from the town. Here the whole of the hill, about eighty toises high, is covered with lava of different forms and sizes, also partly of mixed stuff. It is likewise evident that the conic hill, standing perfectly free, was formerly a volcano; and it is with justice concluded, that this, as well as the whole neighbouring chain, owes its origin to a grand convulsion.

A third observation, which is not so much geognostic as orychtognostic, relates to the hill down the side of which Montpellier runs. It consists of intermixed layers of clay, and contains a course of massive quicksilver, which is generally reckoned among mineralogical rarities. It lies inclosed in mere small veins of clay and kalk, which ramify into an infinity of fine branches; whence, however, whole quantities may be loosened without a fracture. On pressing or breaking these little tubes, the quicksilver runs into globules, and is not inferior either in glitter or purity to that which is artificially revivified.

The next and no less interesting subject, is botany. Northern and southern European and exotic plants thrive very well in this climate, so famous for its extremes.

The entomology of Montpellier possesses one curiosity, of which I will give you a sketch. It is a spider, of a lighter co-

lour and less hairy than the *aranea nidulans Fabricitius*. It commonly sits on the floor of its cavern, and watches the approach of every insect to the ceiling of its narrow dwelling. The vibration of the fibres announcing the approach of an unsuspecting victim, it darts from its lurking hole, seizes its prey, and returns to the place of retreat.

The ceiling is so excellently adapted to the purpose of concealment, that such a spider's nest cannot be discovered without considerable trouble. If any one attempts to lift it up with a needle, the spider holds it fast with its fore feet as long as possible, and when compelled to yield to superior strength, suffers itself to be drawn out with the nest, but slips immediately into the hole again, and shuts the covering. Sauvages, who first discovered this insect, gave it the name of the wall-spider.

In regard to the soil of the country about Montpellier, I observe that its treatment, &c. is similar to that practised at Nismes; but it appears upon the whole to be less productive. Meadows and corn fields are seldom to be met with; but olive, vine, and mulberry plantations are the more frequent. In fact, the general face of the country round Montpellier, particularly in the summer, is that of a parched, dreary, shadeless surface.

LETTER XXXI.

EXCURSIONS INTO THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MONTPELLIER.—MAGUELLONE.—HISTORY AND PARTICULARS.—CETTE.—SITUATION AND TRADE.—THE CEVENNES.—GENERAL SKETCH OF THESE MOUNTAINS.—PARTICULARS AND REMARKS.

Montpellier, March, 1801.

THIS being my last letter from Montpellier, I do not wish to leave these parts without saying a word, by way of recommendation to future travellers wishing to make excursions.

You remember very probably the old trading place Maguellone, which was built on an island about a league and a half from here. You have perhaps once read, that this Maguellone was destroyed in the eighth century, rebuilt in the eleventh, and voluntarily deserted by its inhabitants in the beginning of the sixteenth. You also doubtless know that to these two catastrophes, the neighbouring Montpellier is indebted for its origin and succeeding prosperity. This Maguellone is to be the object of our first ramble.

Through bogs and sloughs, sinking deeper and deeper on our way down the coast, we at length reach the miserable fishing hamlet of Villeneuve, which was formerly the suburbs of Montpellier.

We then perceive that the island on which Maguellone stood, is formed by the etang de Palavas and the sea: we still discover here and there ruins of the stony bridges, which went over the etang de Villeneuve to Maguellone, and perceive that the etang being now completely a marsh, both the island and the sea can be attained only by a small canal.

In whatever season these parts are visited, we never meet with any thing but stinking pools, and always inhale an air pregnant with fatal feverish particles. This was the reason why Maguellone was voluntarily forsaken in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and why the still remaining part of the city was completely pulled down in the year 1633.

As we step on shore, an old half-weather-beaten church, of a mixed European and Oriental architecture, is all that designates the spot of Maguellone: solitary and dreary is stands there, with its over-grown walls, a monument of the past.—But let us leave this gloomy island, to make a far more cheerful excursion to Cette.

Cette being only four leagues distant from Montpellier, there are daily conveyances thither. The road is tolerably interesting as we pass Frontignan, which, though poor, abounds in vineyards. Cette itself is a little place, having at the most eight thousand inhabitants; but it is remarkable for its particular situation, and considerable trade in former times. The town is divided into two parts by a canal, but both are connected by a bridge, which forms, at the same time, the separation betwixt the small and large harbour, that divides the narrow and broad part of the canal flowing into the sea. At the mouth of the latter, a mole of sixty or seventy toises in length is raised, on which stands a fort and beacon.

Cette is to be regarded as the proper port of Montpellier; it contains, however, many houses that have extensive concerns, at least as far as relates to the articles of wine and brandy, to the north. In good years formerly, two or three hundred large ladings of wine and brandy were sent from here. It is worthy of notice, that all casks are made of chesnut, there being whole woods of such trees on the Cevennes.—In regard to society in Cette, I have nothing to say in its favour; nor does it afford much matter for moral and picturesque delineations.

But so much the greater will be our recompence in a journey to the Cevennes according to our proposed plan. I have indeed been obliged to deny myself this pleasure, as the summer is the only season suitable for such an excursion. In order, however, to give you a general idea of the Cevennes, I will draw my sketch from Gensanne and Chaptal, and refer you for the picturesque details to Fisch, who will satisfy you the most in this particular.

A considerable chain of mountains runs along from east to west through the south of France, connecting the Alps with the Pyrenees; its highest point lying in Languedoc, in the districts of Alais and Rhezes. This chain bears the name of the Cevennes, and properly consists of ranges of mountains piled, as it were, like terraces one above another.

The first of these ranges forms the Garrigues, consisting of unfruitful chalky rocks, on which, a little fern, some straggling dwarf-bushes, &c. excepted, not a single trace of vegetation is to be found. This part of the Cevennes appears therefore but little populated, scarcely reckoning three or four villages over the wide extent. Wherever the industrious countryman could find a nook of fertile land amidst the rocks, there he has planted a vineyard, the produce of which is of the superior kind; and wherever a spear of grass is seen shooting up, there he lets his flock graze, which constitute his principal sustenance.

As we ascend, we reach the second division of the Cevennes, consisting of slate-rock. These mountains are much more fertile than the Garrigues. The narrow vales exhibit the most beautiful picture of vegetation. Meadows and fields, little woods of chesnut and mulberry trees, with every other sort of fruit, afford a charming variety to the eye. The population is also considerable, occupying a number of villages and some respectable towns. These mountains yield the chesnut wood for the casks of Montpellier and Cette, and supply very excellent cheese, which is afterwards sent to the ice-caves of Roquefort for ripening, and from thence conveyed through all France. The chief sustenance of the inhabitants, however, is drawn from cultivating and manufacturing silk. In this region also lies the beautiful and cheerful town of Vigand, which, on account of its healthy air and salutary spring, may serve for a delightful summer abode.

Thus we had attained the pinnacle of this mountain, the highest stage in the whole chain, consisting, like all other original mountains, of slate and granate. Fisch says very justly of this lofty eminence—"I found, however, no where traces of that primitive form which nature has given to such original mountains in their crystallization. No perpendicular walls of rock towering from the deep vallies, and none of those monstrous pyramids, at whose foot the boldest imagination is lost in amazement. Every thing here is shaped and blunted: all declivities are gentle, all precipices filled up; in a word, the first forms of the raw materials are completely obliterated. This part of the Cevennes is less populous than the former; yet the southern declivities of the mountains are fitted for pasturage, and the lower vales for the culture of fruit. The mountains themselves contain mines of silver, lead, alum, earth, coals, and rotten-stone.

The highest summit of the Cevennes, is the Esperou: you enjoy here a prospect which the Swiss Fisch prefers to his beloved country. "Round about," says he, "we saw the mountains and vallies of the Cevennes, at first view a cheerless rude assemblage, until we embrace the chief points from which the chains of mountains expand, and in which the vallies terminate. Towards the south, the eye traverses the Cevennes, and the Garrigues, and passing the fruitful plains of lower Languedoc, covered with towns and villages, rests by the help of the telescope, on the spiry points of Montpellier. Over the flat country we espied the *etangs* along the sea coast, a long chain of lakes: then the dams of sand which separate them from the sea, like a black line running many miles from east to west, and finally beyond these the glittering surface of the Mediterranean, which, by its undulating glimmer, seemed to amalgamate with the arch of heaven, where our view was bounded by the horizon. The small island of Cette, with the sea-port St. Lewis at its foot, and the exhausted volcano St. Martin of Agde, distinguished themselves very evidently on the sand-bank. The east side commands the wide plain over the Cevennes, which is intersected by three arms of the Rhone rushing by three different courses into the sea: then the mountains of Provence amidst which the lofty Ventoux raises its proud head: finally beyond these, though indistinctly, the light blue Alps of Piedmont. On the west side, the mountains of Lodeve and Rovergue, and beyond them the Pyrenees are imperfectly descried through the veil of clouds. Towards the north, the lofty Lirou and the mountains in Gevaudau and Auvergne, at length terminate the prospect.

LETTER XXXII.

DEPARTURE FROM MONTPELLIER. — NISMES. — VILLENEUVE.—THE MISTRAL.—THE RHONE.—EVENING.—CHANGE OF WEATHER.—FRENCH OFFICER.—ARRIVAL AT AVIGNON.

Avignon, March, 1804.

THE superscription of my letter announces to you my change of abode. I went from Montpelier to Nismes, and arrived the following afternoon at Villeneuve, which lies opposite to Avignon, on the right banks of the Rhone.

The mistral having blown vehemently for many hours, the watermen pronounced it impossible to pass over that day. Well acquainted with the tricks of this set of men, we resolved to convince ourselves by ocular demonstration, and accordingly that instant proceeded towards the Rhone. But this time the water-

men had actually spoken the truth, or at least we all felt within ourselves the impracticability of the scheme. Like a tumultuous ocean, boiling and foaming, the powerful Rhodanus rolled between the islands and clifts, whilst the storm seemed every instant to redouble its fury, and all nature to be in one incessant ferment. As silent spectators, we surveyed in calm admiration the sublime spectacle, and towards the close of evening returned to our little inn.

We found, however, every part completely occupied by travellers, and the fire-place encircled by a double row. The mistral and the Rhone, Avignon and the watermen, the flaring fire, and the horrible smoke which the storm drove down, formed at first the principal topic. But we were scarcely seated at table, and had partaken of the first dish of Rhone fish, with the exchange of the first half dozen bottles for the second, than the old French vivacity revived, and every thing was forgotten in mirth and joviality.

In the mean time the mistral stormed the whole night with as much vehemence as if there had been an actual hurricane. But at break of day it began to subside; the sun rose from behind the clouds; every thing announced a speedy change of weather. Towards ten the wind was almost entirely still, and yet the watermen still persisted in the impossibility of a passage over.

Thus matters stood, when about noon a detachment of conscripts advanced, which were ordered to Marseilles. No sooner did the officer hear about the pretended impossibility, than he hastened to the mayor, shewed him his pressing orders, and made him, with the whole commune, responsible for all delays; the watermen were immediately convened, and after long consultations, and much disputation, they decided the possibility.

The officer brought us this information at dinner-time, giving the watermen the title they deserved, and offering us with much complaisance, places in his boat. I now learned that he was a Genevese, a M. de T—, and had formerly been in the Sardinian service. He still retained some knowledge of the German language, and I was happy to meet with a German who seemed in some measure to interest himself for Geneva and its delightful environs.

At length the watermen were ready, the conscripts were called over, and, on account of the frequent desertions, carefully embarked. Without farther ceremony, I then followed the officer with my fellow travellers. The watermen, indeed, protested with much clamour and abuse against our embarkation, but were soon reduced to silence by some menaces on his part, and a few fifteen sous-pieces on mine.

Thus we reached the island, marched as well as we could over

the swampy ground, entered a second conveyance, and at length happily reached the quay of Avignon. Here I took up my lodgings at the *hotel au palais national,* and from thence you may expect my communications on the town and its departments.

LETTER XXXIII.

DEPARTMENT OF VAUCLUSE.—GENERAL REMARKS.—TOPOGRAPHICAL AND PHYSICAL OBSERVATIONS.—BOUNDARIES.—MOUNTAINS.—RIVERS.—SOIL.—CLIMATE, &c.

Avignon, March, 1804.

AVIGNON lies, as is well known according to the new geographical division of France, in the department of Vaucluse, so called on account of its famous spring. Before I speak of the town, I shall make some general remarks on the department itself.

The department of Vaucluse, in the south-eastern part of the republic, between 43° 42′ and 44° 24′ N. lat. and between 2° 23′ and 3° 20′ East long. of Paris, consists almost entirely of the former Comtat, as it was called; to which are added the ancient principality of Orange, and some smaller districts of the former Provence.

Its natural boundaries to the north and east, are lofty mountains, particularly Mount Ventoux (961 toises in height): to the south, the Durance, and to the west the Rhone; so that it is inclosed in the obtuse angle formed between those mountains and the conflux of these two rivers.

For its political boundaries it has to the north the department of the Drome: to the east, the department of the lower Alps: to the south the department of the Rhone sources, and to the west the department of the Gard. The first two departments only come in immediate contact with it: the two others being separated by the streams above-mentioned.

The topographical form of the department is almost oval: the large diameter from N. E. to S. E. measuring 21 leagues, and the small diameter 10: the whole circumference is estimated at 136 square leagues, reckoning a league at 2566 toises.

According to the remarks above-mentioned, the department may be divided into the level and the mountainous; the level is in reality nothing but the continuation of the Rhone-valley to Avignon, and that of the Durance valley from Avignon as far as Robion. This plain is, at the commencement along the Rhone, extremely confined, but gradually extends from Orange; it then takes a circular direction from west to east, towards Sarrians, Monteux, Pernes, &c. and finally runs southward, in the upper

part of Cavaillon, towards the Durance. Some inconsiderable eminences are occasionally to be met with in its course.

The mountainous part is distinguished by a pretty high chain in the north, entering from the Drome department, and closing in the upper part of Valreas to the *Montagne de la Lance*. From Valreas another chain extends southward to the Ouveze, at Vaqueures. Here it changes its direction, and running in a circular form eastward of the *Mont Betour*, then turning again southward, it is finally lost in the mountains du Liberon, which first go westward along the Durance, and then pass over into the department of the Lower Alps.

Besides the rivers Durance to the south, and Rhone to the west, we must not forget the Sorgue with its many arms, besides a number of rivulets, or, more properly, mountain-brooks, the Lez, Ouveze, Nesque, &c. which are dry in the summer, but very dangerous in sudden inundations.

We observe, that all these streams follow the direction of those two grand rivers, viz. they flow partly as the Durance, from east to west, partly as the Rhone, from north to south, according as they fall into the one or the other, the Rhone receiving the greater part. Of all these rivers, the Durance alone aids agriculture; yet the canals carried off from it, with all their collateral divisions, extend at the utmost three leagues into the country.

In regard to the soil, we meet in various districts with clay, sand, gravel, earth, and chalk land. The greater part of the department of Vaucluse consists of kalk-land, or rather lime-stone, which constitutes high mountains. If the mountains be low, and their declination trifling, petrefactions are sometimes found in them; but in a strong declination not the slightest traces of these exist. In like manner, the muscle-stone appears in the higher mountains only on the surface; as, on the other hand, the lower divisions are almost entirely composed of marine productions.

These mountains do not abound in minerals. We find only blood-stone, iron-stone, bolus, ochre, and lead-ore, but without layers, and often, very singularly dispersed; while the potter's clay is found very plentiful, and indeed of all sorts, from the finest china earth to the coarsest slate.

As to the climate, it will easily be supposed, that it is not less various than the soil. The plain being the most inhabited division of the whole department, we have confined ourselves to it in the following notices on this point.

The temperature is, in general, extremely changeable. It is not unfrequent to see within a short space, the differences of 8, 10 to 12 degrees, particularly downwards. The heat in summer

rises to 28 degrees Reaum.; in winter, the cold to 9 degrees. In regard to the latter, it is remarkable that it has risen to this extraordinary height, since the year 1789; as before it seldom reached the fifth degree. The moderate height of the barometer is 28 inches 2 lines; the greatest variation hitherto observed was one inch and ten lines.

A very great influence on the modification of the weather here, is to be ascribed to the winds; to which the department is considerably exposed. Among these we mention first, the extremely cold and piercing north west (*mistraou,*) which prevails at least two thirds of the year, and to a certain degree in every season. It roars with such vehemence down the Rhone valley, that it often runs 100 to 170 metres in a minute, and almost four myriametres (leagues) in an hour. Its duration is various: sometimes it lasts four, seven, and even nine days; and at other times only four and twenty hours.

It is the same with the north wind as with the north west wind, which is frequently confounded with the mistraou under the name of bise acute.

The department suffers much less from the north east, since on account of the lofty chain of Alps, it can only be felt as N. N. E. Here it is called *Barrausier*, because it appears to rush down from the mountains by the village Barroux: it is not so cold as the former, but it sometimes blows with equal fury, and is distinguished by its violent whirling. Unpleasant, however, as the abovementioned wind may be, they notwithstanding cool the atmosphere in the parching heat of summer. Only when they all three begin to combat with each other, the most dreadful hurricanes are the consequence.

The south-east, the south, and the south-west winds, here called *marins*, are also very vehement, although with very different gradations. They usually bring rain, which, particularly in the winter, resembles a water-spout. But very frequently they turn on a sudden round to west-south-west, or completely to west, and hence arises the *marin blanc* or *raou*, and *traverson*, which disperse the clouds with great rapidity, unattended by rain. I shall here close my topographical and physical remarks on the department de Vaucluse, reserving my agricultural and other observations to another letter.

LETTER XXXIV.

AGRICULTURAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL REMARKS ON THE DEPARTMENT. — HUSBANDRY. — SOIL. — METHODS. — PRODUCTS. — BOTANICAL, ZOOLOGICAL, ORNITHOLOGICAL, ENTOMOLOGICAL, ICHTHYOLOGICAL, AND MINERALOGICAL NOTICES, &c.

Avignon, March, 1804.

AGREEABLY to my promise I will now occupy your time, and, I hope not totally without interest, on the various scientific observations which the Vaucluse department affords. In regard to its agriculture, I must remark, that the soil is in general extremely sterile, which may be ascribed partly to the climate, and partly to its relative situation.

The principal characteristic of the climate here, is perpetual drought. In spring it seldom rains, or at least in such a small quantity as to make no impression on the soil. During the summer season, two, three, or four months pass without a drop of rain falling: in autumn, though there is no want of showers, the water flows over the hard ground as over a floor; and what is still worse, the floods often leave a quantity of pebbles behind. In winter the earth always freezes some inches deep, without being covered with snow, which is so salutary. All that the ground therefore receives in moisture is confined to the few gentle showers in autumn and spring, and to the scanty dews which usually fall in the summer nights.

The topographical causes of the dry soil have their origin in the following circumstance. The department is indeed watered by two great, and several smaller rivers; but agriculture derives very little benefit from them. The Rhone passing almost in a straight line to the Mediterranean, scarcely moistens the boundaries of the western part, and serves but little or not at all the purpose of irrigation. From the Durance which crosses the southern part of the department, two or three canals indeed, known under the names of *Canal de Cavaillon, de Crillon,* and *la Durancole,* are carried into the country, but not farther than three leagues. The smaller rivers, except the Sorgue, are during the greater part of the year perfectly dried up, and consequently contribute but little to fertilization.

But where then are the delightfully cultivated and beautifully watered countries, so much celebrated by the rapturous descrip-

tions of travellers? We find them in the plain between Cavaillon and Avignon, a charming vale of the most luxuriant vegetation and the most manifold fertility. The other quarters in the department that are higher situated, and not irrigated, produce in particular some almonds and saffron; but the husbandry is beyond comparison more arduous, and the produce depends on the early and late rains. Towards the mountains of the Garrigues, we find the land mostly overgrown with aromatic herbs.

The methods of tilling the land have in general undergone some improvements, although much remains in particular cases to be altered.

The principal articles of growth here are rye, barley, wheat, oats, oil, wine, pasturage, vegetables, madder, saffron, hemp, and flax. Among these products, wheat and saffron are the most precarious, and wine the worst, from a defective mode of treatment; madder the most prolific and general: cyperus esculentus, which thrives very well on the banks of the Rhone and the Durance, is the newest; hemp, flax, and oil the most inconsiderable. The breeding of cattle is very much neglected; that of the silkworms appears gradually to decline; and the cultivation of fruit is extremely limited.

If we proceed to the natural history of this department, botany is the first thing that demands our attention from the very great abundance and extraordinary variety of its objects. In Vaucluse, as in the whole south of France, on account of the peculiar climate, we meet with northern and southern plants near each other. It is therefore very easily explained why the Flora here departs but little from those already referred to.

In zoological respects, the observer is not gratified with any thing remarkable: I therefore merely notice that there are many hares and rabbits on the mountains. The ornithology of this place deserves attention, particularly on account of the many birds of passage, amongst which may be reckoned the bustard. The science of entomology is amplified by the addition of the finest, and, in part, exotic coleopteres. In ichthyological respects, the trout and eels from the Sorgue, the sturgeons and shads from the Rhone, are entitled to particular notice. In mineralogy we find, besides several pits of kalk, clay, and plaister, very fine variegated sorts of *jasper*, *marble*, *coal*, *lead mines*, and a number of mineral springs at Vaqueyres &c. I shall in my next give you particulars relative to the city of Avignon.

LETTER XXXV.

AVIGNON. — SITUATION. — EXTENT. — CURIOSITIES. — CLIMATE. — METEOROLOGICAL REMARKS. — DOMESTIC ECONOMY. — PROVISIONS, &c. — THEATRE. — COFFEE-HOUSES, &c. — LIBRARY. — MUSEUM, &c. — EXCURSIONS.

Avignon, March, 1801

AVIGNON in 43° 87′ 25″ north lat. and 2° 28′ 33″ east long. of Paris, with 22,000 inhabitants at the utmost, runs along the left bank of the Rhone on a declining plain, and forms on the whole a regular oval. When we reckon a third of the extent for churches and cloisters, for gardens, meadows, canals, burying grounds, &c. the two remaining thirds present nothing but a labyrinth of narrow angular streets, which mostly contain very mean houses. The old papal castle of Avignon with its appurtenances, may be considered the greatest topographical curiosity. This is a high chalky rock at the foot of which the town elevates itself, and from its point we may command a very extensive view of the Rhone valley.

The climate here is distinguished by its extraordinary vicissitudes. Parching summers, where the thermometer rises to 25 28° Reaum. are succeed[illegible] by bitter cold winters, when it sometimes falls 1[illegible] below the freezing point. But on the other hand, the transitions also from heat to cold, and vice versa, are so excessively rapid and frequent, that we often perceive differences of 10-12 in a few hours. The middle height of the barometer is 28 inches 1 line: the highest variation with north and south winds is usually 1 inch [illegible] lines.

The yearly quantity of rain is estimated, on an average, at 18-19 inches; yet the autumn and spring rains are liable to many irregularities. Mists are very rare, but hoar-frost and snow the more frequent. This has been particularly the case, according to careful observations, since the year 1780, as the climate in general appears to be continually growing colder. With regard to the winds, I may refer you to the sketch given above (letter xxxiii), and shall only add, that they are stormy in Avignon almost the whole year: and that the wind passes through the whole compass twenty or thirty times a week.

In domestic economy we are not to look for cheapness here, since the greater part of the provisions must be procured from

the neighbouring departments. Whoever stay .. a good inn, requires at least eight livres daily for his board; I must also observe that the general beverage is spring-water, which is very bad, although the Rhone would afford an excellent supply.

For social purposes, both a public and private theatre are established at Avignon; there are, besides a number of miserable coffee-houses, some *bostringues*, or dancing-rooms, and above all a number of damsels with full bosoms and black eyes, who are actually very seducing.

Vaucluse is about four leagues distant from Avignon, and is famous for its picturesque situation, rock-springs, and mild temperature. Without wearying you with a fresh description of the Grotto of Petrarch, &c. I will merely tell you, that Vaucluse is a little village of about seventeen houses, with two good pepper-mills. I must add, that it is sheltered by a chain of high mountains from the mistral, and refreshed by the gushing Sorgue, so that it enjoys both in winter and summer, an extremely agreeable temperature. It appears to be a very healthy residence, as for fifteen or eighteen months there is often not a single sick person in the village.

A second excursion will conduct the traveller to Cavaillon, in the neighbourhood of Vaucluse, lying on the right bank of the Durance. Here he will conceive himself transported into the most beautiful garden, which is entitled to the appellation of the Eden of Provence. Finer vegetables, more lovely clusters of trees, richer vineyards and olive hills, are no where to be found. Artichokes and peaches are the most in request from Cavaillon; and the inhabitants are celebrated as the best gardeners in the Provence.

Not far from this place lies also *l'Isle*, in one of the most beautiful countries that can be imagined, round which two arms of the Sorgue gently rustle. In fact, the whole country between Cavaillon and Avignon reminds the observer, by its excellent system of irrigation, its charming plantations of trees, its vegetation, as luxurious as it is manifold, of the most captivating scenery in Valencia.

The next excursion is to Carpentras, where the remains of an old triumphal arch, the modern aqueduct, and the splendid hospital (the last two of which are greatly out of repair), and the public library, are worthy of observation. The latter contains a great number of old books from France, Italy, and Germany. The MSS. of the famous Peyresc are also preserved here. Among the other MSS. the two folio volumes of the genuine Troubadour poems deserve peculiar notice. Besides, the library possesses a collection of Roman medals, six thousand in number, of which many pieces will be found very valuable, and a series of original

drawings no less worthy of attention, which are ascribed to many masters of the best schools.

An excursion to Beaumes and Malaucènes will introduce you to two small but healthy towns very agreeably situated, and famous for their peculiar temperature. Beaumes is completely sheltered from the mistral, and therefore extremely mild; Malaucènes, on the contrary, is by means of its lofty northern position, exposed to the *bise*, and therefore cool even in the summer. Whoever inhabited Beaumes in the winter and Malaucenes in the summer, would enjoy a constant spring temperature. This would be the more practicable, both towns lying at the utmost only two leagues and a half distant from each other.

LETTER XXXVI.

ECONOMY OF AVIGNON.—MANUFACTURES.—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.—CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS.—CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.—LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.—CONCLUSION.

Avignon, March, 1804.

YOU of course expect me not to leave Avignon without giving you some farther particulars of its internal arrangements. I shall satisfy your wishes on this head as far as lies in my power, beginning with that branch of human industry which is engaged in the silk manufactures. In this concern we find fifteen hundred quills employed, where particularly taffety, façon de Florence and demi-Florence are manufactured, which keep sixty or seventy silk-mills at work. There are about twenty dyers, two cotton-manufactories, several brandy distilleries and beer-breweries; different manufactories of *grappe*, verdigrease, and aquafortis; a copper foundry, and a flatting mill. Most of them have sprung up since the revolution: while on the other hand, the government has wisely suppressed the many pirating printers and booksellers formerly tolerated, and even favoured under the papal dominion. The greater part of these manufactories have been established on the banks of three canals carried from the Sorgue and Durance through the town.

With regard to the mercantile relations of Avignon, the exports consist of raw hides, fine cloths, oil, soap, linen, wheat, horned cattle and sheep, together with provisions of all kinds; its exports are the produce of the department and the different manufactures of the town, as madder, truffles, honey, wax, yellow wood, saffron, clover-seed, &c. also taffety, cotton, copper-plates, verdigrease, aqua-fortis, lavender, &c. in which the balance is in favour of Avignon.

You see from this sketch that the inhabitants of Avignon, or the *Avignoses* as they are called, are by no means wanting in activity, although otherwise an extremely licentious, luxurious, and extravagant people. They have at the same time always a certain Italian air about them, which the revolution has not been able to obliterate: in a word, they appear to be no native Frenchmen, but only adopted Italians.

I shall conclude this letter with some remarks on the public charitable institutions of Avignon. I must place in the first rank the finely built General Hospital, which appears to have good accommodations for two hundred and fifty sick. I mention to you also the poor and orphan-house, which is now to have a better *organization*, and an establishment for lunatics, which has many good regulations, particularly for those who are only deranged; but the raving maniacs are here very ill provided for.

The *Benevolent Society* deserve also honourable mention, the object of which is to afford relief to the poor and sick; it has also introduced the Rumford soup-machines. With this society is connected a *Bureau de Charité*, consisting of married women alone, who direct their benefactions particularly to the relief of pregnant persons, helpless lying-in women, and infant orphans.

Avignon possesses a Lyceum, which is to be organized, with several privileged boarding-schools, under the inspection of the prefect. It has a learned society, called *Athenée de Vaucluse*, which reckons amongst its honorary members, very celebrated names; for example, *Buonaparte, Boufflers, Chardon de la Rochette, Fontanes, Fourcroy, Jenner, Lalande, Pastoret, Pougens, Segur, Thulis, Volney, &c.* In the list of honorary members of the medical society, we find the names of *Gmelin, Strohmeyer, Weber, Wiedemann, &c. &c.* There is also finally, a Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Trade, which makes great efforts. From all the preceding it is manifest, that Avignon has, in every respect, been a gainer by the revolution.

I am going by Lyons to Geneva, and flatter myself with completing my journey in fourteen days.

APPENDIX.

Observation.

The following description of the antiquities at Nismes is taken from Vincens and Menard, the former of whom acted as guide to the year 1758, and the latter to 1803.

The Amphitheatre—forms a perfect oval. Its great diameter from east to west, is 67 toises 3 feet; the small one, from north to south, 52 toises 5 feet; yet so, that with both, the wall of

the façade is included in the calculation. The whole external circumference of the building is 190 toises; the height from the floor to the attic amounts to 10 toises 5 feet 11 inches. The building consists of a ground floor, an upper story, and the attic, which serves as a covering.

The ground floor is composed of sixty arcades equally remote from each other, which were so many entrances into the interior of the amphitheatre. These arcades are very high, and decorated with a pilaster, which is almost two feet in profile, and nearly the same in thickness. Two feet from the architrave these pilasters are cut off, and inserted two inches.

The upper story contains the same number of arcades. These arcades are provided with a parapet of brick-work, and decorated with Tuscan pillars: at least it appears to be this order, and not of the Doric. The upper part of these arcades, both in the ground floor and in this story, is always four feet distant from the architrave.

The attic is, in fact, a second story, but without arcades or pillars. It affords therefore a sort of open terraces, on which a person may even now walk round almost the whole amphitheatre, and serves as a cover: for the lower part closes the whole in due architectural proportions. Along this division may be observed the freestone, with the holes in which, by means of large stakes, the velarium was stretched over the seats.

The outward wall has four main gates, which are all placed at equal distances, in opposite directions, always fifteen arcades from each other. As to the steps or seats of the amphitheatre, out of the two and thirty belonging to this building, only the seventeen uppermost are preserved, and even these are defective: the lowest rows from the pradium to the main story, are already totally in a complete ruinous state. By measurements of the seats still in preservation it has been found, that they consist of freestone, from 8 to 10 feet long, and are from 18 to 24 inches high. The upper row is adjacent to the attic, and is only 3 feet 2 inches distant from the key-stones.

In regard to the solidity of this structure, it is worthy of remark, that the whole external wall throughout is four feet and a half in thickness, and composed of more large pieces of freestone, joined together by cramp-irons, without mortar. The smallest of these pieces of free-stone are 3 toises long, and one toise high; but some have twice that length and breadth.

On viewing the decorations of some arcades, the eye is caught with the half-bodies of two steers, projecting on the gate towards the north, the usual emblem of the Roman colonies. On one of the next pilasters is the figure of the Roman she-wolf, with the

two sucking children, worked half in relievo; which was an emblem of the privileges of Roman citizens.

On the breastwork of the upper arcade are placed two wrestlers, whose figures are very bold and striking. Many of the neighbouring pilasters present a number of priapi, and the figures of birds, bells, wings, &c. The building of the amphitheatre of Nismes took place between the years 138 and 161, in the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius; but farther particulars respecting it are not known.

La Maison Carrée.—This charming temple, so called from its quadrangular form, is 12 toises long, including the vestibule, and adorned on the outside with Corinthian pillars, the shafts of which are excellently wrought. In the front of the vestibule these pillars form a portico, but along the wall of the building they are connected with it to the half of their diameter. The architrave, frieze, and cornice of the whole distinguish themselves by their excellent sculpture.

The temple itself being at least four feet and a half above the foundation, we ascend the vestibulum by twelve steps. Now we stand before a square door 2 toises 4 feet in height, and 1 toise 4 feet in breadth; and then stepping up into the interior, we find that this is exactly two-thirds the length of the whole, being 8 toises; also 6 toises in breadth, and as many in height. From some vestiges discovered in repairing it, this temple is supposed to have received its light through the roof; but it is ridiculous to suppose with some travellers, that the little *modern* a*indoas* had been introduced there by the Roman architects.

The foundation of this temple has occasioned many investigations. Seguier, and after him Clerisseau, seemed to have found the most accurate solutions; but it is affirmed that a very able engineer, M. Granget, of Nismes, who examined it afresh in the year 1802, differs from them very widely. He has communicated the result of his enquiries to the *Academie du Gard*, in a memoire which will probably be printed as soon as the requisite drawings are engraven for it. In general it appears, according to M. Granget's exact researches, that this foundation was a Corinthian basis, and that the present earth now surrounding the building has been raised six feet higher.

The erection and destination of this temple was long a matter of speculation. Some regarded it as a capitol; others as a prætorium; and a third party considered it as a basilica. Finally, the learned Seguier hit on the idea of studying the cavities which were observed over the front, to be marks of an old metal inscription formerly affixed to it. After many toilsome trials, investigations, comparisons, &c. he at length found that the inscription ran as follows:

C. CÆSARI AUGUSTI. F. COS. L. CÆSARI AUGUSTI.
F. COS. DESIGNATO. PRINCIPIBUS JUVENTUTIS.

Hence it appears, that this temple was dedicated to the two sons of Augustus, Caius and Lucius.

The Temple of Diana.—The ruins of this beautiful temple, which is also quadrangular, are falling every year to decay; in a short time there will be but very few traces of its architecture to be perceived.

La Tour Magne—having been already described, we merely add, that it is necessary to ascend by a high ladder, which, on account of the mouldering state of the stones, is attended with much danger.

On pulling down, in the year 1769, the ramparts that had been built in 1194, the remains of two Roman gates were found, one of which was almost in a perfect condition, although the threshold is nearly three toises under the present ground. The whole exhibits, besides the ruins of the two side turrets, a façade of ten toises three feet in length, and four toises three feet in height, to the destroyed cornice. At both ends is a pilaster of the Corinthian order, and in the middle are two others, by which the whole is divided into three parts the middle one being the broadest. The latter forms two high main passages separated from each other, the two lower ones appearing to have lead to the light-houses. The arches of the main passages are a toise in thickness. Over them we see the following inscription:

IMP. CÆSAR. DIVI. F. AUGUSTUS.
COS. XI. TRIB. POTEST VIII.
PORTAS MUROS. COL. DAT.

From this it appears that this gate was built under the emperor Augustus, and in the year 736 of the Roman æra, that is, about fifteen or sixteen years before the christian era.

A great number of Roman wells have been discovered at Nismes; they are commonly only 25 or 30 inches broad, yet there are some whose dimensions are far more considerable.

Of the numerous floors with mosaic worth, the following are remarkable: In the house of a M. Renouard is a great fragment of such a floor preserved, which is 3 toises 3 feet long, and 2 toises 2 feet broad. The ground is black, the interior consists of three squares in one another, encircled by a double border. The prevailing colours are white, red, and black. The exterior border represents a line of turrets and fortifications, which appear to rest alternately on the basis of a triangle and the head of a figure. The internal border consists of a row of porticos, which are, with its basis, about one foot eight inches high. The whole is distinguished for its beauty and perfection.

In 1767, an excellently wrought floor was found, on which

was seen, in a border, as light as it is tasteful, a Diana, in a lying position, Her hair was flying; in her hand she had a lance; at her feet, on one side, was a dog, on the other the trunk of a boar. The whole was composed of the finest and most manifold species of marble, green appearing to be the predominant colour. But unfortunately this charming picture fell during the revolution, into indifferent hands, and has been almost entirely shattered to pieces.

At a M. Laporte's we see a floor which as may be easily calculated has been six toises long and three toises two feet broad. The ground was yellow, with large black hexagons, in which all sorts of figures, as stars, concentrical circles, ellipses, &c. are to be found. The border is very simple, consisting of merely black and yellow lines of various breadths.

A fourth very fine floor is to be seen at Messrs. Foussard, Astier, and Rigaud's, but unfortunately it forms a part of the warehouse and counting-house. From the drawings and materials, this fragment appears to be the costliest of its kind.

A very fine floor in the house of M. Maury is said to be in a complete state of preservation, and composed of white, red, and blue triangles.

Statute of Hygeia.—This statue is of white marble. The goddess is sitting, and has a horn of plenty in her hand: the lower part of the left arm is wanting. The style denotes the finest period of the arts.

A Bass-Relief of Vespasian.—A marble medaillon of about nine inches diameter which is very finely wrought and in very good condition.

A bass-relief on an altar, representing a priest holding in his right hand a sacrificing bowl, and standing on the point of making a libation Underneath we read,

AUGUSTI
LARIBUS
CULTORES VR-B
IONIS.

TO THE READER.

I have endeavoured to paint Nismes and Montpellier in their true colours, and have always supported my assertions with evidence. I conceived this to be the more important, as so many patients have been already deluded. Should, however, any reader be displeased with me for destroying this charming delusion, I will only conduct him to Hieres, and we shall be reconciled.

END OF FISCHER'S JOURNEY.

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A TOUR

THROUGH THE

PRINCIPAL PROVINCES

OF

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL,

PERFORMED IN THE YEAR 1803.

WITH

CURSORY OBSERVATIONS

ON THE MANNERS OF THE INHABITANTS.

"Half a word fixed upon or near the spot, is worth a cart-load of recollection."

GRAY'S LETTERS.

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1806.

PREFACE.

THE following pages may claim the merit of extreme accuracy: they were written upon the spot, when the impressions they describe were strong and precise. The objects which they embrace are such as naturally present themselves to a person who travels through a country for amusement; and as every one has his particular taste for observation, they will not be found without novelty or interest, especially as it is some time since any authentic account has appeared of the interesting part of Europe which is the subject of them.

Cambridge, October 1805.

A

TOUR

IN

SPAIN, &c.

CHAP. I.

ARRIVAL AT BARCELONA.—THE PORT.—CATHEDRAL.—CUSTOM-HOUSE.—THEATRE.—EXPENCES OF A JOURNEY TO VALENTIA.—THE KING'S VISIT TO BARCELONA IN 1802.—VILLAS.—ACADEMY OF ARTS.—MONJOICH CANNON-FOUNDRY.—PALACE OF COMMERCE.

ON the 22d of May 1803, we arrived in the road of Barcelona, after a passage of five days from Genoa.

23. As we proceeded to the stairs in the harbour, the first view of the city particularly struck us; by its neatness, and the novelty of the houses contiguous to the port, the greater part of which are new. A large building, the Tribunal of Commerce, stands in front; and the whole scene is exceedingly pleasing, though it exhibit little or nothing of magnificence. The great quay, however, is a noble work, by far the grandest I have seen any where: it was crowded with people; whose cleanliness, bustle, and costume, surprised and delighted us. The appearance here is really more striking than I can describe; every body is in motion, and industry busy in every street.

Having secured apartments at *los coatro nationes*, a new inn, we began our walk through the town. The cathedral is a small but venerable Gothic building. The cloister planted with orange-trees, and surrounded by chapels, many of which have old armour, swords, and shields, suspended over their altars, is a fit introduction to such an edifice. But the church itself with its spiral stalls, "chaunted mass," gloomy aisles, and "dim religious light" struggling through a few rich windows, and resting at last upon the gilt traces of a high-wrought Gothic altar, carried me more forcibly than any thing I can remember into the darkest ages of monkish devotion. The Catholic ceremonies are fine only in their edifices; the effect of this altar to me, who had just landed from the tawdry

"*cramped Grecian*" * spectacles of Italy, the idea of its having remained in the same state for ages, and that it has never been profaned by French violence, struck me with a mingled sensation of reverence and satisfaction.—From this we proceeded into the world again; and at the custom-house, a solid, handsome, though not architecturally beautiful building, were present at the examination of our trunks, which was performed with great civility by an officer who was well acquainted with the English, French and Italian languages. He inspected all my books, one of which was the common-prayer; he read the title-page aloud, and returned it to me. The bustle of business in the custom-house is very great; and the strictness with which the baggage of travellers is generally examined, has been much complained of. In the evening we visited the theatre: as it begins as early as five o'clock, the Spanish comedy was over when we arrived; but we were in time for the ballet. The theatre is not very large: it is tolerably well constructed; but though neat in the extreme, is miserably deficient in decorations. It has three tiers of boxes and a gallery: a plain white curtain, festooned on a yellow ground; the stage boxes have pilasters adorned with brown arabesks; in the centre of the house is suspended a mean lamp; but the the general effect, from its extreme neatness and cleanliness, is not unpleasing. The exterior bears the date of 1776. We were best entertained with the ballet Matilda di Orsino, a bustling Spanish story. The scenery was new, well managed, and appropriate; the palace-view was better executed than any scene I have witnessed since I left Paris; the landscapes but indifferent. The dancers are all Italians; but the whole was conducted without extravagance or absurdity, after the French taste. We had only the *gusto Italiano* for five minutes at the end, when three twirling buffoes with white breeches made their appearance. The good taste which prevails in this department is owing to the first female dancer, La Perron, who received her education at Paris; she has considerable merit, and the actors are respectable. The orchestra is rather scanty. The house was by no means full; the company in the boxes were neatly dressed, and the audience in general quiet and well-behaved: the whole performance was finished at eight o'clock.

May 25. We began to think of preparing for our journey to Valentia; and for this purpose called upon M. ——, to whom we had letters of introduction, to ask his advice. He received

* A very happy expression of Swinburne in his Sicilian Tour, to express the broken pediments, mangled entablatures, and reisticated pilasters, of the Italian churches. Borromini may be considered as the most successful master in the art of *crimping*.

us with the greatest kindness; and sent for the master of the mules to his house, that we might arrange fairly with him in his presence. We were astonished to find that it would cost us for the five mules requisite to carry us to Valentia by Montserrate (where we proposed stopping a day), eighty-five dollars. The mule-master informed us that we should be nine days on the road to Valentia, including the day to be spent on the mountain; and that we must pay him eight days for his return. The plan was not altogether comfortable, and we considered the charge too exorbitant to be complied with.

The king's visit to Barcelona last year, when the double marriage took place, is still the subject of conversation. The grandest scene on this occasion was, the three nights' procession representing the blessings of peace, and the ancient triumphs of Spanish history, particularly the eastern expeditions of the Catalans and Arragonese in the fourteenth century. The dresses are said to have been very splendid; but judging by the prints which are now sold, not much taste was displayed in the machines and decorations made use of in this festival. To discharge the expence, the town was laid under a contribution; an English merchant told us that his share amounted to seventy pounds. The king was a month on his road from Madrid, through Saragossa, and his retinue was like an army: upwards of eighty thousand persons, exclusive of the inhabitants of the city, were collected; and the Catalans felt a generous pride in observing that no accident or quarrel occurred, and no life was lost, notwithstanding the enmity subsisting between them and the Spaniards. This enmity is carried to such a height, that when it was proposed to strike a medal in honour of the king's visit, the academy of arts, of St. Fernando, at Madrid, were requested to superintend the execution; but this body, actuated by a most illiberal and unworthy spirit, endeavoured to excuse themselves, and made every possible delay; which so enraged the Catalans, that they withdrew the business from their hands, and entrusted it to their own academy. The medal was produced in a month; and remains a record rather of their loyal zeal, than of their ability in the fine arts. The prince of the peace appeared here in greater state than the king himself: he was lodged in the palace of commerce, and had a guard of honour daily mounted before his door.

We were surprised to find the bishop's palace not more considerable than most of the better sort of houses in the town. The present prelate is much esteemed, and we heard from the English residents here a very favourable character of the Spanish hierarchy. We observed among the middle and lower orders of people all that attention to religion which we expected. The booksellers' shops have an enormous proportion of theolo-

gical literature: hardly any door is without a print of the Virgin, or some other saint; and it is a common custom here to bow to a church in passing, when the bell is tolling.

About half-past-one we walked to the *maison de plaisance* of Mr. ——, who had invited us to dinner: it was about two miles from the city. The whole surrounding country was sprinkled over with little boxes, generally consisting of a kitchen below, and above stairs a dining-room, a bed-room, or two, and an open arcade; principally places for retirement and relaxation, but hardly any of them large enough for receiving a family. In our way to Mr. ——'s, we passed an ugly painted house, with four towers ending in short spires, built by a viceroy of Peru, who sent the plan over from that country; and it is said to be a specimen of the Peruvian style of architecture: nothing can be more frightful, and it appears very small for a viceroy of Peru. It stands close to the road, and is merely surrounded by a little garden.

After dinner we returned to Barcelona, which from the country has a pretty appearance, by a road bounded on each side by a hedge of lofty aloes. We were in time for the ballet, and the second act of the opera; which is performed twice a week by a company of Italians, at the same theatre already described, which is indeed the only one in the city: it was executed in a very creditable style, and the first female has considerable vocal powers. The house was extremely crowded. We visited the academy of arts, instituted in the palace of commerce, and supported in the most magnificent manner by the merchants of Barcelona. We were conducted through a long suite of apartments, in which seven hundred boys were employed in copying and designing: some of them, who display superior talents, are sent to Rome, and to the academy of St. Fernando, at Madrid; the others are employed in different lines by the merchants and manufacturers. The rooms are large and commodious; and are furnished with casts of celebrated statues, and every proper apparatus. We observed a few drawings of considerable merit, produced by the scholars: but the grand picture before us of "Liberality and Industry," amply rewarded our visit; and was the more striking to us, from having of late been continually accustomed to lament the traces of neglect and decay, so visibly impressed on every similar institution in the impoverished cities of Italy.

26. The fortress of Monjoich, which lies to the south of the city, is remarkably strong, particularly on the side looking towards Valentia; but it is believed that the principal object of the government in building it, was to keep the free spirit of the Catalans in subjection, by commanding the chief town of the

principality: it would require three thousand men to defend it against an enemy. The view of the city from the walls of the fortress is very complete. I cannot by any means allow that it contains a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; two-thirds of that number would accord better with its general appearance, and even then perhaps the amount would be over-rated. There is nothing of magnificence in this prospect; any one who can imagine a pretty white town with a few ugly steeples rising out of it, backed by a range of hills which are sprinkled over with little pleasure-houses, will have an accurate idea of the general view of Barcelona. The prospect from Monjoich towards the south, is a fine plain, rich beyond description, through which the Llobregat flows into the sea, which it discolours to a great distance. This plain is terminated by hills; and through an opening of these Montserrate is plainly discovered. The west side of the fortress is bounded by the sea, which washes the foot of the precipice on which it stands. In descending Monjoich, while we were meditating on its name, we observed a stone by the road-side, which had the remains of an Hebrew inscription; but I could neither learn its history, nor that of the mountain. At the inn we found the master of the mules; with whom we agreed for two good beasts and an attendant, to carry us to Montserrate on the following day. We are to pay four dollars for going, and the same for returning, for two mules; and three dollars a-day for the time we choose to remain there.

The cannon-foundry at Barcelona is a magnificent establishment; and as the workmen are kept constantly in employ, the store of artillery must be immense. An officer of the engineers shewed us the furnace with the brass prepared which is to be melted to-morrow: and afterwards carried us into the workshop; where the operations of boring, scraping, polishing, and ornamenting the cannon, were going on with great alacrity. Another officer conducted us to the magazine of fire-arms, sufficient for a hundred and fifty thousand men; all well kept, and shutters are making to preserve them more carefully. We were next shewn the department in which the gun-carriages, artillery-carts, &c. are manufactured: a considerable number of persons were preparing wood and iron for these purposes. This superb cannon-foundry is inferior only to that of Seville. When the king was here, several cannon were cast in his presence. We observed in the principal workshop an image of the Virgin, placed in a conspicuous station, with candles before her; and the common prints of St. Francis and St. Anthony pasted up on almost every part of the walls of the manufactory.

The palace of the Tribunal of Commerce has precisely the appearance of an English town-hall or session-house of the last

century: the architecture, consisting of a front of four half-columns, and a pediment with the royal arms, is regular and neat, but perfectly insipid; it is the chief building in Barcelona. In its court are placed statues of Neptune, and the four quarters of the world, which are greatly admired in this city: the first is aukward in the design, and indifferently executed; the others are a most ludicrous confirmation of what we heard yesterday, that no women are suffered to be studied as models in the academy of Barcelona.

CHAP. II.

ROAD TO MONTSERRATE.—VALE OF THE LLOBREGAT.—MARTOREL.—ARCH OF HANNIBAL.—ASCENT OF THE MOUNTAIN.—THE CONVENT.—HERMITAGES.—A LEARNED SPANISH MONK.—MODERN MIRACLES.—THE HOLY IMAGE.—THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE.—FEAST OF THE HOLY GHOST.—DAYS OF INDULGENCE.—OFFICES OF THE MONKS.—RETURN THROUGH TERASSA TO BARCELONA.

May 27. AT six o'clock this morning we mounted our mules, and set out on our excursion. We found the whole road enlivened by commerce and industry. The gardens which surround Barcelona are particulary striking; nothing can exceed their richness and fertility. At a considerable village where the manufacture of lace is carried on, we passed the Llobregat by a solid and handsome bridge: the view up and down the vale through which it glides, is rich and beautiful beyond description. Here the road divides into two, leading to Zaragosa and Valentia; we took the former, which brought us to the foot of the celebrated mountain; and we found it in tolerable order the whole way. The cultivation and fertility of the country surprised and delighted me. The plain of Capra only surpasses it by its pendant vines, but here the prospects are infinitely more various; hemp, corn almost ready for the sickle, vineyards, olive-groves, mulberries, and hedges of aloes, form the principal objects in the view. The Llobregat shews itself here and there; hills covered either with cultivation, or with woods of dwarf-pines, bound the landscape to the right and left; and Montserrate forms a grand back-ground for the picture. From the clearness of the atmosphere, it seemed but at a little distance, when it was twenty miles from us. The villages are remarkably clean: no heaps of filth as in Italy and Provence, no crowds of beggars; every one was employed; and the only mode of begging which the children practised, is to run out of the gardens and to offer you flowers. The present scene, and the prospect of Montserrate, gave us a very delightful day. In

a little village which we passed this morning, we bought some excellent bread and tolerable wine for our breakfast.

The approach to Martorel is highly picturesque; especially when a turn of the road discovers at once the town and river, the bridge, and the arch of Hannibal. The learned have doubts respecting the origin of this remnant of antiquity; some attribute it to Trajan: but the common people, with their usual decision, have given it the name of the Devil's Bridge. We found that it has been almost entirely renovated: it is very high; and consists of three pointed arches, a great and two smaller ones. The arch of Hannibal, as it is called, stands on the side opposite the town: it is perfectly simple; being merely an arch of large cut stones without cement, and the rest consisting of irregular stones cemented together. At an inn at Martorel we rested our mules and ourselves for an hour and a half; we then pursued our journey through some groves of dwarf-pines, and a less cultivated country, to the foot of Montserrate. Here we found a small village, where we reposed a moment before we ascended. The ascent reminded me strongly of the Cornici coast road of the maritime Alps, between Nice and Genoa; though there was no part so bad as to induce us to get off our mules and walk. The mountain is fine on the side towards the sea; but it is in the style of the Derbyshire, and many other white rocks with green brushwood which I have seen, though on a much grander scale than any of them. We were at first disappointed at not finding it covered with spiral cones, as Thicknesse had drawn it: but we "wound our way" in silent expectation; here and there observing an ancient stone cross, which proclaims the mountain to be a religious sanctuary. At length on turning a corner we behold the convent situated in a recess among the rocks, which rise into cones above it. The building is very unworthy of its place and destination; it is too modern, and has more of the air of a manufactory than an abbey: taking it, however, in a general view, it is an awful and picturesque retreat. We prepared our letters, and advanced to the gate: all was silent, except the faintly heard Llobregat in the vale below; the perpendicular rocks called our attention, and reminded us of some ancient castle with a hanging turret. The convent itself is a collection of houses, like a little town. We entered the gates about five o'clock; and observed a solitary monk, as if returning from his walk: I bowed respectfully to him, and presented my letters; he gave them back, coldly saying they were not for him. He entered the cloister; and as I observed no one else, I followed him, and begged him to direct me to find the gentlemen to whom the letters were addressed: he grumbled a good deal in Catalan, and seemed perfectly out of humour; when fortunately a servant

of the convent came up, took the letters, and conducted us to the chamber of father ——, to whom one of them was an introduction. He received us civilly, and offered us wine and chocolate: he spoke pretty good French; which he said he had learnt from four bishops, who at the period of the revolution escaped from the south of France into this asylum. Almost the first inquiry which the monk made of us was, whether we were at war or not? After some conversation, he desired a servant to shew us an apartment; regretting exceedingly that, on account of the feast of the Holy Ghost (Whit-Sunday), we should be very badly lodged: he promised to call us tomorrow at four, and take us round the mountain. Our beds were what the monk had taught us to expect; but the sheets were clean, and we were so fatigued that we did not complain of any little inconvenience.

28. At four o'clock we were roused by a knocking at our door: father —— was ready to attend us; we therefore hastily dressed ourselves, and followed him up the mountain. He had provided us with long sticks, which we found not only useful but necessary. The scene we beheld on leaving the convent-gate was magnificent; we were absolutely on a level with the sun, and the whole vale below us was a vast sea of white clouds. After ascending the hill a little farther, a new and most romantic prospect broke upon us: we beheld at one view fourteen out of the thirteen hermitages, and the convent in its rocky recess beneath. The hermitages immediately above the convent have an effect more picturesque than can be well imagined; while those of St. Jago, St. Juan, and St. Oposse, seem to grow to the cones, and have a most extraordinary appearance: all of them, but particularly these last, seem inaccessible. The mountain rises perpendicularly, but nature has left room for terraces: it has two crowns of cones, or bolsters; one immediately over the monastery, and the other where the hermitages which I have just mentioned are situated, and to which we now proceeded. The first we gained was St. Jago, the residence of a hermit from Grenada: he prepared us a little chocolate, which we thought to be a very insufficient breakfast, not knowing the hospitable dispositions of the other hermits. This cottage, like all the others, consisted of a little chapel, a passage, a sitting-room, a study, a workshop, and a kitchen: these are of different sizes in different hermitages; but the number of rooms is always the same, except indeed that in some instances the study and the sitting-room are in one. His books were, as might be expected, writings and lives of saints; the *Mistica Condad di Dios* I observed in all. The workshop is for making crosses to employ time, and to give to pilgrims.

We now proceeded to St. Catherine, which is situated below; and then mounted to St. Inan and St. Onosse, which grow together on the side of a cone: in the former is preserved a bone of John the Baptist, which is the only relic to be found among the hermitages. We now ascended still higher, to St. Madeline, where we were refreshed with some wine and bread. Above this is the highest accessible peak of this part of the mountain. We climbed to it; and, after enjoying the extensive prospect, returned to the cell of S. Madelina: then descending a flight of steps between two cones, called Jacob's Ladder, we came into the valley which runs along the summit of the mountain; this is a perfect shrubbery, and the cones are even here in the most grotesque shapes. The southern crown is called the organ, from its resemblance to a number of pipes. The day was particularly warm; and notwithstanding the prodigious height, we were scarcely once refreshed by a breath of air during our whole walk. At the end of this valley, on an eminence, stands the hermitage of St. Jerome, which is the most remote and highest of them all: it is not at present inhabited, but a young man is in training for that purpose. Near this is the most lofty station of the whole mountain: on it stands a little chapel dedicated to the Virgin, and the care of which devolves to the hermit of St. Jerome; it has lately been blasted by lightning, which did not fail to remind us of the exclamation of Lucretius. After much fatigue we seated ourselves on this lofty pinnacle, and surveyed the country round. We are here almost too high to see the traces of cultivation, so that the whole province has the appearance of a hilly desert: indeed the land is not fertile, except in the vale through which the Llobregat flows; but the vast industry of the inhabitants has done every thing that is possible. A stranger is principally struck by the want of towns, especially in that part towards the Pyrenees. The real character of the country, when viewed from a moderate height, is hilly, and a great part of it cultivated; but patches of barren lands, and woods of olives and pines, are every where visible. The winding of the Llobregat, and the grand outline of the snowy Pyrenees are the distinguishing features of the prospect.

Barcelona is concealed by the intervention of a mountain. The largest town we see is Manrerar, on the road to Laragona. Thicknesse is wrong in supposing that any part of Valentia can be discovered from this height; since it is a flat country, and lies behind the hills of Catalonia. Majorca and Minorca are often discerned from the convent at sunset.

The Pyrenees are neither so lofty nor so irregular as I had expected: they bear a considerable resemblance to the coast of Corsica, which I have lately seen. Just below the eminence

on which we stand, is the northern extremity of the rock; perfectly inaccessible, and appearing as if sawn asunder in many parts. We descended once more into the mountain valley, and then climbed to the hermitage of St. Antonio, the smallest of them all; we were refreshed here by an omelet, and our guide rested himself while the hermit conducted us to a spot where the echo is heard four times: the approach is difficult and dangerous; but we arrived at it, and called to many of our friends, whose names were four times re-echoed among the rugged peaks of the mountain. Having rejoined the monk at the door of the hermitage, we descended towards St. Trinidad, where we were to dine. We first however visited St. Salvador; and were shewn a rent in the rock, which the Benedictine informed us was supposed to have been caused by the convulsion of nature at the passion of Christ, but that this was by no means certain. "St. Cyril, of Alexandria," he gravely proceeded, "describes the ravages of this convulsion; and mentions that they were traced in his day, both in Italy and Catalonia." I told him that I had seen the rent rock of Terracina.

We arrived at St. Trinidad at three o'clock, being warm and fatigued: this is the largest of the hermitages, and was built originally for a pleasure-house for the convent; it has two stories, is placed at a commanding extremity of the rock, and has a pretty green inclosure behind it. The hermit had prepared us a handsome repast, though he had been somewhat restrained by its being a fast-day: he set before us salt fish, an olio of rice, an omelet, some tunny, and a Dutch cheese; and waited on us while we were at table.—We rested ourselves here for two hours, and then proceeded to the rest of the hermitages. The first we came to was St. Benito, where the mountain-vicar lives; he was the only recluse whose beard was shaved. Afterwards we walked to St. Helena and St. Demas; and at length to St. Ann, which was the last object of our peregrination. The situation of this being more centrical than the others, it is the church to which the hermits descend twice a week to be confessed, and receive the sacrament from the mountain-vicar. We now came down a very steep stair-case into the convent garden; and at seven o'clock entered, perfectly tired, the room of our friendly guide.

This day's expedition was as romantic as the fancy could wish, and curiosity was entirely satisfied; but still the spectacle with which, at a distance, my imagination has frequently been delighted, excited very different sensations when I was obliged to contemplate the reality. If enthusiasts are to be pitied, how much more so all they who, without being so, are condemned to lead the lives of enthusiasts? The hermits of Montserrate are

probably quiet men who, upon the whole, consider this mode of passing their existence preferable to active industry. In my walk round the mountain this morning, I did not surprize one of them at his books, or at his prayers. I saw many of them happy in being able to snatch a short conversation with the labourer who was digging their garden: they all laughed and talked with father ——, inquiring eagerly whether it was peace or war; and followed us to the very verge of their prescribed limits, to catch the last words of our conductor. Their garden indeed must be their pleasantest occupation. What delight can ignorant men have in books? and *such* books! None of them are priests except the mountain-vicar, and one who lives in an hermitage (which we did not see) where the sacred image was discovered. Provisions are carried to them twice a week, but on all great festivals they descend to the convent.

The sensations which these men inspired, partook infinitely more of pity than romance; and the conversations which I had with father ——, did not at all tend to improve my opinion of these holy retreats. He united to great kindness and simplicity a considerable store of reading, all the credulity of the tenth century, and a great deal of its bigotry. His reading had been that of a Spanish *savant* (indeed I had been introduced to him in that character): he had perused a great number of historical works, the outlines of philosophy, very few of the classics, and an enormous number of ecclesiastical legends; of the latter he firmly believed every thing, though on other subjects he appeared sufficiently enlightened. He entertained enthusiastic hopes of the triumph of the Roman-catholic religion: which, he said, was daily spreading in South and North America; and that the new Emperor of China had given permission to the Spanish clergy of the Philippine Isles to preach the gospel there; that the Grand Seignior had agreed to the institution of a Latin bishop at Smyrna; and he did not fail to hint, with a significant nod, that we had a catholic connection in England, and that a clever king could do what he pleased with his parliament. He assured me that by the zeal of the jesuits, and latterly of the capuchins, the king of Spain had thirty millions of subjects in America. He complained bitterly against the king's ministers; who, he said, oppressed the clergy in every possible way: the mendicant orders were no longer permitted to send their letters free; and he maintained, that the king took forty *per cent.* from all ecclesiastical benefices. He heard with indifference, perhaps with contempt, my favourable report of the state of religion in England; and soon after took an opportunity of venting his anger at the Reformation, in a great many obvious reflections on the character of Henry the Eighth. He was more acquainted with

the political state of Europe than I expected: but though he could talk upon most subject, *the monk* shone out in all; yet the mildness and simplicity of his manners were very pleasing. He related to me in a serious and impressive manner, the history of the sacred image which was found in a cave at Montserrate in the ninth century; and the workmanship of which was, as usual, recognised to be that of St. Luke*. It was carried towards Zaragosa, but at Manrezor it became immoveable: a sign which was readily understood by the clergy; who carried the figure back again to the mountain, which was immediately given them, and a convent endowed on it by the count of Barcelona. He mentioned with great pleasure the respect in which the Spanish bishops were held, and their indefatigable residence; "One bishop," said he, "of Gallicia†, who has the see of Orense, is the most holy of them all: it is reported that he has performed miracles, and indeed I believe it; for I remember him when I was at college at Salamanca, and he was then already a saint!" I could not have conceived that so much ancient prejudice and modern knowledge could have united in one mind; but this is the effect of the inquisition, which still selects and regulates the literature of Spain‡. Among the stories with which the monk amused

* The famous Lady of Loretto, and many other Madonas painted or sculptured, claim St. Luke for their author; and indeed so high is his reputation as an artist in Italy, that several even of the best masters have represented him with an easel before him. The idea, however, is founded on a very accountable mistake. The rage for relics and church-decorations which succeeded the establishment of christianity by Constantine, gave employment to a number of artists, among whom one Lucas of Constantinople was the most eminent; it is even said that he obtained the appellation of saint from only the edifying use which he made of his talents. In process of time, when his works had acquired the rust of antiquity, they were naturally mistaken by ignorance and credulity for the works of the evangelist, and as such, in the eighth century, many of them were carefully transported from Greece into Italy, to avoid the fury of the Iconoclasts. It is needless to add, that imposition took advantage of this error, and has attached the name of St. Luke to almost every remains of religious painting or sculpture of the early ages.

† This bishop was Don Pedro de Quevedo y Quintano; from what I could learn respecting the miracles attributed to this prelate, I believe that they are all, (according to Paley's expression) of the *ten tavine* kind, and consist in recovering sick persons from dangerous illnesses by means of prayer and intercession—in this the bishop may be equally deceived with his flock, which is most probable, since I understand he is a man of the greatest piety, and totally given up to the affairs of religion. His palace at Orense is a perfect picture of the simplicity of the early church. He passes his time in the active duties of his office, always dines alone, and during his meal hears the scriptures read to him by a deacon. He resides constantly on his diocese, where he enjoys so high a reputation, that he is certain of being ranked among their saints after his death.

‡ Papers are published from time to time by the inquisition, containing

me during my stay at Montserrate, one was very remarkable; and it is interesting, as it relates to the Prince of the Peace. When the court were at Barcelona, the king, accompanied by this upstart minister, made a visit to the convent, the members of which went out to receive him with due respect; but an uncle of the Prince of the Peace, who was one of the most ancient and venerable of the fraternity, to mark the abhorrence with which he held the profligacy of his nephew, instead of joining the procession retired into a remote part of the mountain, and continued there till the royal party had left the convent.

As we returned from Father ——'s chamber to our lodgings, we found the yard and the cloisters of the monastery full of peasants, who had arrived to celebrate the feast of the Holy Ghost in this sanctuary. They were all in their holiday apparel, and seemed to consider it a great festival: some had brought their own provisions; others purchased them at a shop which was instituted for the purpose in the abbey, and made little fires to cook them. At night they made their beds all round the cloister, which served also as a stable for their mules.

Whit-Sunday, 29th. We were awakened early this morning by the bustle of visitors assembled from the neighbouring country. At seven we breakfasted in the cell of Father ——. He told us that we were too late for an *office*, which had been sung at four o'clock that day by the choristers; but at half past eight the brotherhood would sing *thirds*. At this hour we attended in the church, which the monk told us was respected as much as any in Christendom, even those at Rome. It is a dismal building of the age of Philip II., ornamented with flowers richly gilt. The choir is a raised gallery above the door; and the precincts of the altar are divided from the nave by a high iron grating. A vast number of silver lamps, given and maintained by the piety of individuals, are suspended within this enclosure. Above the altar the celebrated sacred image glittered in all its finery. *Thirds* were sung, accompanied by the organ; after which the monks descended, and made a procession, singing round the cloister. Upon their return to the church, high mass was chanted; the organ, and a band of fiddles, bassoons, &c. alternately accompanied, and a more lively selection of opera music was probably never heard. During this the people seemed to be engaged in private prayer: those that knelt had their eyes fixed on the Virgin, and were evidently in earnest supplication. After the

new lists of prohibited books, which are pasted against every church door throughout the kingdom; the last came out in March 1801. I carried away one of them, by which I afterwards discovered, from an inscription at the bottom of it, that I had incurred the penalty of the *greater excommunication*.

hermits had received the communion, the high mass was finished; *sixths* were immediately sung, and the whole business of the morning was over about half past eleven. Upon leaving the church, a general confusion took place to prepare dinner; and it was not without considerable exertion that the day did not turn out to us a perfect fast. At half past four o'clock we rejoined Father —— in the sacristy; and here he shewed us the treasures of the convent, which is now the richest in the world. The chief relics are, a bone of John the Baptist; some wood of the cross; two thorns from Christ's crown, one of which had its point bloody; the bodies of several African bishops who fled from the Vandals into Sardinia, &c.

The treasury contains a vast number of diamonds and precious stones, formed into the most tasteless ornaments. The large crown of the Virgin is the richest and ugliest of them all. A good cameo of Medusa's head, and a large opal, have been attempted to be purchased by many English travellers. These are kept in a passage leading to the sacristy, to which any one may have access; and a very common lock and key is their only protection except the Virgin, who, our conductor told us loudly before the people, was the surest safeguard. When we had seen these, he led us up a narrow staircase into three little oratories: that in the middle has a door which opens into the niche where Nostra Senora di Montserrate is placed. After a curtain had been dropped between the lady and the church, and two or three candles lighted, we were permitted to approach the venerable image. The wood of which it is made, is perfectly black from age. The countenances of the mother and the child are without meaning; but the expression is not, as I have seen it in some objects of devotion, absurd or ridiculous. The crown of the Virgin is superb, but in the most barbarous taste: it was made by a monk at Lima, and is studded all over with large emeralds. The image is about six feet high. F—— told us that it was not presumed to know of what wood it is made; and gravely added, that a painter who wished to give a natural colour to its African visage, was instantly struck blind for his audacity. As we were walking in the convent garden this afternoon, whence Father —— pointed out to us a road by which we might return to Barcelona, I resolved, before I parted with a man so well versed in catholic history and ceremonies, to enquire of him of the days of indulgence granted by his church. He told me that it was the usage of the primitive church to impose a penance of a certain number of days, months, and years, upon those who were guilty of what are denominated mortal sins; such as adultery, murder, sacrilege, &c.: but when the delinquent manifested a great feeling of penitence, the term of his penance was abridged

a certain number of days, which were called *days of indulgence*. These penances were instituted to wipe off the offences in this world, which must otherwise be expiated in purgatory. At present the church has left off inflicting such punishments, and in consequence sinners are referred to a future state for their sufferings; but the pope, to whom the keys of heaven and hell are given, possesses the same power to abridge the term of penance in the next as he has in the present world, which privilege he still exercises, and upon certain conditions (such as confession and penitence) delivers to sinners indulgences both limited and plenary; but the pope only can confer to churches the power of granting *plenary indulgences*. Bishops may grant forty*, and archbishops eighty days; but several prelates may subscribe their quotas, and make up an inviting number, as we see in the common paper pasted on almost every door in Catalonia: "Ave Maria potissima sin peccato concebida," with the promise that whoever devoutly repeats these words gains one thousand two hundred and sixty days of indulgence. Any one who visits the church of Montserrate once in a year, is confessed, and receives absolution, gains a plenary indulgence. Such is the explanation which I received of these frequent inscriptions, "Indulgenza plenaria, quotidiana toties quoties," which had so often excited my curiosity in Italy.

After taking leave of Father —— with every expression and feeling of gratitude, we returned to our apartment. In our way thither we observed the holiday-peasantry eagerly employed in purchasing ribands, crosses, rosaries, and rings, from a shop in the convent; and we have since scarcely seen a common man or woman without some such amulet, particularly the rings.

The monastery of Montserrate was founded, as I have before mentioned, in the ninth century, by the count of Barcelona; it is of the Benedictine order, which has been reformed into many different congregations. This is the congregation of Val-

* There is evidence of this custom in St. George's chapel, at Windsor. A missal was formerly placed in one of the arches of the nave, which still retains the following inscription in Gothic characters: "Who lyde this Booke here? The Reverend Fader in God, Richard Beauchamp, bishop of this diocess of Sarysbury. And wherefore? To this intent, that preests and ministers of Goddis church may here have the occupation thereof, saying divine service: and for alle other that lysten to scy thereby the devotyon, as heth he any spiritual nede: yee as moche as our Lord lyst to reward him his good intent, praying every man whose dute or devotion is eased by this booke, they will say for him thys commune oryson, Domine Jesu Christe, knelyng in the presence of this holy crosse; for the wyche the reverend fader in God aboveseyd hath granted of the tresure of the churche to every man 40 dayys of pardon."

Richard Beauchamp lived in the reign of Edward IV.

ladolid. The convent consists of eighty monks, all priests, who have thirty converts or lay-brothers to wait upon them. The choristers form a third, and the hermits a fourth, division of the body. Each monk has three or four rooms, from the windows of which the view of the rocks and the Llobregat is as delightful as possible. A new abbot is chosen every four years. Their offices are as follows: at twelve at night they sing *matins*, and immediately after *lauds*; at six *prime*, afterwards *chapter*; at nine *tiers*; after this grand mass, and immediately *sixths*. They dine about eleven. Upon leaving the refectory they proceed to *nones*; vespers at half past two; and complin in summer at five; in winter earlier. After complin, silence is to be observed. They retire to bed about eight. Their library, though considerable, is notwithstanding one of the worst collections that I ever saw. Spanish divinity without end. The only English book that I observed was Anglia Sacra, by Wharton: the humanity class very scanty. In the evening the visitors and pilgrims became very jovial, singing and dancing with great glee; some were excessively drunk: but what surprised me still more, was a party of tradesmen from Barcelona, who kept me awake half the night by roaring out deep nasal tones in imitation of the monks singing at mass.

30. We wished to continue our route this morning at four, but the convent gates were not opened till six. A vast crowd of peasants departed with us, carrying boughs of the trees which grow on the mountains; others remained to keep up the festival. Our guide decorated his fingers with rings bought in the convent. We descended by a steep and dangerous road, which obliged us to walk the greater part of the way to Monestrol, a village at the base of the mountain, belonging to the convent: its original name was Monstrulum, from some small religious edifice which formerly existed there. At present it has a church with ten residentiary priests—an enormous number for so insignificant a town: it took us three quarters of an hour to arrive here. We passed the Llobregat, and proceeded by an irregular pathway towards Vacarisas: we preferred this return that we might, in a general view, see the interesting face of the mountain which Thicknesse has represented; but our observations did not all tend to confirm his accuracy. Instead of the dark effect which he has given it, Montserrate appears perfectly white; and the rocks, which are more like bolsters than spires, are made too spiring and pointed in his print.

Montserrate has three sides: that towards Barcelona (the north-east) is bold and rugged, but by no means extraordinary; the face it presents on the west side, towards Vacarisas, is more striking. The mountain here appears to have been built up per-

pendicularly, and to have received from the hand of nature two crowns of cones and bolsters; other fantastic pinnacles arise in other parts, but these two form the prominent features. Between them the mountain retires, and leaves a convenient sheltered recess for the monastery, a little more than half way up its side. In this view also the greater number of the hermitages are seen; they are all defended by their situation from the north wind. The rock is white, composed of myriads of pebbles and small stones apparently cemented together: every side of it appears dignified, and embellished with shrubs. It stands alone in an hilly country; and attracts the eyes as well as the devotion of the seamen of Barcelona, and the whole province of Catalonia. The most stupendous prospect, however, which this mountain exhibits, is on the road to Villa-franca. Its extraordinary length, and magnificent irregularity, are there seen with every possible advantage, and the most imposing effect. Its height is probably not much more than two thousand feet, but it appears loftier from the low hills by which it is surrounded. At a peasant's house (for we passed Vacarisas to the left) we obtained some tolerable bread and wine; which, with the addition of two excellent omelets, gave us the unexpected pleasure of a good breakfast. The heat now began to be excessive; so that while we were almost melted, we shuddered at the prospect of the southern provinces. The land is almost every where cultivated in corn and vines; but though it is by no means fertile, the groves of dwarf pines seem to be the only interruption to the labours of the peasant. The vines are at present short and without support; the precision of their arrangement, and the tender green colour of their leaves, render them a pretty object in the landscape. We pursued our track through several clean white villages, without beggars, to Teressa, where we were glad to refresh and repose ourselves during the heat of mid-day. The peasants of Catalonia have a curious mode of drinking: the wine-bottles are made somewhat in the form of a tea-pot; by means of a tube they spout the wine into their mouths at a little distance, and are very adroit in this clean custom. I have seen half a dozen peasants at dinner, who have handed round the bottle during the whole meal without once touching the spout with their lips; the water-vessels are made for the same practice. This mode of drinking is ancient and classical, as may be seen in the frescoes of Herculaneum.

From Tarassa we continued our route to Savandell, resting an hour by the way: these are rather neat towns, and contain cloth-manufactories. It being holiday time, we met a vast many peasants on the road in their best clothes; and we had fresh occasion to admire this fine race of clean and industrious people. We

passed a mountain covered with white goats and sheep: the latter are most of them black with small horns, and their appearance is very lean and scraggy. After riding through the lively village of St. Andreol, we found ourselves in the fertile and populous vicinity of Barcelona. The city, backed by Monjuick, has a pretty look on this side; and though it was impossible for us, whose eyes had been so lately feasted with the charms of Naples and Genoa, to be struck with the villas of Barcelona, yet returning from monastic solitude, they delighted us extremely. We hastened lest we should be too late for the gates, which are always shut at eight o'clock.

Our journey to-day has been at least forty miles, and a bad road; but I earnestly advise any traveller who wishes to be pleased and surprised by Montserrate, to prefer it to the other (through Martorel): by this means he will receive his first impression from a most interesting general view of the mountain, and his curiosity will thus be sharpened instead of checked. It is ten miles further, and the road is worse; but it is all to be done in a day.

We found the Rambla (the parade of Barcelona) crowded by all the middle orders of the citizens; men, women, priests, and monks. It was the double holiday of Whit-Monday and Saint Renpands. After the opera, about thirty carriages moved in procession: they were generally shabby, both as to the vehicle and the equipage; and many were of the ancient square form. The general's (which was preceded by two dragoons) and that of the governor, were in the Parisian fashion: the harness of both was handsome, and decorated with silver; the latter had plumes on the horses' heads.

31st. As we were determined to set out at all events for Valentia to-morrow, we sent for a master-muleteer, and agreed with him for two volantes, which were to perform the journey in seven days. The distance is fifty-five leagues, about two hundred and twenty miles; and we are to pay twenty-four dollars for each carriage. On our calling at the banker's, he presented us with the king's declaration of war, dated the 16th. Though prepared to expect such an event, yet we were a little confounded; but it still more increased our anxiety to set out for Madrid.

CHAP. III.

ENVIRONS OF BARCELONA.—PLAIN OF VILLA-FRANCA.—ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.—PARRAGONA.—LATE ARCHBISHOP.—SAN CARLOS.—BARREN TRACT.—CASTLE OF ALMENARA.—PLAIN OF VALENCIA.—SAGUNTUM.—VALENCIA.—THE THEATRE.

June 1. WE left Barcelona about seven in the morning; and at the gates were obliged, as usual, to fee the custom-house officers. The neat and fertile gardens, and the rich vale of Llobregat, attracted as much admiration as our former journey to Montserrate. The hedges of fine lofty aloes, which are seen in every cultivated part of Catalonia, are perhaps one of its most remarkable features. Soon after we passed the Llobregat, which is almost dried up, we came into a dull country of hills covered with dwarf-pines. At twelve o'clock we arrived at a venta, not very dirty, where we remained till three, during the heat of the day; here we procured some omelets and wine. After dinner the same uninteresting landscape accompanied us for the greater part of the way; the road however is excellent, raised and bricked up at the sides. In one place an attempt has been made to throw a bridge with two ranges of arches across a small valley, to shorten the route; but it has failed, from want of skill in the architect. Near it is building a country-seat for a rich citizen of Barcelona, which I mention as it is a novelty and a curiosity in Spain to see a villa really in the country. Cultivation began to shew itself here and there. Towards the evening at length the rich and picturesque plain of Villa-franca opened on us, and closed the prospects of the day. It is an irregular piece of ground, generally clothed with vineyards, barley, hemp, &c. but not entirely cultivated; having pine-groves which intersect the fields in different parts, and add infinitely to the beautiful variety of the scene. The great object, however, which attracts and absorbs all our attention, is the fine blue spiral mass of Montserrate. I had no idea of its length, and of its magnificent irregularity, till this view was set before me: it is more striking and surprising than any thing I ever beheld.

We arrived, about eight o'clock, at a good posada in Villafranca, which is kept by an Italian, having performed only seven leagues (twenty-eight miles) in the whole day's journey. We vi-

sited the cathedral; but it was too dark to examine the interior. Externally it has the air of a large English country church; plain, with buttresses, a tower, and a short spire. The town is neat, and contains many shops; the houses are of plaister, well white-washed. We supped in company with several other travellers, who were all eager for our news concerning the war. The repast was a perfect banquet, and gave a deceitful specimen of the fare at Spanish inns: and as this was unique, I will insert an account of it. The company were eight in number: our first course consisted of fish, stewed beef, and stewed pigeons; the second a leg and loin of a kid, salad, three chickens, peas, and burnt cream: for our share of this and our beds, &c. we were only charged three pesettas (thirty pence) each. A curious affray took place after supper. As the muleteers and the females of the inn were familiarly conversing in a balcony at the end of the room, the noise they made so enraged a German of the company, that after frequently commanding silence, he seized the foremost of the men, and attempted to force him out of the room: this, however, the other indignantly resisted; and in a furious passion, snatched up half a dozen plates from the side-table, to fling at his adversary, to whose aid I advanced and wrested the plates out of his hand. After a great deal of quarrelling (in which all the strangers spoke their own language, and the females resolutely took the muleteers' part) the intruders left the room grumbling, and we retired to rest.

2. We set out this morning at half past four o'clock; and as we left the vale of Villa-franca, gave a parting look of admiration to the pinnacles of Montserrate. The country through which we proceeded, was cultivated though not very fertile. The few villages we saw were neat; and, like the others of Catalonia, bespoke the industry of their inhabitants: in one of them we breakfasted on oranges, bread, and wine. Soon afterwards we came to a Roman arch, of no beauty except the colour of the stone: it has two Corinthian pilastres on each side the aperture, and a light entablature. The traces of the inscription are almost entirely obliterated. It is supposed to have been the ancient entrance into the Campus Terraconensis, but I think without any probability. The common people, as usual, refer it to the time of the Moors. The posada where we stopped during the heat of the day, afforded us some excellent mutton-chops, salt fish, and salad, for which we were charged four pesettas. After dinner we passed several pine groves; in one of which, by the road side, stands a monument of the same-coloured stone as the arch which I have just mentioned: it is plain, without dignity or grace. In the middle of the front next to the sea, are two figures in relievo of mourning warriors, considerably defaced, and very moderately designed. At the

upper part is an inscription, of which only a few words are now legible. It is called the tomb of the Scipios (the father and the uncle of Scipio Africanus). The probability of this, or perhaps the idea altogether, has arisen from their having both been killed in Spain; and from the first word, which seems to have been Cornelio, particularly as we know Cornelius was the name of one of them.

The slowness of our vehicle, and the prospect of having five more days to travel, and even then to be but half-way to Madrid, began at this moment to dismay me greatly; but my attention was soon called off from these considerations by the rich plain, and picturesque little city, of Tarragona. In this fertile spot the harvest of barley, rye, and oats, was begun; and we admired, as we passed along, the numerous broad luxuriant fig-trees which grew among the corn-fields.

Tarragona stands upon a rocky elevation, and has the remains of ancient fortifications surrounding it with a pleasing irregularity. A few old buildings, and the tower of the cathedral, rise above them; so that it had all the appearance of a town of the thirteenth century, and after entering we might still continue the delusion. It is every where dirty and ill-built, and swarms with monks and priests. To our great surprise, the muleteer informed us that there was no posada where we could sleep, but that we must continue our journey into the country for another hour:—an archiepiscopal city without an inn, on the high-road between Valencia and Barcelona! We had just time to visit the cathedral; which is peculiarly interesting, since its date is ascertained: and it affords a proof that the same change, from the round to the pointed arch, took place in Spain during the twelfth century, as we know it assumed at the same era in our own country. The building is, in general, plain and massive; but the lantern and stalls, which are of a later date, are rich and beautiful.

The archbishop, Don Francisco Armana, is just dead. He was a man of such eminent sanctity, that when the king visited the town in his return from Barcelona, and the prelate knelt to kiss his hand, the king begged him to rise, and said, "It is I, reverend father, who must ask that favour of you." Then turning to his family, he said, "Behold a saint of an archbishop! I desire you will all follow my example."

We had neither time nor inclination to search for the traces of ancient Tarraco. Upon leaving the city, which is even more picturesque on this side than on the other, we again descended into the Campo Tarragonés, which is equal in richness and beauty to Campania itself. It is surrounded by an amphitheatre of blue mountains, and is filled with corn and vines: these are planted in stripes, like variegated ribands; the corn in the middle,

edged on each side with a row of green vines. Fig and olive-trees are every where frequent, high aloes skirt the road, and several villages are prettily interspersed in the landscape. After jolting for three quarters of an hour over a bad road, we arrived at Santa Seraphina, a solitary *venta*, at half past eight. This venta (for it is impossible to translate the word), like all the others which I have seen, is built over a stable, and has a public sitting-room with a few bed-rooms opening into it; the former emitted a most offensive smell, and was embellished in different places with piles of pigeons' dung. Mounting a ladder to see, as we thought, an upper chamber, we found a large pigeon-house; so that, even if we had received no other assurances, we might have been certain that the house was well stored with fleas. None of the rooms have any windows: the air and the light are equally excluded by wooden shutters. Indeed I do not wonder that Fischer advises travellers rather to brave the August suns of Andalusia, than to pass long winter nights in these solitary and comfortless hovels. Our sheets were clean; and we however had every advantage of a light supper.

We departed, as usual, at half past four o'clock; passing for some time through a cultivated and rather fertile country, which at length changed to an absolute desert. We proceeded lamentably slow over an indifferent road; and passed Hospitalet, a venta near the ruins of a fort on the sea-coast. Here we observed a patrol of soldiers setting out on the same route as ourselves; which exciting our inquiries, we found that we were approaching a district frequented by banditti. The soldiers were returning to their station, which was the house where we stopped to dine in the middle of the day, and where they arrived long before us. It was near twelve before we came to this lonely mansion, which is built against the tower and walls of an ancient castle. It afforded some fish (sardines) and an omelet; and we rested in it till three o'clock, when we again set forward. The road was excellent all the way to the town where we slept, which was twelve miles off; but it lay through a country where every rock and every bush seemed to warn us of danger. On one side was the sea; on the other a range of barren rocks; and on both, between the road and these objects, an irregular ground covered with dwarf, rosemary, and other underwood. This sameness of prospect is now and then varied by a straggling grove of pines; which, however, does not by any means give the country a more lively appearance. At eight o'clock we arrived at a very clean posada in Perillo, having travelled eight leagues (thirty-two miles) in the course of the day.

4th. We left our inn at the usual time. The land about the town is cultivated, but our prospects soon became very dreary.

We advanced slowly across a barren heath to the bank of the Ebro, a fine broad river which rushes towards the sea with a yellow muddy stream: the view before us is that of an ungenial country covered with carob-trees, and is terminated more inland by a barren ridge of grey rocks. As we were waiting for the ferry-boat, or rather two boats with a platform over them, the wind swept very coldly across the desert. The ferrying business was managed with great adroitness; and we were landed at La Posta, a miserable village, the first dirty one we have seen in Spain. The country, as we proceed, is here and there enlivened by corn-fields; and every where covered by the algarrobo, or carob-trees, which are short and bushy, bearing long pods, which are eaten by the pigs as well as by the peasants. We dined at a beautiful little village, built by the king, near the sea-side, and called from him San Carlos. A port is here constructed for fishing-boats; but a long stretch of land which renders these roads convenient for vessels of a larger size, has been the occasion of the foundation of the town. The works were discontinued in consequence of the war with France in 1792, and the church and many other buildings still remain in an unfinished state.

About eight miles from hence we passed the foot of the last mountain of Catalonia; and entered, by a bridge over a small dry course of a river, the kingdom of Valencia. The plain here widens with hills in the distance, the cultivation improves, the road is better, and the change of dress immediately shews itself. The costume of Valencia is not perhaps quite so picturesque as that of the Catalans: but it is very much so; and is certainly more uncommon, and better suited to a hot climate. The Valentians are tall and strong, with long black hair, and fine dark eyes; but they do not appear so handsome as their neighbours. As we approached the town of Binrosas, the country became exceedingly rich; and near the town it is a perfect garden. The vines, hemp, corn, &c. are planted with the nicest regularity; and are interspersed with fig, palm, and other trees. All the peasants were busy at work; trimming, hoeing, pruning, and watering the fields;—and all this close to the sea too! The inn at Binrosas is large, and is kept by an Italian: we had the ill luck to arrive when every chamber was engaged except one; which, as might be supposed, was not the best. Two travellers visited us almost as soon as we got in, who requested that their carriage might accompany ours to-morrow, as part of the road which we should be obliged to travel had lately been infested by robbers. When we retired to bed, about eleven, the whole town was resounding to the guitars, tamborines, and castanets, of the dancing peasantry.

5th. Sunday. The muleteers attended mass this morning at four o'clock, in consequence of which our departure was delayed till a little after five. A volante containing an Italian and a Dutchman (the travellers with whom we spoke last night) joined us on the way. The road deviates more than usual from the sea: it is in admirable repair; and we passed along pleasantly, though without much variety, through a country filled with vineyards, and bounded on each side by a range of barren hills. On one of these we observed, in an elevated situation, the ruins of an ancient castle built in the Moorish wars. The towns here are more dirty than those of Catalonia. After a pause of three hours in the middle of the day, our party, consisting of three carriages and nine men, set forward again, and proceeded over the district said to be infested by the robbers. The road was excellent; and lay through a valley here and there producing corn, but almost entirely covered with carob, olive-trees, and underwood. The hills on each side are pleasing, and we could hardly conceive it a more dangerous spot than the lonely heath between Hospitalet and Perillo. Our advanced guard was at one time thrown into a little alarm by the sudden appearance of eight stout men (some carrying guns) from the wood; but they passed us quietly, and we arrived about seven in perfect safety at a solitary venta by the road-side. The exterior of this edifice was truly discouraging; and to complete our misery, the Dutchman, with an activity of which we had no expectation, while our servant was haggling with the women below, skipped up stairs and took possession of the best room. Though wretched in itself, the venta is pleasantly situated; being surrounded by a grove of olives, carobs, palms, and aloes. On one side is the sea at a few miles distance; on the other the hills are pleasingly varied, and a ruinous castle on one of them, is a prominent and picturesque object in the scene.

6th. As our muleteer promised to take us to-day as far as Morviedro, we were induced to rise by candle-light, and get into our carriage at three o'clock. In the course of the morning we traversed a dreary country; and passed over the Puente di Villa Reale, a very noble modern bridge across the nearly dry bed of a river. In proceeding through the town of Castaneo, we could not help observing that we had taken leave of glass windows. The houses here are rude; generally one story high for the lower orders, and not more than two for the more opulent inhabitants: the window-shutters have small apertures, which are opened for air when the heat requires the former to be closed. It is a clean and lively town. As we left it, we passed a convent; and observed that we had seen fewer of these edifices, and fewer clergy, in all the towns on the road except Tarragona, than

we expected. A vast number of monumental crosses, chiefly of wood, about three feet high, attracted our attention to-day; though we have observed them less frequent in other places. The cross is erected on the spot where a murder, quarrel, or accident happened, and the parish buries the body. A superb road, enlivened by the passing and repassing of industrious peasants, and leading through a country well cultivated with vines, olives, carobs, beans, bearded wheat, &c. brought us about twelve o'clock to the cleanest venta we have met with in our journey.

At three o'clock, the muleteers being impatient, our cavalcade was again in motion. The day was dreadfully hot; the road, if possible, improved; yet we again met with the dull prospect of fields a little cultivated, but every where covered by an orchard of carob-trees. An interesting object, however, at length roused our attention; the castle of Almenara, admirably situated for defence upon a rock with three peaks, lofty, for the most part inaccessible, and entirely detached from the neighbouring hills: the keep stands upon the topmost eminence, surrounded by outworks, which descend and extend themselves to the other two points, where watch-towers are erected. We wished we could have seen it more accurately. Neglect, and its exposed situation near the sea, seem to have conspired to leave nothing but the mere shell; and even through this the tempest has made its way for many a winter. Full of this antiquity, we turned the corner of the rock on which it stands, and were in a moment called off to behold a scene which nature, industry, imagination, and memory, all conspire to render one of the most delightful in the world. We had been disappointed, that, within twenty-five miles of Valencia, the country wore no extraordinary aspect of fertility; but now the plain of Valencia opens upon us, full of all the riches of nature,—vines, corn, vegetables, mulberries, carobs, olives, figs, &c.: some picturesque palms in the fore-ground; behind, a range of mountains beautifully sloping; and at a great distance, the insulated rock which bears the ruins of Saguntum:—all this viewed by the glowing tints of sun-set! The plain of Capua is always quoted as the most beautiful instance of fertility, and its pendant vines are certainly delicious; but here the prospect is more diversified, and infinitely more like a garden. All the vines and vegetables are arranged with the nicest precision; channels are formed, and water flows to every part, either directed from the rivers in the neighbourhood, or drawn up from wells by mules. The varied colours and irregular groupes of trees are highly pleasing. What a glorious triumph of nature and industry! What a delicious evening! All the peasants carrying their ploughs and their mat beds on their mules, and returning from their work singing.—But as we walked along this

noble road, it was not nature and industry alone which engaged our attention. At one end of the vista rises the castle of Almenara; at the other the rock, whose sides are interspersed with, and whose top is crowned by the ruins of Saguntum, consisting of rugged towers and embattled walls, which are very numerous and picturesque. At its foot stands the town of Morviedro; by the road-side is an ancient mausoleum, with a cross rising above it; and near it a rude obelisk, built of irregular stones, and bearing four coats of arms, signifying the spot where the dioceses of Valencia, Majorca, Portosa, and Segorba, meet and are separated. The costume of the peasants adds greatly to the high interest of the scene. We found a good posada at Morviedro; where we drank tea, and slept comfortably.

7th. We arose eagerly this morning, and at six o'clock a guide attended us to the ruins of Saguntum. We were anxious to see the architectural taste of a Roman town so far removed from the seat of the arts; but of this there remain only slight traces. Saguntum was admirably situated for luxury and defence: it stood upon a steep rock; which, detached from the neighbouring ridge of hills, projects boldly into the fertile plain of Valencia. Its station was not too high for convenience, and high enough for security. The principal object which remains of it, is the theatre; without doubt the rudest fragment of antiquity that I have any where seen. The seats, all broken and chipped, are formed out of the same stone, and have almost the appearance of part of the rock: its height is nearly the same as that of the larger theatre of Pompeia; but this rises more suddenly, and has the peculiarity of three ranges of vomitories, besides the doors of the upper corridor. It is evident that the proscenium must have been where the road passes at present; and what is now called the stage, which has been divided into several parts by walls, must be the remnant of the architectural scene. There are twenty-seven ranges of seats under the upper corridor: and the circular part of the theatre is placed, as is usual, against the side of the hill, from whence the rich plain of Almenara, terminated by its ancient castle, is entirely commanded. The theatrical spectators of London and Paris have never enjoyed so superb a scene as those of Saguntum; and I think if it could be transported, it would go far to reconcile us all to the unity of place. This edifice is so constructed, that a person speaking at the end of the stage in a low voice, is easily understood in the uppermost seats. We desired our guide to speak something for this purpose; upon which he immediately began the Ave Maria.

Ascending higher, we entered the Moorish fortifications which crown the long ridge of these rocks. Here we were intro-

duced to a few rude antiquities; which were chiefly the pavements of temples, the bases of half a dozen columns, and some inscriptions of the times of the Cesars, all of the grey stone of the place. Only two remains of marble are visible: the capital of an Ionic pillar, in a corrupt and loaded style; and a small statue of a priest, which has lost its head, but is not without grace. We were informed that about twenty years ago an excavation was attempted among the ruins by an Englishman, who was very active, and wrote a great deal. He discovered the Ionic capital, some coins, and the pavement of a temple. Since his effort, no one has made any attempt, till six years back; when Don de Pach, a Castilian, archbishop of Saragossa, visited this place, continued two days living with the hermit, and broke up the ground around the tower of Hercules, which stands on the highest part of the rock. He found a skeleton and some coins: the latter he took away; declaring that if he were archbishop of Valencia, he would build a palace on this spot. The coins which are sometimes found here, are purchased by the procurator of Morviedro, who has a collection. The king, in his late tour, inspected these ruins: which in consequence experienced the loss of an ancient statue that had remained here for ages, his majesty ordering it to be removed to ornament the custom-house of Valencia. When the Moors got possession of this station, they seized upon the stones of the amphitheatre, and perhaps many other ancient buildings, and constructed with them towers and a great extent of fortification: many parts of this work however, particularly the battlements, are formed entirely of a strong composition made with lime and small stones.—Near the pavement of the temple of Diana (as it is called), and in other places, are circular ranges of stones like wells, having a tree in the centre of each. Here, our guide informed us, the women of Saguntum burned themselves and their effects when the city was taken by Hannibal.

The view of the plain of Valencia from the hermitage which is built among the ruins, is the finest prospect of the kind I ever beheld. The beautiful verdure, the neatness and immense extent of cultivation, the faint white towers of the capital daily seen at a distance, the bright blue sea stretching along the horizon and meeting every where a garden on its banks, formed a scene which was admired by us even after the wonders which we had seen in Italy.

On our return to the posada, we looked into a cottage which was entirely full of silk-worms in their vermicular, spinning, and grub states. A girl told us that last year she had derived from three pounds and a half of silk-worms (wrapped up in their produce), two ounces and three quarters of silk. We set forth at

about ten o'clock to traverse the rich plain to Valencia, which is three leagues distant. The road is magnificent, and we were kept in constant admiration. As we approached the capital of the province, towns and scattered houses of the rustic gardeners began to make a frequent appearance: the latter are thatched, and have small wooden crosses on their roofs. A fine convent of Bernardines was on our left, with a garden of palm-trees. When we entered the suburbs, these instantly ceased, and we found ourselves in a scene as new and surprising as if first landing in a foreign country. We were upon a large bridge over the bed of a river, at present almost dry. Three other bridges were in view, ornamented with saints under canopies: leading to a picturesque city, surrounded by ancient fortifications, with a Gothic gateway; and shewing a vast many antique towers, houses, and some bronze-tiled domes above the walls. All this filled us with astonishment; but we entered only to wonder more. Here we saw narrow streets, people in strange costume, frequent Gothic edifices, shops with large paintings of saints for their signs and seldom having glass in the windows, awnings stretched across the way, and projecting lattices: indeed, after this, I can no longer entertain the common idea, that an Englishman takes his leave of all grand subjects of surprise after he has spent his first day at Calais.

We put up at the Tres Reges, the Fonda de la Par (the best inn) being entirely full. We found the rooms bearing the names of saints; and over the house door was inscribed, "Sancti tres Reges, Caspar, Melchior, & Balthasar, orate pro nobis, nunc & in horâ mortis nostræ." An almanack is nailed up in the passage, to tell when the sacrament is exposed in the churches.

At six o'clock we attended the theatre; and in our way thither observed many shop-keepers sitting on their counters, and playing their guitars. We paid a pesetta each, and were shewn into an empty pit: indeed the number of persons in the whole house might easily have been counted. The stage is small, and the house remarkably ill-constructed; it is twelve boxes in length, three stories high, and the pit only fifteen paces broad: the boxes are entirely open, with wooden balustrades; the whole painted white. The comedy performed was La Reconciliacion di Jos dos Hermanos (the Birth-Day, as represented at Covent Garden), taken or rather abridged from Kotzebue. The scenery was new, but badly painted; and the acting execrable, totally without spirit. To me the audience seemed to be asleep. The prompter, shewing his head in the front of the stage without any concealment, appeared much the most prominent character in the piece; and his droning voice, nearly as loud as that of the actors,

was heard reciting the play from beginning to end. The partition between the house and the street is so thin (and what rendered this more unfortunate, is the situation of the theatre near the city gate) that at every moment, in the most interesting scenes of the comedy, carriages were heard passing, mules jingling their bells, and at one time the guard examining a passport, was louder than the prompter. There was hardly a laugh, and not one applause during the whole performance. The Spanish translator has turned the hearty blunt Jack Junk (as he appears on our stage) into an old forlorn sailor, who looked like Robinson Crusoe on the desert island. After the play a volero was danced with considerable spirit, succeeded by a song badly performed; and the amusements were finished by a stupid farce, in which the humour consisted in a servant who conceals himself behind a side-scene, from which he continually looks out, and makes remarks upon what is said on the stage. At ten o'clock the whole performance was over. This theatre has been built about ten years: it is large enough; but it is intended to erect a new one in a more handsome and convenient style.

CHAP. IV.

VALENCIA.—ITS BUILDINGS.—CONVENT OF SAN FRANCESCO.—CATHEDRAL.—ARCHBISHOP.—VIEW FROM THE TOWER.—RELIGIOUS CONCERT.—CORPUS-CHRISTI DAY. THE PROCESSION.

8th. WE walked through several antique and curious streets to the Plaza de San Francesco, which is a sort of market for job-coachmen and mule-masters. After surveying their carriages, and hearing their offers, we visited the convent of St. Francis. The church is dark and ugly: the cloister, however, amply rewarded our trouble. It is plain, but noble in its proportions and extent; and the enclosure is full of luxuriant oranges and palms, which cast a delightful shade. The walls are painted better than usual, with the life and miracles of St. Francis:—they are beyond all wonder!—"things unattempted yet *by land* or *sea*." Over the door of the cells, which open into an internal passage, are inscriptions signifying the different offices of the friars; and, at the same time, displaying their taste in poetical composition. I remember one of them—

"Hic moderator adest conventi pervigil hujus!"

The cathedral is a large edifice; the tower, lantern, and gates of which are in a good Gothic style. The body of the church

has been rebuilt in the Italian taste: it is neat and not unpleasing as to its ornaments; but is only striking from its extent. A very venerable choir fills the greater part of the church; and the altar is of solid silver. The archbishop's palace is perhaps the best house in the city, though it is built of plaister white-washed. The present prelate, Campani, is of Italian origin, though a Spaniard by birth: he is seventy-two years of age, but looks younger. In his youth he was a Franciscan friar, from whence he rose to be general of the order, and archbishop of Valencia. His annual revenue is about three hundred thousand dollars, arising from lands; and he has three villas in the neighbourhood of the city, in one of which he resides nearly half the year; coming here only on festivals and days of ceremony; his whole residence in his palace at Valencia is perhaps for three months, and he generally spends about four with the court at Madrid. His establishment comprises above forty servants. An arch is thrown from his palace across the street to the cathedral, so that he comes to church without either carriage or procession. He has the character of great austerity; and his looks accord with his character.

The custom-house is a common place building, but is much admired here; nor is it to be wondered that at Valencia, where the houses are so eccentric, a piece of regularity should be an object of admiration.

We ascended the tower of the cathedral, and from thence enjoyed a noble prospect of the surrounding country and the sea at half a league's distance. No view can be richer than this, the fields exhibiting alternate carpets of the finest verdure and the brightest yellow, interspersed with groves of olives, figs, and palms; towns, villages, and scattered houses: but from this spot, which is near the middle of the city, the country is at too great a distance to observe all the niceties of the planting, training, and irrigating the land; which makes me prefer the view from the hermitage of Saguntum, where a scene or rather map of fertility is closely submitted to the eye, and where it is less distracted by the mixture of villages and houses.

The convent of St. Domingo has a dome of bright bronze-tiles, which is a new wonder among the strange sights around us. The rest of the building is old and shabby; yet it is impossible not to walk with pleasure in the decayed Gothic cloister, the arches of which are full of mullion work, and the enclosure well shaded with large orange trees.

In the evening we passed the gate of Serranos, by which we had entered yesterday, to enjoy again the prospect which had so much surprised us. Valencia is really a *foreign* city, and one of another century. Standing on the side of the suburbs, and see

ing the four dark bridges, the long line of low fortification, the heavy gate-house, the rude towers and palm-trees rising above the walls, we either entirely forget Europe, or that we exist in 1809. The sunset was magnificent to-night. We walked by the bank of the Guadalayiar to the Alameda, which is quite an eastern prospect, exhibiting two alleys of embowering trees, surrounded by numerous plantations of palms. Here we observed about a dozen carriages driven slowly up and down, of all fashions, except the English. The Plaza de Catedral presented a curious spectacle in the evening, a concert being performed there in honour of to-morrow's festival of Corpus Christi. On this occasion the whole square was covered with awnings, and brilliantly illuminated: on one side of it a number of triumphal cars, carrying images of saints, were arranged in a line; and I could not but observe that the Virgin had two candles burning before her, while the chariot which carried the Deity was totally in the dark. A band was stationed in these machines, and another in the balcony of the town-hall, playing alternately to a considerable concourse of people. The scene was very novel and extraordinary; but it reminded me rather of a tea-garden frolic, than of a religious celebration.

9th. Corpus-Christi day. We were awakened this morning by a violent ringing of bells; and upon our leaving the inn, we found the streets thronged with people of all ranks in their gala-cloaths, and many in masquerade dresses. The peasants were as picturesque as possible, in their broad-brimmed hats with gold tassels, white shirt kelt and sandals, and their jackets with long ribands instead of buttons, hanging carelessly over their shoulders; all who could afford it had silk cloaks, this being the established day for putting on summer apparel. The higher ranks were full dressed, with bags and swords, and mixed with the crowds which moved every where without noise or confusion.

As we proceeded to the cathedral, we were astonished to find a number of gigantic and ridiculous figures of men and women, Moors and Egyptians, set out directly opposite to the triumphal saints; and we were still more surprised to hear that they were to be carried in the same procession this evening. The church was filled with people, the sacrament exposed on the altar, the canons in the choir, habited in purple soutans and hoods, were singing to a noble organ, assisted by a powerful band of other instruments. The archbishop presided, and wore over his purple the blue and white riband of the royal order of Carlos III., which the king put on with his own hand when the court was at Valencia last year. The morning passed in observing similar acts of festivity and devotion in other places; and at four o'clock in the evening, we took possession of a window near the cathedral to witness the so-

lemn procession of the Corpus Christi, which, upon the whole, was the grandest Roman Catholic exhibition I have ever seen. All the streets were crowded; and the windows of the archbishop's palace, situated opposite to us, were decorated with draperies of crimson damask. Small processions kept moving to the cathedral, carrying the images of the different parish churches and convents to the general rendezvous. Every house had its saints new dressed and placed in conspicuous situations; we saw a considerable number, besides several relics, in that in which we were stationed. The soldiers with difficulty made a passage through the crowd for the triumphal cars, each drawn by four fine mules, and each containing at least ten persons. These machines are ugly, resembling boats with wheels; and their representations are badly executed, and shamefully disgusting. They are so unmanageable, that this day of festivity has never passed without an accident; a circumstance which has induced the archbishop to attempt the omission of them, as well as of the ludicrous scene which I shall afterwards describe; but the people are headstrong in retaining their favourite part of the fête.

The first machine contains a representation of the Trinity, and of Adam and Eve expelled from paradise; between these effigies a set of boys dance with hoops and bells. The second has the Virgin; the third Faith; the fourth St. Vincent, by whose interposition Valencia is supposed to have been delivered from the Moors; the fifth St. Michael; and the sixth the Devil. On the stages or platforms of the five former are, as I have mentioned, groupes of dancing boys; but his satanic majesty has a different accompaniment. On his stage the seven mortal sins are represented by masks, the foremost among whom is Fornication dancing to a fiddle, and exhibiting every sort of indecency. These puppet-shews proceeded in full gallop towards the cathedral; and we soon received the melancholy intelligence that one of them had rushed by a person who was standing against a wall, and had absolutely torn his bowels out.

About five o'clock a cart was brought through the streets filled with orange leaves, which were scattered in the path of the procession; and at the end of another half hour the pageant began to shew itself before our window. It had made the tour of the whole city, and was now on its return to the cathedral. It appeared nearly in the following ORDER: Gigantic figures of gentlemen, ladies, Moors, and Egyptians, preceded by *outré* characters with enormous heads. Saints from the parish churches dressed in tawdry clothes, and attended by the priests and chief inhabitants in full dress, together with dancing boys and music. Scripture characters: Moses with the law; Aaron in pontifical robes, with the budding rod; David with his harp; Sampson

with Goliath's head; Joshua with the sun in his hand; Abraham with Isaac bearing the faggots; Noah carrying the dove; and Balaam on his ass. Then followed the convents of the city: the monks of the Holy Trinity (in white soutans, with black robes and hoods marked with blue crosses); the Capuchins (brown); Carmelites (brown with white cloaks); Benedictines, or black monks; friars of St. Francis of Paolo (black); Franciscans (some in grey, others in blue); Mercenarian friars (white with small red crosses); black canons of St. Augustin; Dominicans (white with black cloaks), &c. all carrying their saints and candles, and chaunting as they walked. Priests: the four evangelists in masquerade; they passed so quickly that we had only time to observe St. Luke with a bull's head. Priests again; three large gilt eagles walking; priests and canons of the cathedral carrying solid silver statues of saints; noblemen and gentlemen in full dress; the Host (or Corpus Christi) in a high Gothic frame-work of gold, under a rich canopy, surrounded by a blaze of candles; the four senior canons of the cathedral; the mitre on a crimson cushion; the archbishop walking bare headed, with his crosier in his hand; gentlemen of the archbishop carrying his red velvet chair of state; nobles of the city; the governor and general with candles. The procession concluded with a detachment of soldiers. On the entrance of the host into the church there was a discharge of artillery.

We had an advantage in its being evening before the procession passed; which, as all the monks, &c. carried candles, considerably increased the effect. The moment when the silver images went by, and the machine containing the host turned the corner of the street, and was fully opposed to us with the reflection of so many lights, it presented a splendid spectacle.

As soon as this pageant (which lasted three hours) had closed, we hastened to the cathedral. The crowd and pressure were dreadful; but the sight was grand beyond description. This large building was lighted up in the most fanciful and richest manner; and the Gothic lantern had a particularly beautiful effect, and the high altar entirely of silver blazed with innumerable candles. A loud and noisy chorus of rejoicing was singing as I entered, accompanied by organs, fiddles, bells, &c. and when this confusion of tongues and sounds had finished, the archbishop ate the object of adoration, the Corpus Christi, having previously elevated it before the people. He was surrounded by tapers, incense, and priests in glittering robes, and seemed actually enveloped in a flood of light. He then assumed his mitre, gave the benediction, and the piece concluded, the most pompous that I have ever seen.

We have been well amused at Valencia; for, independent of

the splendid folly of its festival, it is a town full of the traces of antiquity and peculiarity. It is different from any place which I have seen before or since; and, though no where magnificent, it is every where curious and interesting.

CHAP. V.

ROUTE TO MADRID.—ALMANZOR.—A NEW VENTA.—DESERT COUNTRY.—BANDITTI.—LA MANCHA.—COUNTRY CHURCH.—OCANA.—ARANJUEZ.—APPROACH TO MADRID.

10th. WE had made an arrangement yesterday in the Plaza de San Francesco to be conveyed (being four persons in number) in a coach with six mules and two drivers to Madrid in seven days, stopping at Aranjuez, for which we were to pay thirty-eight doubloons. This morning at six o'clock we commenced our journey, and passed forward on an excellent road, with high league-stones, through a noble avenue. The rich plain attended us about ten miles, and our coach formed a delightful contrast to the exposed springless volantes in which we had lately travelled. We went through many towns and villages; and at the posada of Montartal, five leagues and a half from Valencia, we staid from twelve till three o'clock; but in spite of the bounty of nature which surrounded it, we could only obtain a few eggs and some bad bread and wine. After dinner we took a short survey of the country, which was cultivated, though without trees. Many fields were flooded and planted with rice. During the day the weather was dreadfully hot. In the evening we saw at a distance the finely situated town of San Felippe, with the castle above it, built on two pinnacles of rock, with communicating works and walls ranging down the side of it. About eight o'clock we arrived at a neat venta (del Conde) standing by the road, with a village near it; but notwithstanding its promising appearance, it could not furnish us with milk for our tea; nor could we obtain any thing to take with us from the village. We have become, however, pretty well accustomed to such disappointments in these "fine climates, and gardens of the earth." Our day's journey has been nine leagues, about thirty-six English miles.

11th. We set out this morning at a little after four o'clock. The road was admirable; but the country relapsed into an absolute desert. At first we had rough groves of olives and carobs between the road and the range of hills on each side; now and then we saw a field of shabby corn, and even a rich vale or two; we passed no villages, nor scarcely any habitations. After

dining at an indifferent venta (de Puente), we rested from eleven till two o'clock, having accomplished five leagues and a half; the house only afforded bad wine and bread, bad water, and a few eggs. In the evening we entered the kingdom of Murcia, which, in the part through which we journeyed, presents an unvarying scene of desert hills and rocks covered with rosemary and furze. I never surveyed so lamentable a prospect; the plain of Almanzor is hardly an exception to this picture: it is vast, surrounded by barren hills, here and there shewing a poor crop of corn, but for the most part feeding flocks of sheep and goats. The town consists of a small collection of brown plaister houses, with a little castle situated on a knoll of rock, which in a curious manner suddenly juts out from the plain. Near this stands an obelisk to commemorate the battle fought here; which affords but a mean display of generosity on the part of the monarch, who owed his throne to the event which it records.

We continued to traverse this bleak country till eight o'clock, when we arrived at a neat new venta, improperly enough called de la Vega. As this is a fair specimen of those which have been lately erected, I shall be particular in describing it. The lower story is one room, with a large arch on each side, so that carriages can drive through it: the room on one side of the thoroughfare serves as a kitchen, and on the other as a coach-house. Above stairs is a long passage with a chimney at the end, and three apartments on each side, each with two beds in alcoves or recesses, and with wooden shutters instead of glass in the windows; the stable is in a yard behind. These houses are sufficiently comfortable in every respect except as to provisions, and are a great improvement on the old ventas and posadas, of which we have had so often reason to complain.

12th. Sunday. Mass was celebrated this morning at four, in a little chapel in the venta, by a friar who had arrived the evening before for that purpose. The muleteers were ready about half an hour afterwards. The same dreary prospect which first broke upon us yesterday continued all to-day, varying a little now and then, but always threatening famine or robbers. As we proceeded, groves of cork-trees became more frequent; and we discovered from a little eminence that we should soon be enveloped in a considerable wood. From this spot we could see the road pursuing its straight direction for many leagues; but here we deviated from it, and traversed the wood towards the venta where we were to rest during the middle of the day. We could observe by two volantes joining our caravan, and some other circumstances, that this was a dangerous pass: indeed it is admirably adapted for the depredations of banditti on horseback; the

greens of underwood which mingle with the cork-trees, are sufficient to conceal them, and at the same time they in general grow in such distinct thickets as to leave a passage between them, among the intricate windings of thousands of which, spread over a vast surface of country, a flying band of robbers might almost defy pursuit. About twelve o'clock we came to a venta in the thickest part of the wood: it is called Rincon ó Pozo de la Pena, and is six leagues from the venta de la Vega. It afforded rice, salt fish, and some wine, which was almost too bad to drink. The inhabitants of this remote spot were clad in their Sunday apparel; and the hair of the women was ornamented with large combs of basket work. We set out again at three. The wood here has a mixture of pines, and breaks out into rocks and defiles for a few miles. Upon leaving these, we entered on vast and dreary plains affording nothing but a scanty pasturage to the flocks of sheep and goats that range over them. At half past seven we arrived at Albacete, a considerable town with a manufactory of knives, stilettos, and other articles of cutlery. The posada was unfortunately undergoing a repair, so that we were forced to put up with a wretched bed-room. We were able, however, to procure a sufficient supply of provisions. The white bread and oranges were remarkably good.

13th. The carriage was ready at a quarter before four this morning, the muleteers being determined to arrive at La Roda in time for mass, as it was St. Anthony's day. The master of the posada told the servant that we were the first Englishmen he had seen for fourteen years. We left Albacete by an avenue of mulberries, and entered on a flat unproductive country. A few leagues farther we met a strong detachment of cavalry patroling the road, in consequence of a daring robbery which had just been committed on a nobleman who was bringing his bride to court from Barcelona: he had a numerous retinue; the banditti were twelve in number, and completely armed. Soon after passing Ginette, we found ourselves in the celebrated province of La Mancha: the country before us continuing as flat and dreary as before. The mode of driving practised by our muleteers is very remarkable: one of them holds a short whip and the reins, which are merely attached to the pair of mules which are next the carriage; the other sits by him with his lap full of stones, which, when he wishes them to trot, he very expertly pelts at the heads of the leaders; and in case they seem inclined to quit the road on account of such violent treatment, he is ready to jump down to prevent an accident.

We entered La Roda a little after ten o'clock by an avenue. It is a poor desert town like the rest; the posada, however, is new and clean. During our stay here I visited the church; a

modern fabric, though in some parts the traces of ancient clustered pillars may be discovered; over the entrance is written on a board—"*El YIlmo. Don Filipe Solano Dignissimo Obispo di Cuenca, Anno* 1792;" and, on another near it, as far as I could make it out, the name of the Cura, or perhaps dean of the church. It has a choir for a considerable number of priests, with an organ over it at the west end; the nave is spacious, and has two side-aisles. At the eastern extremity is a heavy gilt altar-piece; there are also several other altars at the sides, and against the pillars, all rudely ornamented. One of the chapels has a picture of the "Adoration of the Magi," of some merit; a vast many banners and other machinery, the pomp, no doubt, of the Corpus-Christi procession were lying about in different parts of the church. We dined well to-day on the provisions furnished by Albacete; but the wine of La Roda could hardly be made palatable, even with the addition of sugar and lemon. Just as we were setting out, a lady of distinction arrived in an antique coach, with attendants, and four horse-guards. The road continued excellent; and the prospect the same desert, flat expanse; though towards evening it was diversified by a large wood of pineasters. In this country it is impossible to distinguish friends from foes, as all travellers go well armed. We met just here half a dozen horsemen, many of whom had swords and pistols; but they passed us quietly, and were probably travellers like ourselves, as we afterwards saw peasants riding on asses, armed in the same way. Venta de Pinaz, where we slept, has been lately built by the lord of the manor: is is the largest on the road; and notwithstanding the noble donna had sent forward to bespeak the best rooms, our accommodations were very comfortable.

14th. The road to-day was, as usual, excellent; and the country presented the same level and desert appearance, except that a little cultivation is attempted around the towns, which are built of mud and plaister. The only interesting objects with which we have met in de Mancha, are its windmills, rendered famous by the exploits of Don Quixote. We had seen none before we entered this province; but here scarcely a village is to be seen without a group of them; they are built of stone, with thatched tops.

We rested during the heat of the day at Pedronoso, whose posada only afforded some bread and a little milk; in the neighbourhood of this town a jar manufactory is carried on. In the evening we passed La Motta della Cuervo, another considerable mud-town, with about a dozen windmills, and the most classical we have met with, since from the eminence on which they stand, the spire of El Toboso is plainly distinguished.

At eight o'clock we stopped at the dirty posada of Puintamar, where we obtained some pigeons for supper; but the beds were horrible. Upon carrying the lamp near them, we saw the bugs coursing each other over the dirty sheets, in most terrific squadrons! and upon lifting up our eyes to the wall near the bed's-head, we beheld all the little specks upon its surface, which, at first sight, seemed splashes of dirt, were animated,—all bugs! We immediately called for the master of the house; but as he did not seem to understand the cause of our complaint, and there was no remedy, we were obliged to betake ourselves to the carriage for the night.

15th. To-day we traversed the same flat and dreary country as I have so often described; the weather as hot as possible. We slept for two hours, and dined at a bad posada in Billatobas, another wretched mud-town, and at eight in the evening reached Ocana, after a very fatiguing journey.

Ocana is a city; and presents a view of many low towers and little domes. The inn is almost the dirtiest we have seen. Some pigeons were sent up to us for supper swimming in an execrable black broth; and to show how far such inconveniencies are from being softened by civility, I must mention that the landlady, hearing that we had ordered the beds, as a precaution both against the heat and bugs, to be removed into the middle of the room, sent us word that, if her accommodations did not suit us, we might turn out into the street. We were, however, too much tired to quarrel, and quietly retired under a threatening quilt and patched sheets, at half past ten o'clock.

16th. We rose with alacrity to-day, which was to shew us Aranjuez and Madrid; and were in the carriage before three o'clock. We proceeded among dreary and bare hills for the space of two leagues; when, at length, the paradise of Spain broke upon our view. The real beauty of the place, and the contrast of verdure and civilization, to the desolate scenes which we had lately passed, made us think it the most delightful spot we had ever seen. Before us was a vale full of trees, with domes and spires rising above them; a range of well-built white houses with a large church, stood on the right. Traffic and bustle were alive on all sides; in short, we seemed to rise into life again. Having left our carriage at the inn, we hastened to review the wonders of the place. It was easy to discover that the court was here, from the number of coaches and six, officers, and servants, who continually passed us.

The town consists of small low houses, neatly and regularly built. The Royal Palace stands on the banks of the Tagus; the ambassadors and other persons of the court reside in several large houses near the prince's garden. Passing an arch, we came

into a sort of crescent, with a chapel in the centre, the whole of which is constructed of plaister painted. The palace is of considerable extent; it has two domes, but no other attempt at embellishment; indeed, its appearance is neither grand nor pleasing. The windows are casements, and the chief front is situated opposite the dullest part of the wood. With respect to the celebrated garden of the island, it is a spot where nature has blotted out the original design, and made one of the most delightful retreats in the world. A person might walk a long time among the over-arching bowers of its ancient elms, without discovering that in fact all the walks are radii, and the fountains which occasionally fall in his way are the centres where they meet;—such was the taste in which the garden was laid out: but the elms have vindicated their own rights, and those of the place; they have bent their trunks in every direction; and thrust their arms in bold irregularity across the stiff alleys and prim compartments which the designer had planned; at this time, if the fountains were removed, nothing would be wanting to the beauty of the scene. The walks of the colleges at Cambridge, much thickened and extended, and the glades filled with flowers, will give an adequate idea of the effect of this most ancient and most beautiful garden of Aranjuez.

Upon quitting these magnificent shades, we found ourselves on the banks of the Tagus, whose stream was somewhat narrower than we had expected: the Princesses' apartments look this way; those of the King and Queen face the open plaza and the bridge; an aspect which cannot be admired:—directly under their windows is a small garden of orange trees, which being cut into round shapes, and powdered by the dust from the roads, seem like so many wigs in a barber's shop. Nor is the distant prospect more delightful; the shore of the river near the bridge is entirely covered with wood sawn out ready for sale;—it comes from the mountains of Cuenca; and after having been floated down the Tagus, is sold by the king on this wharf. This is a very expensive commodity in Castile.

We now arrived at the gate of the garden of the Prince of Asturias; which opens into a noble avenue called the Calle de la Reyna. Several officers were standing here, from whom we requested permission to enter; one of them said, that we were at perfect liberty to see the garden after the king had passed, who was going, according to his custom, to breakfast with the prince in a pleasure-house in the garden. After waiting about a quarter of an hour, his majesty drove by us in an old-fashioned crimson phaeton, with two ponies, and three servants behind; he was followed by an attendant on horseback, carrying his gun, and about a dozen other persons of all descriptions: he bowed

as he passed us, and proceeded down the avenue to breakfast. The prince's garden is made in an ambiguous taste, half French and half English: the walks are straight and ornamented with fountains; but the compartments are planted irregularly, and often laid out in grass, with flowers in basket frames, according to the English plan. The whole is certainly very pretty; but as it is a modern work, and the trees are young, it can by no means vie with the grandeur of the garden of the island: it is remarkable that every single tree has a separate pipe, which by conveying to its roots the waters of the Tagus, supplies the want of rain, which makes the country around so barren. We were surprised to find no foreign trees here, and very few oranges: in one part we were led to the banks of the river, where batteries are erected, and two large models of a frigate and a corvette are afloat; in another we were shewn in a most delightful situation a piece of water, filled with gold fish, in the middle of which was an island, containing a correct and beautiful imitation of a Chinese tea-house: but notwithstanding my daily experience of bad taste, I was astonished to see in this striking and peculiar prospect, the late addition of a large and expensive Ægyptian temple! We were not permitted to approach the prince's pleasure-house, but we were assured we had seen all that was remarkable. In one of the avenues near the gate a green silk net was suspended, in case the king after breakfast should meditate a war upon the finches. After a stay of three hours, we returned to our carriage and departed. The Spaniard to whom I spoke at the garden gate, called Aranjuez the Richmond of Spain. It is a beautiful spot, more delightful in Spain than Richmond is in England; but considering them abstractedly, the fine broad oaks feathering to the ground, and the wide stream of the Thames, incline me to decide in favour of the superior beauty of the latter. We passed the Tagus and along an avenue of trees, through what is called the Alameda del Rey, which is intersected by several other avenues; but as we proceeded trees became more scarce, and the ground more burnt up. After crossing a long stone bridge, we ascended an hill, and left trees and cultivation far behind; the whole prospect is dreary and desert; and is in every respect a miserable contrast to the approaches both to London and Paris: we did not indeed expect the picture of private wealth and happiness which the former presents; but we were prepared for some of the monarchical grandeur of the latter: in this however we were entirely disappointed; for though the road is fine, the avenues want width and majesty; and upon quitting these, on the very verge of the metropolis, to relapse into a perfect desert, is intolerable. We stopped to dinner at a posada where the provisions were plenty,

but the charge exorbitant. From this it was four leagues to Madrid; the road perfectly direct, and its sides garnished by some miserable elms. There are no towns, a little traffic, and some cultivated fields; but it is almost impossible to conceive that we are close to a metropolis: at length it makes its appearance. Madrid! a small black town, standing quite distinct, in the midst of an arid plain: no suburbs or straggling houses. Its outline is diversified by a number of little domes and spires; but there is nothing pre-eminent or grand; the perspective is closed by the snow-capt mountains of Guadarama.

The Prince of the Peace going to the city in great haste passed us on the road, with half a dozen horse-guards, and three servants behind his carriage. The oppressive heat of the day was beyond expression; at length we crossed the Manzanares at a ford, and entered the verdant out-works of the Prado of Madrid; these are extended to the water side; and among them were many parties walking, their carriages waiting at a distance. We advanced under a shady avenue to the gate of Antocha, where our pockets were called upon for a contribution by the custom-house; and we passed within the walls of the metropolis, of which the grandeur of the Prado, and the width and lighting of the Calle de Alcala gave us higher expectations than were afterwards realized; indeed these are by far the finest parts of Madrid. The prospect, however, of the rooms and beds of the Cruz de Malta was in our present circumstances infinitely more gratifying.

CHAP. VI.

MADRID. — HEAT. — ROYAL ARMORY. — PLAZA MAYOR. — CABINET OF NATURAL HISTORY. — THE YOUNGER FOSTER. — THEATRE. — PRINCE OF PEACE. — BUEN. — RETIRO. — PRADO. — NEW PALACE. — BULL-FIGHT. — COMEDY OF LOPE DE VEGA. — GENERAL VIEW OF THE METROPOLIS.

17th. THE hot weather has come in this year with the solano or African wind, which has blown for the last day or two. The thermometer at two o'clock was at 92° in our rooms and in the shade out of doors at 87°. In the evening we endeavoured to walk on the Prado, but though the sun was set, the air which breathed in our faces was so impregnated with heat, as to cause an oppression and relaxation that repressed almost every feeling of curiosity.

18th. We were disappointed to-day in not being able to see the New Palace; as for the purpose of keeping it perfectly

cool for the royal family, who will soon arrive, the shutters are only open from five till seven in the morning: but we were more fortunate at the Real Armeria, which is contained in an old building near it. This greatly gratified us; and began to reconcile us to Madrid. The room, which is spacious, is hung round with armour and arms, and a row of horsemen, cased in steel, line the middle. We found ourselves at once among the worthies of Spain. Charles V, Philip II, Ferdinand and Isabella, Gonzalvo of Cordova, King Chico of Grenada, Hernando Cortes, and a long succession, which will be better specified in the following DESCRIPTIVE LIST:

The carriage of the mother of Charles V., the first made in Spain:—it is of a square shape, carved over, and has open windows all round. The chair of Charles V:—The bed and travelling cart of Charles V; a machine something between a cradle and a tilted cart. The armour of Ferdinand the Catholic, worn at the conquest of Grenada; it is ornamented with alternate stripes of bright steel and flowered gilding. Three suits of armour of Queen Isabella, like men's armour, of bright steel, with a little gilding. Steel armour with gilt nails, of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and king of Castile; the mark of a ball is indented in the breast-plate. A rich suit of unpolished armour, embossed with figures and ornaments, made at Pamplona, and given by Sebastian of Portugal to Philip II.—The armour of Charles V. in which he retired to St. Just. The virgin is engraved on the breast-plate; the helmet has the representation of hair, beard, mouth, and ears. It is perforated for the eyes; and the hair and the beard are gilt.—Large Moorish targets of leather, with inscriptions.—The armour of the great Captain, Gonzalvo of Cordova, which is like, but richer than, that of Ferdinand the Catholic. It is embossed all over, and has alternate stripes of gilt and bright steel.—Turkish presents, guns, pistols, &c. from Constantinople: some of the barrels were made at Barcelona, the mounting is very curious.—Swords of Charles V., of Gonzalvo, and of Francis I. The latter was worn at the battle of Pavia, when Francis was taken prisoner; a small dagger is attached to the sheath; it has a cross handle, with the inscription, "in brachio suo."—A Moorish collar, for torturing Christians, taken by Montemar.—Maces for wrenching off armour.—Lances. Arrows curiously barbed.—A breast-plate, with an embossed representation of the battle of St. Quintin; made for Philip II. at Pamplona: it is well executed.—A shield sent by the Pope to Don John of Austria; it bears a crucifix; the field on each side of which has the impression of a bullet.—Several coats of mail of bright steel, for females of the court of Philip II. each with a short steel petticoat.—A rich

suit of armour, worn by Philip III. made at Pamplona.—A long gun, with the earliest kind of lock, and the handle inlaid with ivory, belonging to Philip II.—Armour of Hernaudo Cortes, of plain steel.—Armour of King Chico * of Grenada, of bright steel; it has more joints than any of the others. The helmet is very large, and curiously fashioned: it is perforated by two small holes for seeing, and above them is a long slip for breathing: on the side a sort of door can be opened for the purpose of speaking; a small shield is attached to the left breast, and a piece of steel projects to rest a spear upon on the right. Another suit of Moorish armour, the helmet like that of Chico.—The ring armour of Charles I. of Naples.—Japanese war dresses, with frightful masks.

HORSE FIGURES.

Alfonso IX. father of St. Ferdinand.—Philip II. as he appeared at the battle of St. Quintin: his sword; the gift of the city of Saragossa.—Charles V. as he entered Tunis: he carries in his hand a bright steel halbert.—All these figures are in bright steel armour, with high plumes on their heads; the horses richly caparisoned, and more or less armed.—Charles V. as he was crowned Emperor of the Romans; on which occasion he assumed the Roman habit and wreath of laurel. His robe is red, edged with ermine.

At the end of the room, in a glass case, with a curtain before him, like our waxen kings in Westminster Abbey, sits Ferdinand the Catholic. His shield is hung behind him; the crown on his head; the sceptre and ball in his hands. A board is suspended to assure the faithful that if they will say a pater-noster, and an ave Maria, and pray earnestly for the extirpation of heretics before this reverend image, they shall receive many hundred days of indulgence; for which purpose a number of prelates have subscribed their sums of time. I was sorry to find Lorenzana's name in the list. A velvet cushion is prepared for those who are moved by this holy invitation. The walls of the room

* "The nineteenth king of Grenada was Muley Hasen; others call him Albo Hasen. He had a son named Boaudillin. Many of the nobles being at variance with the father, elected the son for their prince, calling him Chiquito the boy king. Thus Grenada saw itself under the dominion of two kings." Guer. Civil. cap. ii. After his father's death, Boaudillin, or, as he is commonly called, El Rey Chico, defended the city against King Ferdinand, to whom, in the end, he was obliged to surrender it. El Rey Chico has been generally translated the Little King; but the armour abovementioned does not favour that interpretation. The meaning seems to be, the younger king, or the boy king, which accords with the Spanish custom of calling the king's sons Infants, even after they have obtained the age of manhood.

are hung all round with armour; and the ceiling with tilting lances, Moorish banners, &c. Some very curious specimens of ancient cannon are to be found in this collection; which, although it is not so large as that at the Tower, must certainly be allowed to be as interesting as any in Europe.

The Plaza Mayor of Madrid, presents a very curious spectacle. It is a square of old brick houses, with arcades (or, as we call them, piazzas) below; the houses are full of windows, and each window has a balcony, and a curtain or mat hung out to shade the rooms. The sides of this square are not broken by streets; and, standing in the middle, we seem to look in vain for an egress, which is by a low arch on one side: opposite this is the Town-House; an ancient building, but without dignity or effect. They are at present engaged in preparing scaffoldings and seats for the bull-fights which are to be exhibited here next month, in honour of the marriage of the Prince of Asturias.

In the evening we visited the Gabinete dé Historia Natural; which occupies a suite of ten rooms, in a large stone building, in the Calle de Alcala, in which there is also an academy of arts*. It is a collection of great interest; as it contains from Spanish America and the Manillas, curiosities which cannot be possessed by any other museum in Europe; but it is not so complete as these immense sources of treasure would lead us to expect, nor is the disposition of the specimens they have procured so perfect as it ought to be.

The principal foundation of this museum was the valuable collection of minerals, bought by the king from the famous Foster, who for many years had the direction of it. A large sardonyx, of a rich purple and brown colour, with lucid yellow veins, is shewn, before which this enthusiastic collector used frequently to fall on his knees; but the minerals from America are the principal objects of attention: and the splendour of some specimens is beyond description. Among the other rarities are, immense snakes from Oronooko;—extraordinary fish;—curious birds;—virgin silver and gold;—specimens of the pottery of the ancient Peruvians, highly curious; some representations of idols; rude, but very much in the Egyptian manner, particularly several vessels, on the exterior parts of which are the images of deities, exactly like the Canopus pots of Egypt—Models of pagodas;—Chinese boats, &c. extremely beautiful;—a Japanese drum, the most sonorous I ever heard.—Peruvian cloth.—Pictures of the intermarriages of the Spaniards and Indians, with the offspring, to mark the gradations of colour.—Moorish ornaments, gold rings, necklaces, &c. dug up at Grenada.—Chi-

* The inscription over the gate is very neat: CAROLVS III. Rex, Naturam et Artem sub uno tecto in publicam utilitatem consociavit, anno MDCCLXXV.

nese and Japanese dresses and models. The valuable collection of Louis XIV. to Philip V. is preserved in this museum, which consists of a number of precious stones and antique cameos, rich and beautiful to the last degree, made up into vases and ornaments in the most tawdry and ridiculous French taste.

The spar of the Asturias is like that of Derbyshire: superb rubies, opals, and emeralds are to be found in this collection; but the officer, while he shewed us the models of the Great Mogul and other famous diamonds in crystal, complained that the king was far from liberal in this particular, and that he had only given two small specimens to the museum.

The most remarkable and interesting object in this cabinet, is the skeleton of the non-descript animal which was discovered some years ago, buried about forty feet in a mountain near Buenos Ayres. The length from its rump to its nose is about thirteen feet, its height a little more than six. The breadth and size of its body are very astonishing; and the collar and blade-bone are not unlike those of the human species. The legs are uncommonly stout, particularly those behind, which are of such prodigious and wonderful strength, that they must have been designed to support upon occasion the whole body of the animal reared up; an idea which is rendered more probable from the length of the claw and the solid piece of bone which projects behind, forming a basis to the leg.

Whether it was a carnivorous animal or not, is still, and will probably always remain, in great doubt. The enormous claws are in favour of such a conclusion, but the evidence of the mouth is against it, which is merely furnished with common grinders, without fangs, or any traces of them, though that part of the skeleton is entirely perfect: it is not wide. The neck is long enough to touch the ground. A skeleton of an elephant is placed in the adjoining room for the sake of comparison; there is little similarity between them; this being, it is evident, of the cat kind, and appears to have been a sort of gigantic tyger. The breadth of the animal, and the solidity of its bones, are wonderfully striking. This museum may be considered as yet infant in its infancy, and it is about to receive a vast addition, and undergo a complete renovation, from the talents of the younger Parra (the son of the celebrated collector), who has been travelling by order of the king, for the last eleven years in South America, where he has collected a vast number of new and rare specimens, which are all arrived, and deposited for the present in the palace of Buen-Retiro. Parra is expected on his return to take the direction of the institution; and a new building is erecting as soon as he comes, to a new building [illegible] the purpose.

near the Botanic Garden, a large structure; which affords a new instance of the wretched taste in architecture prevalent at Madrid. The museum, after receiving Foster's additional specimens, and directed by his intelligence, will become a primary object of attention among the mineralogists of Europe. At eight o'clock we attended El Teatro de los Canos de Peral, the first of the two theatres of Madrid: externally it presents a shew of poverty perfectly surprising: its brick front, with three little doors, and a few broken windows, seems that of an house given up to decay. The interior is ornamented in an ugly and grotesque manner; the predominant colour is dirty brown, on which lozenges are painted at intervals, containing heads, not after the antique, but in the style of the fashionable dresses for the year in an English pocket-book: it is four stories high, containing seventy-three boxes, which are piled one over the other without columns or architecture. A gallery with one row of seats, projects before the lower boxes; the *salle* is lighted by five small chandeliers: the stage is about the size, and the house nearly the same width, with Colman's theatre in the Haymarket; but of a different shape, and much longer. The audience were very scanty; but we found the band, the performers, and the decorations very respectable. The entertainment consisted of La Viage in Grecia, translated from the little French opera of Palma. The chief singer is an Italian, but the operas are all performed in Spanish, by the king's order: after this followed a minuet fandangado, and afterwards the fandango performed with castanets by a male and female dancer; it is a mixture of dignity and passion which well accords with the Spanish character, and though its approaches to indecency must be allowed, it has considerable grace, and in spirit and effect it cannot be surpassed. The boxes of the grandees are ornamented with curtains of various colours: the royal family never visit any other theatre but that of the bull-fights. The Prince of Peace was in his box to-night; towards the close of the performance he was so heated, that a bason of water was brought him, in which he washed his face and hands. His figure is dignified, not unlike the Prince of Wales, but his countenance is remarkably dull and heavy.

19th. The palace of the Buen-Retiro is a low straggling building of plaister, with four towers and spires, surrounding a large court: it has rather the air of a barrack for soldiers than a royal residence. The suits of rooms are numerous, but neither handsome in their furniture or proportions; the walls for the most part are covered with indifferent pictures. Luca Giordano has done a great deal in this palace in his easy but inexpressive style. The antichamber, and the principal apartment called El Cason, are painted by him, the former representing the conquest of Gre-

nada; the latter allegorical emblems of the grandeur of the Spanish monarchy. There are also several pictures of Rubens, some extravagant, some few hunting-pieces well done: a painting or two by Peter Boert, highly pleasing; a fool, by Velasquez, admirable! The rest of the collection, which is immense, consists of stiff ancient, and insipid modern works; among the former the portraits of Ferdinand and his queen are to be remarked on account of the likeness. One of the halls contains a number of wooden models of Cadiz, Figueras, Gibraltar, Vera Cruz, &c. which are not generally shewn to foreigners; here too is the famous attack on Gibraltar in model.

The theatre is of a considerable size, and the stage well placed; but the chief ornaments, which are balustrades of brown wood, with glass between them, are in a wretched taste. Italian operas were performed here at a vast expense in the last reign; but since the fête given on the marriage of the present king, it has never been used.

The Buen-Retiro, which, though of different materials, resembles in many respects the old part of Fontainbleau, certainly ranks below every other royal palace we have seen on the continent. In a small garden adjoining is an equestrian bronze statue* of Philip IV. The poising of the mass is ingenious, as the horse is represented in the act of curvetting; and the whole has considerable merit, though not without stiffness. The gardens of the Buen-Retiro are open to the public; they consist of alleys of low trees, maintained with infinite care and waterings; but notwithstanding every possible attention, they are not, nor do they promise to be, luxuriant; they are, however, a delightful resort for the citizens of Madrid. In the neighbourhood of these the royal porcelain manufactory is carried on in a large white building; and near it is the national observatory.

The Prado was crowded this evening with company on foot and in carriages, the latter passing slowly in succession on one side of the broad walk. I have never seen so many together since I left England. They are of all tastes and fashions: the old Spanish, the open, and the Parisian; some with landscapes

* On the girth of the horse is inscribed "Petrus Tacca f. Florentiæ, anno salutis MDCXXXX." Tacca was a pupil of the celebrated John of Bologna; he was in great repute, and enjoyed many favours from the Grand Dukes Ferdinando II. and Cosmo II. I saw his tomb at Florence, in the chapel of his master, in the church of the Annunciata. The whole statue, which weighs 18,000 pounds, rests upon the hind legs and the tail: the mode by which this has been accomplished is, by making these perfectly solid, and the other parts hollow. The statue of Peter the Great, executed by Falconet, at Petersburg, is in a similar attitude, and is constructed in the same manner.—The inventories of the Retiro rate Tacca's work at 40,000 doubloons, which is a much larger sum than it cost originally.

painted on the pannels, others awkwardly encumbered with gilt ornaments; all drawn by mules, the postillions dressed in long coats and cocked hats. The dust they create, in spite of previous watering, almost choaks the walking company. The view of this wide prado, filled with people and carriages, and surrounded by trees and fountains, must certainly be ranked among the fine spectacles of Europe.

20th. We were obliged to rise at a quarter past five this morning to see the New Palace, according to the regulations I have lately mentioned. The exterior is one of those tasteless compositions of windows and pilasters of which the last century was so fertile, and which can only strike from their size, or dazzle by the multitude of their parts: columns and simplicity, the grand characteristics of ancient architecture, have, according to the practice of modern taste, been totally disregarded: nor has the architect by this deviation attained that richness which sometimes inposes on the mind in the absence of classical proportions. This new structure, however, has neatness, uniformity, and extent, to recommend it, and is in a commanding situation: in fact, it looks like a palace, and has in consequence an host of admirers *. The building is square, and surrounds a court-yard, into which there are two approaches; from one of them rises the grand stair-case, which is wide and lofty; a very noble work, and only second to that at Caserta †, which is without doubt the finest in Europe. The suite of rooms is very

* Madrid in ancient times, before it became the seat of government, contained an Alcazar or Royal Palace; the first foundation, attributed to Alonso VI. was destroyed by an earthquake. A second was erected by Henry II. which was enlarged and embellished by a series of monarchs, particularly Charles V. when he brought his court to Madrid. This curious edifice was reduced to ashes in 1734. It was proposed to rebuild it on a plan which should rival the first palaces in Europe. For this purpose, the Abate Felipe Iuvarra, a Sicilian, who had been employed by the king of Sardinia at Turin, was engaged to form a model. He was a disciple of Fontana, but he seems to have surpassed his master, since he proposed a number of insulated columns; though it must be confessed that he preferred the composite order. The principal front of his plan extended to 1700 feet; and the chief court was to be 700 by 400. The king, however, (Philip V.) insisted that the new palace should exactly occupy the site of the former; and death prevented Iuvarra's forming a second design. The business now devolved upon his pupil, Giovanni Baptista Sagueti of Turin, who produced the present fabric; in which, it is said, he kept his master's style in view: but the praise of the stair-case is due to Francisco Sabatini. The palace is built of the white stone of Colmenar; with a basement of granite; the whole arched over, to prevent its being again destroyed by fire. The four fronts are each 470 feet; and the height of the cornice is 100.—The court is about 140 feet square.

† Caserta, the principal palace of the king of Naples, is the production of Vanvetelli, an architect of great merit, and the last Italian name in that line which can be mentioned.

numerous, all handsomely furnished; but the reflection is striking, that after an extensive tour in France and Italy, this is the first royal palace we have found *furnished*. Versailles, Fontainbleau, the Palazzo Pitti at Florence, the Vatican, Monte Cavallo, Caserta, and Naples, are all plundered and desolate.

The state-apartments are large, well proportioned, and handsomely decorated: but it contains no vast gallery, and no instance of superior magnificence. The Sala de los Embaxadores, is the finest room of the whole, but it is not particularly striking; indeed the grandeur of this palace entirely consists in the continued suite of handsome and well-furnished apartments. Its principal and most valuable ornaments are its pictures; of which it contains a noble collection. The glasses of St. Ildephonso, and porcelain wares of the Madrid manufactory, decorate some of the rooms. Paris clocks, and others made at Madrid, are placed for ornament on some of the chimney-pieces; we did not however fail to observe above a dozen sturdy kitchen-clocks from London, received for use into different apartments. Among the pictures are some excellent Titians!! Two old men, by Velasquez!! Christ betrayed, by Rubens! Silk-spinners and peasants at the vintage, by Velasquez!!! Charles V. in his old age, in armour, on horseback, by Titian! Mercury and Argus, by Titian! Philip II. by Velasquez, a most admirable and characteristic portrait!!! Two pictures from Saints' histories, by Murillo, well painted, but without dignity! Sketches, by Rubens! Mengs has done a great deal in this palace, pictures, pannels, and ceilings. The Descent from the Cross, is the finest work I have seen of this artist; the Virgin in Tears, and the Dead Christ, could not be better: yet among his paintings here, we have instances of insipidity and stiffness; and his general fault of finishing too highly is almost always discernible. This palace has no gardens, and the view from its windows stretches far over the barren plains of Castile; the few trees which fill the hollow where the scanty Manzanares flows, are the only verdure in the prospect. No wonder that the green retreat of Aranjuez is the daily topic of wonder and admiration.

The Spanish bull-fights are certainly the most extraordinary exhibition in Europe; we were present at one of them this morning. The amphitheatre is just without the Puerta di Alcala; a very mean building for the metropolitan seat of the national amusement. The places were nearly all filled at half past nine, and, at ten the corregidor came into his box; upon which the trumpets sounded, and the people rose and shouted; not I believe from affection towards Senor Don Juan di Morales Guzmany Tovar, but from delight that the shew was to begin im-

mediately: after this the mayor of the alguizils, and two of that body, in black dresses, long wigs, Spanish hats and feathers, with a guard of cavalry, paraded the arena. Four men in black gowns then came forward, and read a proclamation, enjoining all persons to rest in their seats; upon their going out, the six bulls which were to be fought this morning were driven across, lead on by a cow, with a bell round its neck. The two piccadores now appeared, dressed in leathern gaiters, much padded about the legs, thick leathern breeches, silk jackets, covered with spangles and lace, and caps, with nets and tails behind, surmounted by broad-brimmed white hats: each rode a miserable hack, and carried in his hand a long pole, with a goad at the end. As soon as they were prepared, a door was opened and the first bull rushed in. We were soon undeceived as to the prevalent notion, that, from dexterity and other safeguards, the Spanish bull-fight is no longer a service of much danger: in the course of the contest I felt first alarmed for the men; then for the horses, having witnessed the adroitness of the one, and the sufferings of the other: soon the accidents of the men withdrew my pity from the beasts, and latterly, by a natural and dreadful operation of the mind, I began to look without horror on the calamities of both. The manner of the fight is thus:—the bull rushes in, and makes an attack severally upon the piccadores, who repulse him, he being always upon these occasions, wounded in the neck; after a few rencounters he becomes somewhat shy, but at the same time, when he does rush on, he is doubly dangerous. He does not as before turn aside when he feels the goad, but endeavours to conquer it; he follows up the attack, and frequently succeeds in overthrowing both horse and rider. When this happens, the attendants run up to carry off the latter, and, if possible to draw away the bull (by means of red cloaks) from the horse, which generally receives fatal wounds before he can rise up again. As long as the horse has strength to bear the piccador, he is obliged to ride him. This morning one of these wretched animals was forced to charge with his guts hanging in festoons between his legs! His belly was again ripped open by the bull, and he fell for dead; but the attendants obliged him to rise and crawl out! This seems the cruelest part of the business: for the men almost always escape, but the blood and sufferings of thirteen horses were exhibited in the short space of two hours: four men were hurt; one, who was entirely overturned with his horse upon him, was carried out like a corpse: but the spectators, totally disregarding this melancholy sight, shouted for his companion to renew the attack: another was overset against the partition-boards; a third had his horse and himself so completely tossed over, we thought he must inevitably be killed, but he saved him-

self by crossing his hands behind his head. The horses are all blinded, and their tameness under their agonies is astonishing. A rider never throws himself off till the horse is past recovery; he then falls on the opposite side from the bull, so that the horse acts as a sort of fortification to him. The bull, after his first rage and subsequent fury during many rounds, begins to feel weakness, and declines any further attacks on the horsemen; he even retreats before them: upon this a loud shout re-echoes through the theatre, and some of the attendants advance and stick his gored neck full of arrows, which cause him to writhe about in great torment: one this morning nearly overleaped the barriers. When the efforts he makes under these sufferings have considerably spent his strength, the corregidor makes a motion with his hand, and the trumpets sound as a signal to the matador to dispatch him. This is a service of great skill and bravery; for though the bull may have no inclination to attack the horsemen who have goaded and wounded him, his madness prompts him to destroy every one else. The matador advances with a red cloak in one hand and a sword in the other; he enrages the bull with the cloak, which in case of a failure assists his escape; at length getting opposite, the bull rushes forward and the sword pierces his spinal marrow. or what is more common, is buried to the hilt in his neck, upon which he turns aside, at first moaning, but a torrent of blood gushes from his mouth, he staggers round the arena, and falls; the trumpets sound, three mules ornamented with ribands and flags appear to drag the wretched victim out by the horns, and the horsemen prepare for the attack of a fresh animal.

In the evening the shew began at half past four, and ten bulls were brought forward; but the sport was not reckoned so good as in the morning; only two Andalusian bulls appeared, the rest were Catalans, who, being accustomed to feed in the same pastures as horses, do not like to attack them. Many of these, after entering, stared at the piccadores and kept aloof: to tame them, (as they had not been brought down by bleeding or exercise) before the matador approached, a new expedient was resorted to, most infamously cruel, namely, the covering the darts with sulphur and fire-works; the torments of these were so dreadful, that the animals, whose strength was fresh, raged about terribly, and the assistants were forced to use great agility to get from them. There were several hair-breadth escapes; one of the animals in pursuit of a man leaped the barrier of the arena, which is about eight feet high. Their strength by such efforts being gradually exhausted, they at last yielded to the dagger of the matador. The two Andalusian bulls made up for the others: in the first round a horse was killed, and the piccador was throwu

forwards and disabled. But the second Andalusian was still more furious, and made more tremendous attacks. In one of these he pinned the man and horse against the barriers, got his horns under the horse, and lacerated him dreadfully; in a moment afterwards he lifted him up, and threw the man with such force through one of the apertures (made for the escape of the attendants when pursued by the bull) as to kill him on the spot. He was borne past the box in which we were, with his teeth set, and his side covered with blood; the horse staggered out, spouting a stream of gore from his chest. The remaining piccador renewed the charge, and another came in with shouts to take the dead man's place. One of these had his horse's skin dreadfully ripped off his side, and when he breathed the entrails swelled out of the hole, to prevent which the rider got off and stuffed in his pocket-handkerchief. It was too plain to escape observation, that the men fought shy after the horrible accident of this evening. They have tin casings to their legs under the padding of their gaiters, the saddles rise before and behind in the ancient manner, and the stirrup is a sort of iron box for the foot. The amphitheatre was better attended in the morning than after dinner.

We were attracted this evening to the theatre de los Canos by the revival of La Buscona (the Female Sharper), a comedy of Lope de Vega, altered and modernized. We found a very numerous audience assembled, who were throughout remarkably attentive. The play was well got up in all the respects of performers, dresses, and scenery; it contained no buffoonery, and and there was less laughter than I expected: but when a burst took place, it was loud and general. The plot of the piece was a good deal after the English fashion, though with fewer incidents. The chief characters were a lover with a comic servant, and a woman (La Buscona) who makes love, and disappoints another of her sex. There were five acts, and each act had its unity of scene: it lasted about two hours and a half, and was followed by a *tonadilla* (a duet) and *saynete*, which is a bad imitation of French *divertissement*. The respectability of the performance of this evening, and the numbers and attention of the audience, shew that the drama has its admirers even at Madrid; yet the state of this amusement in the metropolis is very disgraceful to the national taste, which seems to look for no other gratification than what is afforded by bull-fights and religious mummeries.

21st. We walked this morning about a quarter of a mile from Madrid to the Puenti de Segovia, and from an eminence beyond it surveyed what is esteemed the finest view of the city. Madrid can only claim magnificence in two quarters, namely, the Prado

and the Calle di Alcala, the breadth of this street, and its advantageous situation on the slant of a hill, give it a very striking appearance*. The town in general is composed of brick houses, which are often plaistered over. They are seldom higher than those in London, and do not seem to be built with any great solidity. Many of the public edifices are of plain stone, but where architecture is attempted, it is always of the worst kind. The shops are mean, but not ill-supplied with the articles they sell. The grandees of Spain live in hotels in every respect inferior to those of the upper ranks in France and Italy; and indeed, are often smaller than the common houses of our nobility in London. The large palace of the duke of Alva must of course be excepted, which is four stories high, has twenty-seven windows in front, and seventeen on the side; and is, after the king's palace, the largest building in Madrid; it stands near the Prado, distinct, and walled round: the marks of fire and destruction are on it. It has been twice burnt by the mob; and the duchess now lives like her peers in the Calle di Alcala.

The duke of Medina Celi, who is the oldest title, and before the rise of the Prince of Peace, was the richest subject in Spain, has an immense house, without architecture, which not being more lofty than the common buildings in Madrid, has the appearance of a long street of houses. The palace of the duke of Grenada is more ancient: it is built of brick, two stories high, and though somewhat larger, is not unlike Winchester-House at Chelsea. Every window in the town hangs out linen and mat blinds, which form a principal feature in its prospects.

The two best general views of Madrid, are from the terrace near the Buen-Retiro, and from the high ground near the bridge of Segovia. In the former you have the foreground of the Prado, and in the latter the trees about the river and the new palace.

The great peculiarity of this metropolis, is its numberless little spires; at a distance they are insignificant, but on a nearer prospect they have a striking and very picturesque effect. We counted in the view from the bridge of Segovia, above seventy of them. Looking at the city on this side, notwithstanding the adequate splendour of the palace, which makes up about one fourth of

* This prospect is well described in the following lines:

Que á lo léjos campéa
Ya la Adnana Real, fabrica altiva
Que corona y remata.
La varia perspectiva
De Aquella inmensa Calle, enyo espácio
En un suave declivio se dilata.

the line of building in the prospect, we can hardly believe it to be the residence of the court, and the seat of government of so vast an empire. But the dulness and want of magnificence of Madrid, arises more from private, than from political causes; and is rather to be attributed to the apathy and unenterprising genius of the Spanish nobles, than to the absence of trade, or the poverty of individuals.

CHAP. VII.

ST. ILDEFONSO.—OLD CASTILE.—SEGOVIA.—CATHEDRAL.—ALCAZAR.—AQUEDUCT.—GUADARAMA MOUNTAINS. PARK OF THE ESCURIAL.—THE CONVENT.—THE CASA REALE.

21st. WE set out this evening in a coach with seven mules, to gratify our curiosity at St. Ildefonso, Segovia, and the Escurial. The evening was pleasant, but the night became cold as we approached the Guadarama mountains. Having rested two hours in a venta at their feet (five leagues and a half from Madrid), at four o'clock we began to ascend by an excellent road: the hills are on this side bleak and barren, often shewing excrescencies of rock, and in many places covered with large patches of snow; after passing the highest part which the road traverses, we descended into a vast chasm or valley, entirely clothed with a forest of pines; fine trees, and assuming more fantastic shapes than any I have seen before. The road continues to wind, among grand views of woods, hills, and snow, towards a lower rock, where the royal seat has been built: in our way to it, we passed several groves of sapling oaks made by the king; but the approach to St. Ildefonso is totally without grandeur or dignity. A narrow avenue leads at once to the antique façade of the palace; the effect of this is peculiar and striking, and well accords with the ideas the imagination forms of an old Spanish palace. In the centre is the church, with a dome and spires; and on each side, long wings of brick stretch forward, low, but extensive. We breakfasted at a neat posada, (Fonda de los Caballeros), and proceeded to inspect the apartments and gardens.

The palace contains no fine rooms or furniture, but has a numerous collection of pictures and statues. The queen's apartments are a suite of small rooms, which have lately been decorated with the best efforts of the paper manufactory of Madrid: in general, in ornamental compartments, and in some of them are imitations of drawing in Indian ink; the taste and execution of them advance as high as any thing of the sort I have seen any where. The rest of the apartments in the same story, have their white

walls hung with pictures; principally family portraits, which are stiff and ill done. Indeed the whole collection is very indifferent, though it contains some works of the great masters: among these is the portrait of our Charles I. by Vandyke, which has been greatly damaged. We remarked a highly finished French picture of Louis XIV. when duke de Berri, full of the expression of feeble mildness. There are also indifferent portraits of Louis XVI. Philip II. and V. and Charles III.

The principal rooms have London clocks, like those we observed in the new palace of Madrid.

On a table in the bed-chamber of one of the infantas, we saw a representation of the nativity in wax, with two large altar candles on each side; and in the antiroom a confession-box is placed near the door. Below stairs, (the palace is only two stories high) is a long suite of unornamented rooms, with white plaister walls, in which the celebrated collection of statues is arranged. Here I experienced a greater disappointment than in the pictures, having heard much more of them. The gallery would hardly support a comparison with any one of the Roman palaces. It has, however, a few fine things. The groupe of Castor and Pollux, as it is called, is well known by the numerous casts dispersed throughout Europe; it is pleasing and graceful, though I think it has been too much praised. A fawn has considerable merit; we also admired a statue which is like, but inferior to that which bears the name of Cleopatra, at the Louvre. Danaë, the mutilated remains of the muses, with beautiful drapery, and Faith veiled, are all worthy of praise. There is a good bust of Gordian; and an altar, handsomely sculptured, which is supposed to have contained the ashes of Caligula. A bas-relief of a head, with the name Olympia under it, has a very mild pleasing expression. The rest, among which are several modern works, are below mediocrity. In the bust room is a collection of Egyptian deities in black basaltes; and a statue of Abundance, who is represented in an advanced state of pregnancy.

The front of the palace next the garden has been modernized with larger windows, and four "slices" of Corinthian columns; but no grandeur has been accomplished: indeed, it would have been nearly impossible to have produced much effect from this long brick building, only two stories high. The gardens are said to have cost seven millions, from the barrenness of the spot, and the distance from whence the new earth was brought. Some persons have compared them with those of Versailles, which, though detestable to the eye of taste, must certainly be allowed to be the perfection of stiff French gardening. Indeed they are not only the perfection, but, I believe, the sole effort of the kind, that has any claim to magnificence and grandeur of effect. There

is no medium! Without vastness of extent and ornament, which are accompanied by the ideas of great labour and extent, this style falls at once into a contemptible mixture of dulness and meanness. The gardens of St. Ildefonso have a number of fountains, and a stair-case for a cascade; but the only pleasing part of it (for it has shady and pleasing walks), is where you get out of sight of these, and see, "while the dog star rages," through the overhanging trees, the side of the mountain patched with snow. It was not very cool at twelve o'clock, the day being remarkably calm; but every gale that breathed, partook of the snowy influence of the mountain. The fountains are situated in centres, whither the straight walks tend: they are all inferior in size to the largest at Versailles; but one of them, a figure of Fame, is said to raise water higher than any in Europe. But with regard to fountains, it is the column of water they raise, and not the height to which a slender stream can be squirted, that renders them stupendous or beautiful; and on this account, those of St. Peter's, and the Fontana di Previ, at Rome, have been preferred before all the *jet-d'eaux* in the world. The gardens are not more than two miles in circumference. Many of the flowers were now in bloom; indeed, the king almost meets a new spring, when he seeks refuge here in July; and notwithstanding the want of extent, brilliancy, and magnificence, he must consider this shady retreat in the mountains of Guadarama, as supplying him with more real pleasure than half the appendages of his crown. The glass manufactory of St. Ildefonso has produced much larger glasses than any other in Europe; but they are complained of as being of a dead and black colour.

The road to Segovia, the tower of whose cathedral we already discovered, is over a slanting plain, which is excellent for sheep pasturage; having left the mountains behind, we entered on a flat and open country.

The face of Old Castile presents an arid appearance, very seldom variegated by groves of pines.

Segovia is a little city, with three prime curiosities; a perfect Roman aqueduct, a Moorish castle, and a large cathedral, besides a shew of antiquity in almost every street. As we entered we observed a new amphitheatre for bull-fights, building principally, no doubt, for the court of St. Ildefonso; and a battery, a place of exercise for the cadets of artillery, whose school is established in the Alcazar. The suburb is almost as large as the city; we passed through it eagerly, had a glimpse of the aqueduct, entered the gates, and soon after landed at the best inn we have seen in Spain: it is built round a large court, with galleries supported on ancient pillars. We lost no time in beginning with the antiquities: the cathedral came first, a building which would puzzle any connoisseur in Gothic archi-

fecture extremely, being a piece of modern Gothic of the 16th century; it is large and lofty, with an high tower and little domes, retaining in its outline much of the Gothic character, but very plain and unlike any particular style of that species of building, and perfectly dissimilar to the florid manner which obtained in England during the 15th century.

The Alcazar, situated on a small rock, next the river, at the end of the town, is the most picturesque object in the world. The great tower has been lately cleaned, which rather modernizes its appearance; but the effect of the whole mass of turrets, chambers, and spires, as viewed from behind, beyond the foss, is as romantic as possible. The front of the castle is covered by rings worked in the plaister with which it is covered, an ornament of Moorish origin. We visited three chambers within, which are well worthy of notice for their splendour and peculiarity; the roofs having been gilded by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, who kept their court here at the time when the first gold arrived after the discovery of America: one of them we could not see perfectly, on account of a false ceiling which is suspended below it; but it appeared to be very magnificent, though in a heavy taste. The second is perfectly beautiful; the pattern is Moorish, and consists of twisted and plaited bands, such as are seen in the illuminations of korans, and on the capitals of Moorish columns. Nothing can surpass the splendour and gracefulness of the effect. The third chamber has a rich roof, with flowers in compartments; beneath which, round the sides, are magnificent gilt niches, containing the figures of the kings and queens of Castile till the time of Ferdinand. The room is large and sumptuous, and the splendour and admirable preservation of the gilding remarkably striking. Here are some models of Figueras and other fortifications; and two excellent likenesses of the present king and queen. Beyond this room is a passage with a hanging gilt roof, in the Moorish style. We were shewn the room where the cadets dine, and the kitchen. At length the iron grate and internal door of the great tower were unlocked, and we ascended, looking at every story into prisons rendered famous by the fictions of La Sage. The great tower is surrounded at the top by hanging turrets; from its leaden roof we reviewed the city by the splendid tints of sunset; it is an interesting spot, but the country around it is bleak and desolate; and without being in the melancholy humour of Gil Blas, I must perfectly subscribe to his opinion of the prospect. L'Eremante me parut qu'un ruisseau; l'ortie seule et le chardon paroient sur ses bords fleuris; et la pretendue *vallèe delicieuse* n'offrit à ma vue que des terres, dont la plupart etoient incultes.

June 23. We this morning surveyed the celebrated aque-

duct of Segovia, which stretches across the suburbs to the higher ground on which the city stands. It consists of two ranges of arches; the lower very lofty, and about twelve feet wide. When seen in profile, it is particularly striking; but Swinburne could not have reflected, when he preferred it to the Pont du Garde. Aqueducts, independent of their situation, attain magnificence from their extent, the grandeur of their arches, and the massiveness of their materials; in all these respects, this work is inferior to the famous remain of the south of France. The arches are narrower, and the granite, though of a grey colour, is divided into too many small parts to produce an equally striking effect. The upper stories of the houses of Segovia, project over the lower, and are supported by ancient pillars, made in a barbarous taste, with capitals carved into leaves, flowers, animals, &c. which might probably have been prevalent when Ferdinand kept his court here in the 15th century. Several of the churches of this city are built in a manner resembling our Saxon style. On leaving the town we traversed the wide sheep-walks in the neighbourhood; across which, the towers of the cathedral, and the roofs of the Alcazar, were to be discerned for a long time. To the left, we observed the cadets practising manœuvres according to the French system, with the flying artillery, which has lately been introduced. At length we arrived at the Venta di San Rafael, at the foot of the Guadarama mountains, where we obtained an indifferent dinner; and afterwards ascended among groves of sapling oaks and pines, though we observed that the greater part of these hills are bleak and without trees. Pillars are placed at certain distances, to shew the direction of the road when the ground is covered with snow in winter. We passed the summit, where a statue of a lion is erected, and descended into a pleasant valley full of verdure, and ornamented with trees, which afforded a striking contrast to the barren face of Old Castile. In this pleasant spot, surrounded with pastures, stands the poor and dirty village of Guadarama, which gives a name to the mountains. Passing this, where we bought some bread of an old woman, who told us "to live a thousand years," we entered the park or chase of the Escurial; a considerable tract, covered with cork, carob, and small oak and ash-trees. It cannot vie either in the beauty, or the picturesque grouping of trees, with an English forest; but it has a fine wild look, especially where the mountains come into the prospect. We observed several herds of deer, and a large wolf was seen by the muleteers. As we approached the nook in which the convent stands, the trees and verdure gradually left us.

It was late when we arrived; our curiosity for the present therefore was rather excited than gratified, by the appearance

of some dimly-seen towers, and a dome rising over the little town, where we found a very comfortable posada. The bell of the monastery roused us after dinner, and we made a moonlight expedition to see this famous structure. We reached it through a narrow and dirty street, and our eyes wandered over a vast expanse of dull unornamented buildings; but we returned fully assured, that we should be better pleased in the morning.

24th. *The Escurial.*—Eight o'clock found us surveying the exterior of this celebrated edifice, which, after all the puffs of the Spaniards, and the boasts of travellers, must be confessed to be nothing more in appearance, as well as reality, than a vast dull convent; and if the four towers at the corners, and the dome, which is not more considerable than those to be seen in the smallest towns in Italy, were to be removed, it would have the look of a great barrack or manufactory.

The walls of grey granite are perforated with thousands of little windows; and no ornament is attempted, except about the chief entrance, where some clumsy half columns of the Doric order are plaistered against the building. A square form is the worst that can be chosen for a building of expence and grandeur; but the extent of this fabric is not only wasted and lessened to the eye, by the adoption of this shape, but a great part of its structure is entirely hid, from its having been modelled in the figure of a gridiron, to gratify the caprice or superstition of Philip II. The only place from whence an idea can be gained of its vast extent, is from the mill above it, where all the roofs are perfectly visible. It has been characterised with great justice, as a quarry above ground. The buildings here compacted together in a lump, would, if stretched into a line, or formed into a body with wings, have even now astonished, by their extent, a traveller who had visited other countries. We must account for the excessive admiration of the Escurial, by considering the era in which it was constructed, when Versailles, St. Peter's, and many other vast fabrics of later times, were as yet unknown to Europe.

Passing the great gate we entered an oblong court, not very large, having the front of the church at the end of it, ornamented with some half columns of the same order as the entrance; with the further addition of some wretched statues of the kings of Israel. The church itself is a plain solid fabric, of considerable grandeur; the strength with which it is built, and indeed the whole of that edifice, which is composed of Guadarama granite, is amazing. The Doric pilasters within the church are fluted; but the painted ceilings of Luca Giordano, &c. little accord with the solidity and plainness of the structure. All the cupboards of the

treasure and relics were open to-day, it being the festival of St. John the Baptist. The choir, as is common in Spanish convents, is raised above the door. The grandest objects which present themselves upon entering the church, are, the high altar, and the monuments within its precincts; these have indeed a very striking effect: the altar-piece consists of the four orders of architecture, erected according to the taste of the time one over the other, richly carved, with paintings between them. On each side of the sanctuary in which this is placed, are the cenotaphs of Charles V. and Philip II. on which the kneeling figures of those monarchs and their families are represented as large as life, dressed in gilt robes, with their faces devoutly turned to the altar. The friar appointed by the king for the purpose of attending strangers, carried us through the church, and the other parts of the convent; he at first took us to the upper cloister, where the finest part of the whole building is discovered: from its windows we looked into a court, called El Patio de los Evangilistas, which is perfectly regular, and has an air of considerable grandeur. The architecture is not unlike the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, but the effect of this is more striking, from its extending round the four sides of the court. The collection of paintings distributed in different parts of this convent, is sufficient of itself to reward a journey to Madrid. Raphael shines here in more than usual pre-eminence: after him Vandyke and Rubens have high claims on our admiration, as well as a number of other masters, whose names and works I will notice as shortly and distinctly as I am able.

The Upper Cloister—Contains many paintings by Luca Giordano; they are not, however, entitled to much praise: in ceilings this artist is sufficiently clear, brilliant, and pleasing; great force and expression are not particularly required; but in his easel pictures he necessarily aims at these, and falls unfortunately into an extravagance, which reminds me of some of the worst efforts of Spagnolletto, though without his strength of light and shade. The Murder of Innocents is the best of Luca Giordano's labours in this convent, and the Ass in his picture of Balaam seems absolutely to speak! An Holy Family, by a Spanish artist called Mudo, from his being dumb, is painted with some vulgarity, but with great expression! Lot and his Daughter, by Guercino! Jacob and his Flock by Spagnolletto!!

Two Chambers—Contain a Virgin and Child, in a very free and admirable style, by Leonardo da Vinci!!! The same subject by Raphael!!! A Crucifixion, with considerable spirit, by Albert Durer!!! Saviour's Head, as highly finished as possible, by Leonardo da Vinci!!! Virgin and Child, by the same!

The Chamber of the Prince of Asturias.—A portrait of Philip II. by Pantoja, which is unlike the celebrated picture of Velasquez, in the palace at Madrid; but it probably is a more exact resemblance, as Pantoja was contemporary with his subject. There are in the same room good likenesses of the King and Queen, and a picture of a Monk writing, by a Spanish artist.

The Anti-room to the Treasury—contains a large Allegory, by Titian, which has some fine parts! and a dead Christ, by the same master!

The Cabinet or Treasury—is full of miniature wonders and curiosities. The miniature Nativity, attributed to Buonarotti, is clearly designed, but inexpressive. A small ivory head of Christ, ascribed to the same, is excellent! Miniature of the Virgin and dead Christ, on marble, by Annibal Caracci!! a companion (a Monk and Vision) by the same! A rich Cross, ornamented with an immense topaz. The Body of one of the Innocents murdered by Herod, in a glass case: this seems rather to have been a fœtus than a child of two years' growth, as our guide asserted. Another remarkable relic is also preserved here, namely, one of the Vases presented to Christ by the three kings. We were shewn also a MS. parchment book on Baptism, and an autograph of St. Augustin.

A very solemn mass, accompanied by a fine organ, began as we were descending into

THE ANTI-SACRISTY AND SACRISTY,

where the monks were robing themselves to make a grand procession into the church. Here we remarked St. Peter and Paul, by Spagnoletto! A Madonna, by Andrea del Sarto! Christ disputing with the Doctors, by Rubens!! and St. Jerome, by Vandyke!! The altar-piece of the sacristy is a representation of Charles II. of Spain kneeling before the Host at the Fête Dieu. The King, the Nobles, the Priests, &c. are all portraits. It is an excellent painting, the work of Paulo Coello, a Portuguese, who has some others of considerable merit in the church!!! But it is hardly fair for these or any other pictures to be hung in the same apartment with two of the best efforts of the inimitable Raphael, in which he seems almost to have surpassed himself, and arrived at the highest perfection of the art. The paintings I allude to are, the Visitation of the Virgin!!!!! and the Madonna de la Perta!!!! which was purchased, with some others of Charles the First's collection, in England, for 40,000l. by the ambassador of Philip II. I will enlarge further on these interesting subjects, when I have mentioned the other famous Raphael in possession of this convent.

In an interior room there is an highly worked *ciborium* of

gold and precious stones.—We now began to discover, that whatever were the merits of our reverend *Cicerone*, he could not have been selected from the brotherhood for his taste or knowledge in the fine arts; he carried us immediately from these glorious Raphaels into

THE LOWER CLOISTER,

where he shewed us some wretched daubings, by Romulo Cincinnato, upon which he dwelled for a considerable time, and told us that we should esteem ourselves particularly fortunate; for had it not been a festival, the shutters which inclose them would not have been open. The great staircase which ascends from the cloister, is built of massive granite; but it is neither remarkable for its beauty or grandeur. The roof is painted with representations of the Battle of St. Quintin, the Building of the Escurial, and the Apotheosis of Philip II. executed in a brilliant and pleasing manner by Luca Giordano. From this we proceed along a number of passages, from whence we had views into the smaller and more dreary courts of the Gridiron Building, and after many turnings and windings arrived at the door of the library. This is a large apartment, in which the ceiling makes as great a figure as the books; it is coved and painted; but it is too much of an arch to accord in proportion with the walls of the room. The printed books are here arranged on shelves, which abound, as usual, with folios of scholastic divinity. The MSS. are kept in a chamber above. The catalogue of those in the Latin and Greek languages has long been known to the world; and an account of the remains of the invaluable Arabic collection which escaped the fire of 1671 (at which time the greatest part were consumed), was edited about thirty years ago at the expence of the court, by the learned Casiri. Europe is not therefore, as is frequently asserted, entirely without light respecting the treasures of this celebrated deposit; and the plan of gradually translating the Arabic works, is still carried on by the government.—The Treatise on Agriculture, written by an Arabian of the twelfth century, which is mentioned by Gibbon *, has lately been published: it contains much curious matter, and shews that the mode of irrigation which promotes the astonishing fertility of the plain of Valencia, has descended to the modern Spaniards, from the practice of the Moors, who probably derived it from Egypt. It were to be wished here, as well as in the Herculaneum MSS. at Portici, that more persons were employed, and that the publications succeeded each other with greater rapidity, that the present generation might have some chance of benefiting from the smothered lights which they have perhaps on

* Hist. vol. v. page 380

their possession. The convent libraries of Spain are often represented as objects of the greatest curiosity; but I much doubt whether a search into them would tend much to the information of mankind; though the archives of Valladolid, towards which Robertson turned a wistful eye, would throw a strong light on a most interesting part of the History of the World.

The library of the Escurial contains portraits of Charles V. and Philip II. and several models of ships of their age.

We now repassed an hundred passages, descended the stairs, and entered a long room, which is fitted up with an altar and stalls, and was used as a chapel before the great church was finished.

LA IGLESIA VIEJA.

The altar-piece, representing the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, is by Titian, but has not any very distinguished excellence; a Dead Christ near it, by the same master, is of considerable merit; a portrait of Philip II. the same countenance as that in the chamber of the Prince of Asturias, but at a more advanced age; and another of Charles V. by Pantoja, A.D. 1599. Our guide now undrew a curtain, and revealed to us the admirable painting of Raphael, which is known all over Europe by the name of La Madonna de la Pesce!!!!! But it was now eleven o'clock, which called him to the refectory; we were therefore hurried away from a spot to which we felt almost rooted, with a promise that he would be ready for us again at two. Having ordered our dinner at twelve, we took a fatiguing walk to the hill above the convent, and round its walls; dined most sumptuously at the posada, and as the clock struck two, were awaiting the friar at the place of rendezvous: he had stationed a person there to inform him of our arrival, who in a few minutes brought him to us, rubbing his eyes and yawning, just awoke from his siesta. He carried us round the upper Cloister into

THE CHAPTER-ROOM,

and the two adjoining apartments. The ceilings of these are covered and prettily painted with arabesque ornaments: among the pictures we distinguished a Madonna, by Vandyke! Holy Family, by Raphael; the same groupe, but an inferior painting to that in the Louvre gallery!! Conversion of St. Paul, by Palma Vecchio!! Virgin gazing with delight on Christ, by Vandyke!! Dead Christ, with the Virgin and Mary Magdalen, by Reubens: this is one of the finest groupes and finest paintings in the world; the Virgin is quite the *mater dolorum*; her pallid face and agony could not be better expressed; the colour of Christ's flesh is admirable. There can be no doubt that this picture ranks immediately after the three glorious Raphaels in this collection!!!!

The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, expressed naturally, but without much dignity, byVandyke! a Madonna, byGuido! The Crown of Thorns, by Vandyke! St. Paul's Head, by Guido! St. Peter's Head, by the same! A whole length of St. James, by Spagnoletto! St. Jerome, by Guercino! The sons of Jacob shewing their father the bloody vest of Joseph, full of force and good painting, byVelasquez!! Christ and Peter, byVandyke!! A Magdalen, by the same!!! St. Roch, by Spagnoletto! St. Sebastian, by the same! The Binding of Christ, by Peligrino Tibaldi, has some good parts! These apartments are used for the sleevees, and the ministers, when the court is at the Escurial.

We now descended to the Pantheon, the burial-place of the sovereigns of Spain, which is constructed under the church, in the centre of the building; it is approached by a marble passage, on one side of which is a vault, where the bodies are left to decay before they are placed in the sarcophagi which are destined to receive them.—The Pantheon of the Escurial has been absurdly supposed to be a copy of the Pantheon of Rome, whereas no two buildings could hardly be more dissimilar; this being an *octagon* building, entirely of marble: six of the sides have shelves, with sarcophagi on them, each side containing four: the two remaining sides are occupied by the altar and the door, which has two sarcophagi over it: the whole is decorated with pilasters, and carving, but it is too small to justify the magnificent descriptions which travellers have given of it. The kings are to fill one half of the sarcophagi, and the queens the other; seven of the former, and the same number of the latter, among whom is Anna Regina, who the friar told us was our queen Mary, have already gained their stations. Charles III. still remains in the adjoining vault. The present king has visited this place; but it is said the queen has never been prevailed upon to see it. Her character does not, perhaps, lead her to contemplate the idea of mortality with peculiar complacency; and the spot, and the very receptacle of our bones being shewn, must renovate the certainty of death in the most awful manner.

We were permitted for some time to enjoy the three great pictures of Raphael. I was not long in making a preference; and yet, upon turning to the others, my resolution was sometimes staggered. The finest feelings of love and admiration, and almost of adoration, are excited by the inimitable representation of the Visitation. In this picture the Virgin expresses a modesty which cannot be surpassed; and her face glows with a beauty perfectly celestial: as a contrast to this, the aged and finely marked countenance of Elizabeth, adds every effect possible, and her lips are indeed speaking words of high import.

The Madonna della Perla, is far more brilliant in its colours

ing than either of the other pictures. The leading trait of the last was *modesty*; this has *maternal tenderness*. The Virgin's face is admirably fine, and fully gives the intended expression: the aid of contrast too is, as before, afforded by the figure of Elizabeth, old and haggard, who sits by her side, while the infant Jesus, more beautiful and smiling than I can express, is springing from her arms, to play with John; in fact he appears leaping from the canvass: the effect of light and shade was never more inimitably managed; the light resting on the Virgin's forehead, is finely conceived; and the richness of colouring throughout, adds greatly to the effect of the whole.

The Madonna della Pesce expresses *majesty*. It is a transcendant picture, on a most extraordinary subject: St. Jerome is reading the bible to the Virgin, and has fixed upon that part which relates the adventures of Tobit and the fish; by way of confirming the history, or for some other reason, an angel introduces Tobit with the fish in his hand, who, as may be supposed, is a little frightened to find himself suddenly "in such a presence;" especially as the Virgin assumes any thing but a gracious air to receive him. During this action the child is employed in stretching out his arms to catch the fish as a plaything. This picture has, without doubt, more good points about it, than either of the other two, arising from the greater variety and complication of the subject, and the greater number of figures introduced. The Virgin's face is very fine, but it rather expresses *hauteur* and disdain, than calm and beneficent majesty. The countenance of the angel is the best in the picture; it is perfectly of a "celestial mould." Fear and hesitation are admirably pourtrayed in the features of Tobit; and a fine contrast is exhibited in the venerable person of Jerome, to the youth and beauty of the other objects. The colouring is excellently managed, and the grouping is admirable, but the subject is awkward, and somewhat worse than uninteresting: in reviewing it, the eye is gratified, while the mind feels confused and disappointed.—As all the subjects are fully accomplished by the wonderful hand of Raphael, I cannot, for an additional point of painting or two, prefer that in which I only admire the painter, to that where, as in the Visitation, his art co-operates with the subject to affect me with the most sublime emotions of intellectual pleasure. It seems extraordinary that as yet we are not possessed of any good engraving of any of those interesting works: that by Bartolozzi, which is published in Twisse's Travels, is miserably deficient in every part of the expression of the original, and seems rather to have been an engraving from a work of Cipriani, than from Raphael. At present a Spanish artist is engaged in preparing plates of them; but excepting

Molés, there is no one upon whose talents any great expectations can be formed.

The friar with difficulty withdrew us from these invaluable treasures; and taking us to his chamber, where he refreshed us with wine, he offered to accompany us to the Casa-Reale, the royal pleasure house, which is situated in the park of the Escurial, at a little distance from the convent.—The friar's apartment was what the Spaniards call a sala con alcova—a room, with a recess for a bed in it. The windows command a noble prospect of the neighbouring country; immediately beneath them is a wide terrace, ornamented with a garden set out in the old fashion of stiff parterres: and beyond this the eye ranges over a free and extensive park, every where covered with masses of short trees, shewing in several parts, ponds and reservoirs of water, and backed by a bleak ridge of the Guadarama mountains; the whole forming a wild and very grand view, which announces the residence of a monarch much more than any part of the building itself. Accompanied by the friar we descended the hill from the convent, and soon after entered the garden which surrounds the Casa-Reale; it is full of young trees, which, like those at Madrid and Aranjuez, are regularly watered every evening. In other respects, it has nothing remarkable, except the hot-house, which is one of the shabbiest I have ever seen. The exterior of the villa promises nothing either of extent or magnificence; but upon entering we were astonished at the number of rooms it contained, all of which are fitted up in the most elegant and perfect taste. The walls and ceilings are painted after patterns which have an excellent general effect; and the whole house unites an air of comfort with its splendour, which, according to our guide, rendered it an object of envy to every Englishman he had shewn it to. The rooms, excepting two, which are of handsome proportion, are small; the walls ornamented with a profusion of cabinet pictures, the greater part of which are of the Flemish school; in the chief apartments there are several of a larger scale. In the first room, near the entrance, is an admirable portrait of Velasquez, by himself!! and another of Murillo, by himself! a Head, by Moralez, called El Divino. I have seen but few of the works of this artist; his finishing is very high, like Carlo Dolce, but he seems deficient in force and expression. A Head, by Vandyke! A Magistrate, by the same, has a fine mellowness of colour, and is one of the best heads I have any where seen!!!! An Empress of Germany, by the same!!! A Madonna, by Murillo! the same subject, by the same artist!! These are well painted, but without characteristic dignity. Murillo is an excellent painter; his view of nature seems to have been as true as possible; but of ideal

beauty he had hardly any notion. This judgment is formed from what I have seen at Madrid and the Escurial; but the great treasury of his works, is the Hospital de la Caridad, at Seville, where he painted after his last visit to Rome.—Among the other pictures of the Casa-Reale, I remarked a winged figure of Prodigality, by Mengs! a graceful and pleasing work, though deficient in expression. The Conversion of St. Paul, and Death of Julian, by Luca Giordano, exhibit a boldness which reaches to extravagance; Apostles, copied after Spagnoletto, by Murillo! A Vision, by the same: near this we remarked, as a representation of the most ordinary vulgarity, St. Catherine, by Domenicino!! The Casa is two stories, high; the upper rooms form a suite of cabinets or boudoirs, ornamented with the most exquisite elegance: one in particular should be noticed, which contains most beautiful and exact copies in miniature, of all the celebrated paintings of Europe—the Madonnas della Leggiola della Pesce, della Perla; the Transfiguration of Raphael; Guido's Magdalen; the Holy Family, and Notte of Correggio; the Communion of St. Jerome, by Domeniemo, &c. &c.: and the adjoining room is fitted up with the celebrated coloured prints from Raphael's Loggia, pilasters, &c.: slabs of Biscay, Aragon, and Grenada marble, are distributed in different apartments, one of which is almost entirely fitted up with specimens from the various quarries of Spain. There are several sea-pieces, by Vernet; one of which was a present from the Gallery of Versailles, and is, perhaps, the finest work of that exquisite master!! Near it is a Conversion of St. Paul, by Murillo!! One of the apartments is fitted up with medallions, and ornaments of Madrid porcelain; but these are not particularly well executed: the walls of the staircase are painted with the Wars of Grenada, and Surrender of Minorca by the English. In the other rooms we noticed a St. Bruno, by Rembrandt!! St. John, by Murillo! and a Magdalen, in the style of the Italian school, which they attribute to the former master! This delicious retreat, which, though smaller, is to be preferred to the *Petit Trianon* of Versailles, is visited almost daily by the royal family, during their residence at the Escurial in the autumn. Its situation might be improved; but it is agreeable, considering the country, and nothing can be more beautiful and perfect than its internal arrangement and decoration.

As we returned slowly to the Escurial, the friar endeavoured to draw us into a political discussion, for which he proved himself eminently qualified, by mistaking Lord Whitworth for the prime minister of England, thinking London was surrounded by the sea, and that wherever a well was dug in England salt water was immediately found. He spoke of the Prince of Peace, and

said, that it was his opinion that the French had given him that holy and appropriate title, merely to bring the Christian religion into contempt*. The front of the Escurial is turned towards the mountain; the pleasantest apartments therefore are those of the back part of the building, where the handle of the gridiron projects; these all look towards the park, and command the noble prospect I have before described. They are occupied by the court during their residence here; but externally they present the same little windows and monastic appearance as the rest of the buildings. There are stork's nests in almost every stack of chimnies of the Escurial; the breeding of these birds is encouraged by the monks; and their majestic sailing through the air, around the convent, adds greatly to the solemn effect of the scene. There are three hundred Jeromite friars in this assembly: the dress is something like that of the Dominicans, white, with black hoods, &c. but their clean-shaven heads, with merely a slight ring of hair, render them the neatest-looking order I have yet met with. The town of the Escurial, like those of the other *sitios*, is, in the absence of the court, like a place after the plague. There are a few good houses, some of which are unfinished; a long line of building on one side of the convent, is the residence of the ministers, and of those formerly called the ambassadors of the family, that is, of France, Naples, Parma, &c. An hospital for infants is built at the foot of the mountain, opposite the front of the convent; and between these is a dull walk, which serves for a parade during the time the court is here. As usual, there is a place for bull-fights near the town.

Having finished the sights of this interesting but fatiguing day, our muleteer promised to be ready for us at half past twelve the same night: we retired to bed at eight, and at the appointed time found him as good as his word. Soon after our departure we lost our way in the dark; but at half after eight o'clock arrived safely in the metropolis, having performed about twenty-nine leagues (one hundred and sixteen miles), between Tuesday evening and Saturday morning, and seen some of the most interesting objects in Spain.

* The title Principe de la Paz, either signifies the Prince of Peace, or the Prince of the Peace; but as it is always understood by the Spaniards in the latter sense, and as our language is capable of the distinction, we should undoubtedly translate it in this manner. It was conferred by the court on the upstart Godoy, who had already arrived at the rank of duke, on the occasion of his making peace between France and Spain, in 1794. The title, however, notwithstanding the opinion of the monk of Escurial, is not new in Spain; for I find, at the beginning of the last century, that the negociations between the court of Madrid and this country were carried on by the Marques de la Paz.

In the evening we attended the theatre De los lanos Peral, a translation of the little French opera La Visitandine, was represented. I had seen it performed at the Feydeau, in Paris; but here, on account of the difference of manners, and, I may say, of religion, several essential alterations took place; for instance, the nunnery was changed into a boarding-school, and the humorous character of the Capuchin into a ridiculous physician: it was, upon the whole, well performed, and the fandango followed with its usual spirit.

26th. I saw to-day at the house of the Danish minister two most admirable drawings by Cuype, who is perhaps the first draughtsman in Europe; one of these is composed of an Italian lake, surrounded by a wood, embosomed in which stands the great temple of Pæstum; the whole is infinitely varied and contains several beautiful points: but the other is a piece of the most inconceivable richness; it represents a meandering river, which at length loses itself in the sea: on its banks are ancient tombs, temples, altars, and towns, intermingled with groves of beautiful trees and rocks of the most picturesque form. The aerial perspective is inimitably managed, every tree is a distinct portrait, yet the general effect is beyond every thing I have seen; indeed, I believe there is not a spot so rich and so perfectly romantic to be found among the works of nature.

The hour of dining among the foreign ministers is three o'clock, many of the Spanish nobility dine still earlier; in the evening the gentlemen attend the ladies either in their coaches on the Prado, or to walk in the Botanic Gardens. About ten o'clock different houses are thrown open for the reception of company; balls are given occasionally, but the *tertullias*, which answer in some respects to the *assemblies* of London, take place every evening. A tertullia is, however, a more varied and less expensive entertainment than an English assembly: the only refreshment offered is iced-water, which is eat with long spongy cakes. The company in general converse, or play cards, or rouge et noir; and it is not reckoned surprising or ill-bred to read or draw in these circles, but I never met with any instances of such occupations.

The tertullia which I attended this evening was an easy and pleasant society, the rooms were now crowded, and conversation (properly so called) was supported by several persons: some Americans and Frenchmen were of the party; the former described the wonders of their country, the fortifications discovered in the forests of America, and the traces of what should seem a former more advanced state of civilization; from thence we got to extinct volcanoes and the lavas of Mount Vesuvius, a topic which exactly suited the Gallic *savans*, and upon which

they did not fail to give vent to all well known plausible, though refuted arguments, till christianity trembled in the scale; at length the Pope's nuncio was opportunely announced, which put an end to the discussion, and the Frenchmen betook themselves to the gambling table.

CHAP. VIII.

ROAD TO TOLEDO.—THE CITY.—FONDA.—LORENZANA.—BUILDINGS.—EVE OF ST. PETER.—SPANISH ORGANS.—TREASURES,—ALCAZAR.—LISBON.—CINTRA.

JUNE 26th. AT six o'clock in the evening I set forth on my way to Toledo. The horse which was brought for me would probably have been thought unworthy of a Piccador at a bull-fight, and my servant was obliged to bestride another miserable Rosinante with a sore back. On leaving the gates of Madrid, a traveller finds himself as completely in the country, as if he were an hundred leagues from the metropolis. I crossed the Manzanares by the Puente de Toledo, which is the handsomest of the bridges which lead to the city: in passing forwards, I was convinced of the truth of an observation which, I believe, is made by Mr. Dillon, that the land around Madrid, notwithstanding its desert appearance, is almost every where in cultivation; and the city is in fact surrounded by a number of villages which are concealed from the eye by being generally built in hollow places. The great road from Madrid to Toledo is through Aranjuez, a distance of about fifteen leagues; I proceeded by a shorter route across the country, of twelve leagues, which is equal to fifty English miles. At ten o'clock we put up in the venta de Terajon, which afforded me some bad wine and water, and a most suspicious bed.

27th. After tossing uncomfortably for a few hours, on a mattress which sent forth its active miriads to murder sleep, I was called about two o'clock, and soon after proceeded on my journey. A few leagues from Terajon I entered a small town through a perfect, and the first Moorish arch I have seen in Spain. Another village afforded some chocolate for breakfast, but the increasing heat warned me to hasten forwards, as five leagues yet remained. The country now began to get richer, though entirely destitute of trees: when the day cleared, the hills behind Toledo discovered themselves, and I was prepared to admire the romantic situation in which the city is placed. This however, is not seen to advantage in this approach; but how shall I describe my disappointment at the mean and miserable appearance of the city itself! Where are the marks of dignity or splendour? Where are the traces of a royal court, and a proud

nobility? Not a vestige of these is to be discerned in a dreary assemblage of plaister houses, tenanted by monks and beggars.

The situation is not unlike that of Durham, and the full blue river which flows round it, and the green meadows sprinkled with trees on its banks, are very delightful to the eye. At half past eleven I entered the Fonda, a neat and extensive inn, erected by the celebrated Lorenzana, to draw people to Toledo, to visit its antiquities:

This great man, who has been done justice to in the work of Bourgoing, was preferred from the archbishopric of Mexico to the primacy of Spain, and has left the traces of his wisdom and his charity in every part of this desolate city:—he reformed the discipline of the cathedral; he rebuilt and re-organised the university; erected on a more extensive scale and in a more healthy situation, the hospital for lunatics; gave to the public, the best inn in Spain; and filled the useless Alcazar with the industry of a silk manufactory. From this station, so peculiarly fitted to his disposition, and so ennobled by his virtues, he has at length been dismissed to make room for the nephew of the King and brother-in-law of the Prince of Peace; a youth about twenty-four years of age, who at present monopolizes the sees of Toledo and Seville, while their former prelates are banished to Rome, where they receive pensions from the king of Spain.—I have been assured of the good conduct of the juvenile prelate, but I find the inhabitants of Toledo are by no means content: he lives always with the court, and comes to the city merely on the great festivals of the church. I mentioned to some of the people, that I had seen Lorenzana: they were eager to hear of his health, and assured me that if he were to return, the whole city to a man, would come out to meet him and welcome him.

The chief boast of Toledo is its cathedral, which is a large and handsome Gothic structure; it is, however, very inferior to many of our English churches. Being built by Ferdinand the Catholic, it may be considered as one of the last efforts of the Gothic taste in Spain: externally it is irregular, and mixed in its architecture; the interior is principally striking from its breadth: it is divided into five aisles; it shews none of the rich features of the contemporary florid style in England, except in the enclosure of the altar, which is adorned with tracery.

Near the cathedral is a large building covered with red plaister, which is the palace of the archbishop: it runs into all sorts of shapes and directions, making a number of small courts, and affording chambers for one hundred and fifty persons, who constitute the prelate's retinue; it has no enclosure or garden, and is one of the dullest and dirtiest buildings I have ever seen.

We passed through two dreary streets to the Gothic church of

San Juan de los Reyes: the exterior is covered with the chains, fetters, manacles, &c. which were found upon the christian captives when Alphonso IV. took the city.

Nothing can surpass the gloomy dulness of Toledo: in other towns the chaunting of the convents is drowned by the noise and bustle of the streets; but here it struck me greatly, the desolate silence is only broken by the deep voices of the friars, who are singing masses continually, and in every part. The university is a remarkably neat and convenient building.

The manufactory of swords is carried on about half a league from the town. The palace of Charles V. is in a fine situation, the site of the ancient Moorish Alcazar, but the architecture does not offer any thing to admire.

Before I left Toledo I paid another visit to the cathedral, while vespers were chaunted with music, on the eve of St. Peter's day. The choir is in the centre of the building, and the stalls are finely carved by Porregiano, the pupil of Buonarotti. The singing and music was in the same lively opera style, which I had occasion to remark at Monserrate and other places; and indeed, the canons seem to consider it in the light of an entertainment, as they frequently talked to each other, and even smiled occasionally. The organ of this cathedral is very fine, and has a strength of tone which is peculiar to the organs of this country. The relics and treasures of this cathedral, have been often described; and it must be remarked, though the Spanish churches must yield to those of Italy in marble statues, paintings, and taste, yet they infinitely surpass them, especially at present, in gold and siver, precious stones, and valuable ornaments.

JULY 14. We arrived at Lisbon this evening, after a fatiguing journey from Madrid. We rode post horses, which is the most expeditious mode of travelling in Spain. The distance from Madrid to Lisbon, is ninety-eight leagues, viz. sixty-six of Spain, and thirty-two of Portugal. Multiplying these, the one by four, and the other by five, gives the number of English miles, four hundred and twenty-five; of which, fifteen are water passage, from Aldea Gallega to Lisbon. The country through which we passed, may be generally described as follows:— Castile, before we left it, shewed some few spots superior to its usual bleak and burnt appearance; and the mountains of Guadaloupe make a fine object in the prospect: Spanish Estramadura is a rocky surface, covered almost entirely with a forest of cork trees, and exhibiting in several instances, picturesque views.— Portugal, from Elvas to Cana, is a rich and pleasing country; from Cana to Lisbon, wild, with shrubs and pines; a sandy soil: excepting Merida, there is no interesting town on the road, four

hundred and twenty four miles. The aqueducts of the ancient Ementa Augusta, are fallen into the most beautiful decay, and interspersed with the trees which grow about the river, they form one of the prettiest prospects I have ever seen. We found the inns small and indifferent during the whole journey; though in Portugal they are worse than in Spain. The road is not well kept: it is sometimes stony and narrow, and at others a wide sandy track; the Portuguese road is frequently paved. Of the Spanish post-horses, we generally found two out of the four, very good: these are small, and canter well. In Portugal we seldom found more than one good one out of the five. In Spain the charge each league, is eleven reals and a half the horse, and the postillion expects a pesetta for the same distance. In Portugal, for two horses they charge a dollar or eight testoons a league, and the postillion is paid the same as in Spain. The road from Madrid to Cadiz, alone furnishes post-horses for carriages. The royal post-office at Madrid keeps twenty-eight riding horses, and in every post-house in Spain six are provided, of which two are always ready. In Portugal each post-house has thirteen horses, all ready.

19th. The stink of the streets of Lisbon are a strong antidote to curiosity, but in fact, after a tour in Italy and Spain, there is very little in this city to afford gratification, and excite interest. The situation is certainly fine, but the town wants eminent buildings, and the banks of the Tagus are too tame and barren. Belem is an interesting object, especially to the antiquary, as it exhibits a species of Gothic architecture which is unknown to the rest of Europe. The monastery was founded by Emanuel, on the spot where Vasco de Gama received the benediction of the Patriarch when he sailed on his voyage of discovery. A specimen of a similar sort of Arabesque Gothic, may be seen in the mausoleum erected by the same king at Batalha.

The environs of Lisbon have been much celebrated, and it must be allowed, that Cintra is in every respect worthy the warmments of description which have been lavished on it. It is a most beautiful and interesting spot; a mountain covered half way up with gardens and villas, and above these, rising into rude and picturesque appearances. The view from Cintra, however, is very bare and disagreeable.

20th. With little regret I embarked on board the packet for England, without seeing more of Portugal, which, from want of splendour in the privileged orders, and want of character among the people, must be reckoned one of the most uninteresting and unpleasant countries in Europe.

END OF TOUR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

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TO

TOUR IN SPAIN.

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JOURNAL

OF A

TOUR

IN

I R E L A N D,

&c. &c.

PERFORMED IN AUGUST 1804.

WITH

REMARKS

ON THE

CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS,

OF THE

INHABITANTS.

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1806.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE events which have occurred in Ireland during the last eight years, cannot fail to render any account of the present state of that island highly interesting to the British reader. It is therefore presumed that the following Journal, which has been composed from the observations of the writer at so late a period as the close of the last year, will be perused with more than ordinary satisfaction; particularly when it is recollected that no accurate information relative to the character, manners, and customs of the modern inhabitants of that important appendage to this favoured empire has lately issued from the press.

Oct. 1805.

TOUR

IN

IRELAND, &c.

HAVING been long desirous of visiting our sister-island, I last summer appropriated to that purpose one of those months in which men of letters usually exchange the study of books for that of nature, and take a short leave of the wisdom of the dead to view the mingled wisdom and follies of the living.

Early in the morning of the 1st of August I left Chester, in the mail, with three very intelligent companions, one of whom was going to the south of Ireland to collect the rents of lord L.—We passed through Holywell and St. Asaph, where we resisted an extraordinary charge made for the breakfasts of the coachman and guard: and after crossing the two beautiful ferries of Conway and Bangor, arrived at Holyhead; through the dreary, flat, and uninteresting, county of Anglesea. The scenery of North Wales being so well known, I shall not detain the reader by a description of it.

No sooner had we alighted from the coach, than the steward of a cutter (no king's packet sailing that evening) acquainted us that his vessel, the Marquis of Drogheda, would immediately get under weigh. We had hardly time to take a little refreshment, and lay in our sea-store, when we received a second summons, and soon found ourselves in the very comfortable cabin. I was not long in repairing to my birth, where I slept very soundly for nearly twelve hours: but on going upon deck at nine in the morning, found we had made little way in the night; though one of the seamen, an Irishman, affirmed, that "to be sure it was a *dead calm*; but what little *wind* there was, was in our favour."—The passengers, such as were not sick, amused themselves in catching gurnards; the only fish which can be taken when a vessel is under weigh, all others swimming lower in the water. About noon the Wicklow mountains began to appear; and the nearness of the island of Lambay, ten miles

from Dublin, gave us hopes that our voyage would soon end prosperously. A very fine mackarel being caught on one of the lines, two Irish members, who sat in their carriages, had a regular dinner (as they termed it) with a certain affectation of state, at half past six in the evening.

As the water was too low when we approached the bar, we were obliged to lie at anchor the whole of the second night; but early the next morning a beautiful view of the fine bay presented itself, which banished all our impatience.

The celebrated bay of Dublin is bounded on the left by a rich bank covered with villas and cottages, and crowned by the Wicklow mountains. Sea-point, or the Black Rock, three or four miles from Dublin, is a fashionable place of summer retreat, and terminates the view on the Wicklow side. The opposite limit of the bay is formed by a country more level, but equally fertile: finely wooded, and covered with gentlemen's seats; among which the villa of lord Charlemont makes a conspicuous appearance. The land on this side terminates in a point called Houth.

Down the centre of the channel stretches a pier, a mile and a half in length, made for the purpose of deepening the entrance of the river. The hotels, which were built for the accommodation of passengers, close to the Pigeon-house, or extreme point of the pier, where we land, are now converted into barracks: and the boat's company are carried up to Dublin in a crazy long coach; on which is inscribed in large letters, as the first intimation of our arrival in the country of bulls, "the land packet." According to lord Chesterfield, however, we had already passed two bulls and a blunder; the two points in the bay being called the north and south *bull,* and the village of *Ring's-end* lying to the right.

After undergoing the common impositions of the custom-house, we were conveyed in *the land packet* to Falconer's hotel, in Dawson-street: having seen nothing in our way to suggest the idea of a different country from that which we had left, except the signs inscribed Murdock, Maclaghlar, and Pat Kelly; and the Irish jaunting cars known by the names of noddies, gingles, &c.

The common carts consist of a platform extending from the shafts, which hang high on the horses' shoulders, to within a foot of the ground, where they rest above the axis of two little wheels. When the cart is loaded it frequently happens that the weight, overcoming the strength of the horse, lifts or strangles the animal. After a hearty Irish breakfast (at which two eggs are constantly placed before each person as a matter of course), we took a walk to view the principal buildings in the town. The

first object which attracted our notice was Leinster-house, the back of which forms one side of Merrion-square, an immense rectangle, equal in size to Lincoln's-inn Fields. Latouche the banker's corps was exercising in the court. We then viewed St. Stephen's Green, larger than any of the London squares, having a double walk round it, and a statute of George II. in the centre. Walking down Grafton-street, the Cheapside of Dublin, we came to Trinity-college; a magnificent building, but for a seat of study too much in the noise and bustle of the town. The master's house stands apart from the college. Owing to the strict examination necessary to the attainment of a fellowship, there is hardly any medium here between total idleness and intense study; there is no democracy of learning, nor any of that partial application which is observable even among the profligate in other universities. If a man is a student, he is buried from the world; if he is of the world, he never opens a book.—Opposite the university, in a street called College-green, stands the parliament-house; an elegant piece of architecture, now about to be converted into a bank. A little above are two public structures: the one a gaming-house *(pro pudorh!)* the other the Commercial Buildings, a tavern and coffee-house on an extensive scale, in the latter of which every newspaper is to be met with, and refreshments are furnished exceedingly cheap.

Dame-street is a continuation of College-green. The shops in it are splendid; but the number of political pamphlets in those of the booksellers, afford a melancholy proof of the agitation of the public mind. At the head of this street stands the Royal Exchange, finely colonnaded, and having an elegant dome: behind it is the Castle, a princely dwelling, but entirely modern with the exception of an old tower. The 72d highlanders were at parade in the yard; and we stood for some time fascinated by several pieces of music played in a masterly style by the leader of the band.

Curiosity next led us to view Thomas-street, the celebrated scene of Emmet's rebellion. The unfortunate lord Kilwarden was dragged from the farther end of the street, towards the market-place; and Emmet was executed on the spot where the murder was committed. Thomas-street is within three short streets of the Castle; and had the mob acted under a leader of energy, or upon any regular plan, the worst consequences might have ensued. The death of lord Kilwarden saved the Castle and the city, for the government were taken napping; and while the mob were disputing who should first go forward, the carriage of the victim to popular fury drove up. Till this moment three of the yeomanry had kept the whole mob at bay; but their ammunition, it is said, was expended. The time occupied by the

murder, gave the rest of the military leisure to assemble. Drums were now heard in every direction; the twilight began to draw on; and the insurgents, distrustful of each other, stole away one by one, and dispersed.

The market-house, at the extremity of Thomas-street, now forms a complete blockade against any future insurrection from that suburra. Each window has a sloping cover, from which soldiers can fire without being annoyed by the mob.

It would be difficult to convey an idea of the vice, filth, and wretchedness, in which the lower orders dwell, and seem to delight, every where in this district; compared with which, St. Giles's is a palace in comfort, and a paradise in morality. Many tons of manure cover the alleys, and seem to threaten a plague; and we saw several children with no other clothing than a remnant of tattered sacking, insufficient to cover their nakedness. The streets are crowded, in the day-time, with the lowest prostitutes, whose appearance betray squalid misery; and who either starve, or by their numbers prove the city to be depraved to an almost incredible extent. The women of only one degree more respectable, walk the streets in black silk cloaks and muslin caps; some with silk stockings and an immense driving coat, but having no hat or bonnet.

In the centre of the same horrid district stands St. Patrick's cathedral, a very ancient and venerable structure. Here are the tomb and monument of an archbishop who died in the year 1418; but the chief attraction among the relics of the dead, is the tomb of Swift, and near it that of his Stella.

Carlisle-bridge leads from College-green across the Liffey to Sackville-street, a most magnificent article of Dublin's pride; being fifty-two yards in width, and extending a considerable way in length. The houses and shops are superb; and the elegant conduits (which adorn every part of Dublin as well as this) add greatly to the beauty of a street not inferior to any in Europe. The noble custom-house lies to the right; along the bank of the black, narrow, and muddy Liffey. The interior of the building is well and regularly constructed, with corresponding domes and staircases. Behind is Beresford-place, an uninhabited crescent of fine houses. Hence we crossed Marlborough-green and passed Tyrone-house, the winter residence of the Marquis of Waterford; and again crossing Sackville street visited the Rotunda, a large dome forming one wing of the lying-in hospital. Here, and in the gardens which form the centre of Rutland-square, are given entertainments on the plan of Vauxhall; the profits arising from which go towards the support of the hospital. This is a shameful, and (I trust) a solitary instance, of a charitable institution connecting itself with a scene of

pleasure, a scene of assignation and debauchery. The hospital itself is a noble stone building, forming one side of the square already mentioned. Passing the new temple for the study of the law, which is not quite completed, we came to the Linen-hall, through the Flax-hall, which is adjacent to it. A little below lies the New Gaol, which is, as usual with gaols, surrounded by streets distinguished for filth and infamy. The iron drop is a fixed balcony, having bars below, which when drawn in leave the criminal suspended.

The new Four Courts, at the river side, form a building similar, and not very inferior, to the Custom-House; but the levity with which a law-suit is conducted in the Court of Chancery cannot fail to strike an Englishman, accustomed to the gravity of a judge and the solemnity of a court of justice on the other side the water. Here judge, counsel, attorneys, client, and strangers, seem to have met together to spend an hour merrily. All speak at once;—every little attorney's clerk who chooses to cut a joke, for which his impudence would be reprimanded in an English court, excites laughter, in which the judge joins with familiarity; and, in short, nothing appears to be wanting to the conviviality of the scene, but that the judge should descend to the table below and call for a bottle of wine. Having made good use of a very sultry and oppressive forenoon, we returned to dinner at a tavern adjoining our hotel, and kept by the same people. We had a fine haddoc, mutton chops, and the other *et ceteras* of a dinner; porter, brisk cyder, with one bottle of port and one of claret (there were four of us); at 7*s*. English per head. A card stands on the chimney-piece of the coffee-room, on which the prices of the different wines were marked—Port, 4*s*. 4*d*. claret, 7*s*. 7*d*. Burgundy and Champagne, each 15*s*. currency.

While we sat at dinner, a miserable object came to the window begging. She was a prostitute who had once been handsome, for there was still much beauty in her pale and emaciated countenance. The elegance of her manner of asking alms, proved her to have been in some higher sphere of life; but disease, that dreadful disease which is the punishment of unlawful pleasure, sat upon her countenance, and much disfigured her beauty. She did not seem more than two or three and twenty; but an early old age had seized upon her constitution: and, no longer able to earn her livelihood by prostitution, she was wandering about the streets, a common beggar, in rags and wretchedness. Some traces of an unwilling effort to prevail in her supplications by an affected lustful look, over which misery was predominant, appeared; intimations of the brutal sympathies of those on whose corrupt humanity her future subsistence

was to depend. On the whole, her appearance was so interesting, that we sent her a shilling a piece; thus enabling this poor creature to solace one day of her wretched existence with the comfort also arising from a consciousness of being compassionated. Think of her sad fate, you who possess the treasure of innocence.

The want of cleanliness for which the lower orders of the Irish are in general distinguished, together with the inflammatory state of body created by the quantity of ardent spirits which they swallow, must make those diseases which are the scourge of such crimes, more violent in their symptoms here than in other places. One thousand seven hundred and forty one patients were admitted at the Lock Hospital of Dublin in the course of the last year; and in every street the most shocking spectacles present themselves.

One very useful institution I cannot omit to notice when speaking on this subject; that of houses of refuge for women who have been brought up in the charity-schools, till they shall be provided with a place of service. I do not know that there is any charity of this nature in the large towns of England, though evidently a powerful preventive of seduction and eventual prostitution.

After dinner I again walked round Rutland-square. The music was playing in the Vauxhall in the centre, and it was a fine summer's evening.

The propensity to bull-making seems to arise from a want of thought, or confusion of ideas; for I have frequently remarked that an Irishman, after having made a blunder, has become sensible of it, and corrected himself. I this morning went into a shop to purchase a pair of boots. Having looked at a pair, I asked for some others which would go down in wrinkles on the leg.—"Wrinkles!" said the son of Crispin: "do you only try these very boots on, and I'll venture to say you will be able to put as many wrinkles on them as *possible*:" and then recollecting himself, "as you *plase*, I mean."

The first novelty which attracted me next morning, was the Dublin exhibition of paintings, a miserable collection of mere sign-posts. The portraits, however, are said to be striking likenesses. Among these were full-lengths of Lords Hardwicke and Moira, and a half-length of the unfortunate Lord Kilwarden. Of the landscapes none were worth looking at, except a few by La Porte.

The interior of Trinity college will not suffer by a comparison with its external appearance. We examined the curiosities in the museum; among which the most striking are, a model in wood of the Giants' Causeway, and a basaltic pillar brought

from that prodigeous work of nature. There are also many curiosities found in bogs in Ireland; as coins, broaches, spear-heads, keys, seals, and bottles which must have existed prior to the time when glass is said to have been invented.

Denon's anatomical preparations in wax, describing various stages of pregnancy and parturition, are very beautiful, and occupied that gentleman forty years. The examination-hall and the chapel are worthy of a seat of learning.

The luxuries of life are in general dear in this country, though the necessaries and comforts of it seem cheap. The day being warm, I went into a fruit-shop to eat a glass of ice: but was disgusted with the obtrusive manners of the man in the shop, which is a fashionable lounge in the town; for no sooner were we sat down, than he came with a bottle and glass, asking us if we chose a glass of *noyau*.—What London confectioner forces any thing upon his customers?

Next day I inspected the house of industry not far from the Phœnix-park. It seems a very ill-regulated institution; and is a horrid scene of filth, profaneness, and obscenity. The only playground for the children is the great court; where these poor little beings mingle with all the thieves, vagabonds, and prostitutes, who choose to take refuge in the asylum: for it is open to all who please to make it their home, however short or long be the time which they may choose to spend in it; and however frequently they may set out upon adventures, and return after want of success. Nor is this the worst; for a cart is continually employed in picking up the vagabonds and beggars from the streets, and collecting them in this sink of iniquity. No work is exacted of the people thus brought; and their sole employment is to wrangle, swear, and corrupt the young. In a word, I must consider the house of industry as a great seminary of prostitutes, thieves, plunderers, and rebels.

The children are distributed among different shops, according to the trade which may suit their inclinations. Here are shops for the taylors, the shoemakers, the weavers, and the combmakers. There seems no want of industry, but the dirt and effluvia are intolerable. The girls sew, knit, and make stockings, under mistresses. The master of the combmakers, an intelligent man, was relating an account of the flight of one of his pupils; whose father had, the week before, tempted him to elope with the contents of the workshop, and to enlist along with him into the army. "I think you have reason to thank God for it," said one of the mistresses, keeping up: "if I had twenty sons, I should wish to see them all do the same thing; for how could they be better employed than in serving their king and country? and what would the loss of a few combs signify?"

"Och! and I agree with you perfectly," replied the comb-maker: "only I wish he had gone off in the early part of his apprenticeship; and not after so much time and trouble have been thrown away upon him, and when he had just begun to be an useful hand to me."

The Bluecoat-hospital is an elegant structure, but there is nothing particularly worthy of notice in its internal regulation.

The Thomas-street School is a good charitable institution, as far as the feeble power of education will civilize the children in that miserable district. As a Sunday school it is highly reprehensible, for it is open to children of all religions, but no religion of any kind is taught in it. The children are taught reading, writing, and accounts, till eleven o'clock in the forenoon of Sunday, and again from four to eight in the evening; but they are taken to no place of public worship, on the presumption that each child goes to that of his own persuasion; a presumption not realized perhaps in a single instance. The chief teachers of the school seem to be quakers.

I dined this day (Saturday, 4th of August), with a friend, an inhabitant of the city. I saw nothing remarkable in the manners of the company, except the *noyau* being introduced with the cheese, and a custom after dinner of drinking the healths of the ladies with the first glass, and of the gentlemen with the second. The transportation of Sir H. Heyes, for carrying off a rich heiress, became the topic of conversation.—"Transportation was too little," said one gentleman; "he deserved to be hanged." "Hanged!" said another: "he deserves to be gibbeted, a fool! not to carry her out of the country."

Sunday, 5th of August.—Attended divine service at the Magdalene, in Leeson-street. The worship here was not conducted decently. Morning service began at noon: and during the reading of the lesson, a door flew open, and the preacher entered; not ashamed of being late, but swaggering through the passages with two legs like the pillars of Hercules. He sat in the reading-desk with the reader; and during the singing of the psalms, they seemed to enter into a very easy and familiar conversation. It gives me pain to mention these instances of the want of decorum; but I trust they will serve as a hint to all ministers, how proper it is to beware of giving strangers unfavorable impressions. In this chapel there is no clerk, the Magdalanes performing the office (which, by the way, has a slight air of indelicacy and forwardness); neither is there any pulpit; and the gentleman whom I have mentioned, preached from the reading-desk a very excellent sermon, or rather moral essay, on the superior zest which religion (in which might be

meant, by the way, deism as well as christianity) gives to the various pursuits and pleasures of man.

After service I walked again through the St. Giles's of Dublin, the Poddle in Meath-street and Thomas-street, to the Foundling-hospital. In these streets there seemed to be nothing which indicated Sunday; not even that difference of apparel with which, in other great towns, even the most depraved distinguish it. For the drunkenness, noise, beating of drums and fifes at the doors of alehouses, and low gambling in the streets, the police is reprehensible; and how is the full growth of rebellion to be wondered at, when it is thus fostered in its infancy?

The Foundling-hospital Orphan-school has put me more in conceit with the Irish than any thing I have hitherto seen. Several hundreds of children look healthy, are well clad, and have their religion and morals admirably taken care of; insomuch that I may say, without a paradox, when I compare this institution with the others I have examined, "it is a blessing in Ireland to be an orphan." Some of the children are here for seven years without seeing the outside of the walls; for the gates are guarded like a prison, so that no person whatever can go out without an order from the governor: how very different from the House of Industry! where I forgot to mention that on the evening of Sunday (the day on which the children should principally learn domestic habits, and the day on which the streets are peculiarly pregnant with temptation) the children are all permitted to ramble and follow their own inclinations, from five o'clock till near nine.

The whole of this institution (the Orphan-school) is conducted on a plan from which our best public charities in England would do well to borrow many useful hints.—A house-boy (that is, a boy who has been two years in the school) is appointed to sleep with one of the younger children, to be his tutor and companion; to teach him, and to hear him say his prayers; to wash and comb him; for all which he is responsible to the master. The bed-linen, clothes, and books, are all marked; and accounts of them regularly kept in books, of which the accuracy is wonderful, and the exactness to be observed at a single glance.

The principal school-books are four different expositions of the catechisms, each plainer than the latter; and the children are gradually brought forward from the more easy to the more difficult. The senior boys instruct the junior; and the sense, intelligence, and decency, for which they are all observable, is a treat to the philanthropic mind, more precious than the most picturesque scenery, or the voluptuous entertainment of magnificence.

Leaving this delightful palace, I passed on to the Phœnix-park,

over Island-bridge, a Rialto of one arch thrown over the Liffey. Here I witnessed a scene of a very different nature, a catholic funeral: where the wife of the deceased, in a state of intoxication, was throwing herself into attitudes in the form of a cross; for which custom the Irish have a particular name, but it has escaped my memory.

Near the gate of the Phœnix-park, I saw a species of low gambling too common among us. A fellow sat on the pavement folding a garter into many twists, after it had been doubled. The two ends of this he held in his hand: so that whenever any of the populace gave him a halfpenny, an old nail was struck by the payer into the garter; and if it prevented the holder from pulling the garter away by the ends (and in no other case) the former received a penny. How credulous the Irish mob must be not to perceive at once that the chances at the folds are twenty to one against them!

I dined at the coffee-house in Dawson-street, with a young officer who was that evening to sail for Holyhead in a wherry. Having now seen the whole of Dublin, and judging it unsafe, or at least uncomfortable, to go into the interior unaccompanied; I determined to cross the Channel once more, and to remain in Wales till my servant should join me. We had no sooner got on board, at nine in the evening, than we found, to our inexpressible alarm, that it blew a hurricane, and that the sailors were all drunk. Let no man trust himself to any other vessel than a king's packet. The captain, with the true brogue, told us, that "he would take a nap before he went to sleep." But no sooner had he come below, than the seamen left the helm, the ship gibed, and every thing in the little cockle-shell fell parallel with the water.

A dreadful cry of a Welsh seaman, resembling "Koory yeery yallows lallsugh!" which our fears, and ignorance of the language in which he vociferated, interpreted "We are all going to the bottom!" But the danger of a Holyhead passage when the wind is right aft, is, like sorrow, the more violent the sooner it is over; for before six in the morning we awoke, and found ourselves in Holyhead-bay.

I returned to Bangor in the Shrewsbury coach, where I spent five or six days very pleasantly at a little retired inn where I had leisure for study; and where I met with an unfortunate young man, the son of the widow who kept the house, who having spent four years as a servitor at Oxford, had some plans or other frustrated, by which means he was thrown into an habitual melancholy which the scenery of Bangor, his new mode of life, and the sensibility of an improved mind, was too well calculated to foster. I sometimes chatted with him an hour in an evening: but as I did not wish to appear inquisitive, I could not gain suf-

ficiently on his confidence to learn the history of his misfortunes; which might indeed only have gratified impertinent curiosity, since it seemed not to be in the power of man to alleviate the grief they had occasioned, otherwise than by condolence—and, poor fellow! he has mine most sincerely.

Here I also met with a young Irish officer, high in blood and spirit, who told me one evening that all the company at his house had gone to dinner at the palace, the day being public; but that for his part, he would see the Bishop of Bangor ——— before he would go to dine with him without an invitation.

One evening during my stay at Bangor, I strolled into the cathedral, to hear the funeral service read; and was much surprised to find a deviation from the rubric so near to a bishop who is so laudable and well-known an advocate for strict adherence to it. The funeral service is here incorporated into the evening service; the psalms being read instead of the psalms for the day, and the funeral chapter in the place of the second lesson. The clergyman next goes to the altar, and offers up or reads a prayer; after which the men first, and then the women, come up to the altar one by one, and deposit their offerings. These voluntary contributions, which add so much to the value of the Welsh livings, were formerly proportioned to the esteem in which the deceased had been held in the parish: they are now great or small, according to the popularity of the minister, and must be useful in serving as a stimulus to the conscientious discharge of his duties; though on this footing, as manufactures and sectaries increase in Wales, the profits arising from these free gifts of a still simple, honest, and generous people, will be diminished.

In passing through Anglesea to Holyhead on Saturday, a picturesque sight presented itself in a *fête champêtre* where about two hundred of the common people were dining under tents, in honour of a newly married couple, (who in imitation of the penny weddings of Scotland) adopt this method of attaining a small capital to set out in life with. Each guest pays two shillings and sixpence for his entertainment, and the evening usually concludes in drunkenness; fighting, and seduction.

Sunday, 12th of August. I attended service at the parish-church of Holyhead this morning, where I heard the prayers and sermon read in Welsh. In some part of the service, the clergyman read from a paper "The alms of this congregation are requested by Mary Davies;" on which a contribution was made for a woman who receives, as I was given to understand, parochial relief to a small amount. The people in this little village are impoverished by the preachers of no less than three different sects; Baptists, Methodists, and Wesleyans, as the last call themselves.

I dined in company with an Irishman, who related his having embarked the night before at Dublin in a state of intoxication. "I thought," said he, "I might as well get sea-sick before I came on board, as I was sure of being so the whole night at any rate."

After a tedious passage, with the wind in our teeth, we reached Dublin (my servant having joined me) very early on Tuesday morning; and without going to bed, I breakfasted and dressed at the inn from which the Drogheda coach sets out. This conveyance carried me through woods where there are a round tower, and a palace of the Archbishop of Dublin, now in ruins: and through Balbriggen; where two beggars, each of them seventy years of age, absolutely fought with their fists and crutches, and imprecating on each other the most dreadful curses, for the privilege of standing at the door of the coach. To Drogheda, twenty-four miles from Dublin. Here I rested for the day.

I must not omit the answer made me by the waiter at the coach inn, in Bolton-street, when I asked her what I had to pay for breakfast: "Two hogs and a half;" and again on my staring in her face, "Two hogs and a tester;" meaning in each case half-a-crown.

After ordering dinner, I walked two miles up the bank of the Boyne; and viewed the pillar which records the memorable battle by which the liberties of England have been secured, and (what is still of greater consequence) precisely defined.

In Drogheda there are nine Catholic chapels, two friaries, a nunnery, and *one* church. The town is large and handsome. Having sauntered into the streets after dinner, I followed the funeral of a Catholic child to the burying-ground, a little way out of the town; and I am most thankful that in my own country, though I have seen many funeral processions where the company were of the most profligate of the people, and at the time intoxicated to a man, I never witnessed any thing resembling the indecorum and savage riot with which this infant was carried by its friends to the house appointed, one would think, to give all the living at least a moment's seriousness.

The attendants exhibited the most boisterous mirth; and even the women were scouring the streets like bacchanals, offering the most shocking liberties indiscriminately to all sexes, ages, and conditions. Three women, more decent than the others, requested me to find out for them the tomb of Johnny Gomond, they themselves being unable to read. After beating down many nettles, to their great joy I lighted upon the sarcophagus; when they all knelt down in a devout line, counted their beads, and muttered their Ave Marias: and no sooner were they risen from the pious work, than they poured out a shower of ejaculations for blessing and long life to *my honour*, and immediately joined

and were lost in the troop of Bacchanals.—Next morning the whole town was in a perpetual motion and crowd, by means of the multitudes who were passing and pressing from one of the nine chapels into another, for the purpose of celebrating the festival of the Assumption, 15th August. Ireland is said to contain no venomous reptiles: if this be true, the defect is most abundantly supplied by its affluence in reptiles that are *not* venomous; for if each of these chapels held a thousand people this morning at matins, on a moderate computation it may be said to have really held ninety thousand living creatures.

The coach at last arrived from Dublin; and as it contained an attorney and his clerk, who were going to the assizes at Dundalk, I took their two places, the clerk having travelled on the outside. The attorney complaining at breakfast of wind in his stomach, was exceedingly prompt to follow the prescription of a lady who seemed to have practised as she preached—a quantity of brandy and ginger: and the medicine seemed far from being unpalatable, at least if one might judge by the dose.

We travelled over a dull uninteresting country without trees (except at Coolon, the beautiful seat of the late Irish Speaker, Mr. Foster), without hedge-rows, and where there seems no farmer possessed of capital sufficient to maintain a team: indeed there is no such thing in this country.

The stage-coaches are dirty beyond measure. Our company consisted of an upper servant, giving herself all the airs of a fine lady; a young man in bad health; and one of the proprietors of the coach, an ingenuous good-humoured youth about twenty years of age. This being Assumption-day, the shops were shut in every town; and in the streets it looked like Sunday, as observed in the more remote and decent parts of England or Scotland. We passed a man trudging in the midst of the rain to vespers at a chapel five miles from his home, betwixt whom and the young coach-proprietor the following curious conversation took place: "Where are you going, my boy?"—"I am going to prayers."—"How far off is the chapel?"—"Five miles."—"Was you there this morning?"—"No; that's the reason I am going now."—"What was you doing in the morning that kept you at home?"—"Nothing."—"And have you got your dinner?"—"To be sure I have"—"I wish I lived in this country where a man can get his dinner and do nothing for it.—And what's the reason there are prayers this afternoon?"—"I can't tell."—"Are you going to prayers without knowing why?"—"I am going because the priest gave it out."—"And why did you not ask the priest the reason?"—"Why, I saw him at the church door, and I wanted to speak to him, but he would not speak to me."—"Did you give the priest any thing?"—"No. What should I give him

any thing for?"—"Hah, my boy, that's the reason he would not speak to you:—but here comes the other coach; and as it is a very bad evening, take my advice and make friends with the driver, he'll carry you back to your own house again."

Upon which this good-tempered, credulous, superstitious, poor creature actually turned about, mounted the coach, and drove back the way he came.

Passed through a land of misery, where I would not have given sixpence for the whole apparel of any man, woman, or child whom we saw all along the road. Betwixt Dublin and Londonderry many ragged suspicious-looking fellows are prowling in the lanes; and dozens of sturdy, lazy peasants are collected in one cabin, at a smoking party, in the middle of the day.

The common-place accounts of the want of chimneys, the pigs in the cottages, and the holes in the wall for windows, are all true; but I saw no instance of burning instead of thrashing, or of fastening the plough to the tail of the cattle, and am inclined to think that these customs are abolished.

The day was dismal, the rain poured in torrents, and my servant on the box got a dreadful ducking, and must have been very cold as the night advanced. I could have said, like Lear—"My poor knave, cold as I am at heart, there is one place there that's sorry yet for thee."

The Irish stage-coaches are a most uneasy and unsafe mode of conveyance. The roads are very unequal; and these vehicles move up hill with the tedious pace of a funeral procession, and fly down like a hawk pouncing on its prey.

I shall take occasion in this place to make some desultory remarks on the present state of Ireland in a moral and political point of view.

As in religion, where every one hath a doctrine, he will perhaps arrive at the most just conclusions who preserves the balance of his mind in the midst of so many contending opinions, and wisely selects what is best from each; so when we examine the present miserable condition of our sister island, instead of assenting to the ideas of those who ascribe the evil to any one cause, and seek for redress in any one remedy, we should collect the various measures, allow them all their due weight, and conclude that no one will be effectual which has not respect to each particular ground of complaint.

One man will tell you that Ireland can never be tranquillized until all the Catholics shall have been emancipated. Another says, with much seeming justice, that Catholic civil emancipation is nothing, and would affect the interests of only very few, since the only restraints by which the Catholics are at present bound, are, the inability to hold commissions in the army, to sit in par-

liament, and to be judges in the courts. We want Catholic emancipation, he will add; but it is emancipation from the power of the priests.

After having listened with great patience and attention to the sentiments of many Irish gentlemen concerning the measures which they respectively think likely to prove beneficial if adopted, I have brought my mind to the conclusion, that the tranquillity and civilization of Ireland can only be derived from the following remedies:—1st. Place a Catholic country in some measure under a Catholic government; that is, make some of the high offices in the state open to the people of that persuasion. 2d. Establish parochial assessments, by which vagrancy will be restrained, and a more regular account and more accurate knowledge of the lower orders preserved. 3d. Increase the duties on whiskey to a very high degree; establish a severe inquisition in regard to private stills; and give a bounty on the exportation of corn, particularly to England. 4th. Promote the linen manufacture by every means which wisdom and benevolence can devise. 5th. Send one of the royal family over as lord-lieutenant: he will confirm the loyalty of the people, and render Dublin fashionable as a winter residence to crowds of the higher orders, who now dissipate their capitals in London. It was thought by some speculative persons that the union would be of service by taking only a small proportion of the former parliament to the seat of government, and thus allowing the remainder to reside during the winter on their country seats. It is not however the Irish members alone who cross the Channel to spend their winters in the metropolis. The higher ranks in general follow the parliament; it is fashionable to go where the principal people of the country are to be found: and a gentleman, though not in parliament, carries his daughters whither the sons of families of distinction principally resort. Thus the money is carried out of the country, instead of returning in showers to fertilize domestic industry, the peasantry are left at the mercy of the middle-men, and every example of benevolence and civilization is taken away from them. 6th. Let the country-gentlemen reside on their estates; and let such of them as *will* have a town residence in winter, prefer the Irish to the British metropolis: this would be a consequence of the former measure. 7th. Let the duty on tea be taken off, that the peasantry, having that beverage at the lowest possible rate, may be gradually weaned from ardent spirits. 8th. For similar reasons, let legislators beware of laying any duty on malt-liquors. Porter is now drank to a great extent among the Irish peasantry. 9th. Let industry be encouraged by premiums; not only such as are offered by the public, but by others offered by agricultural societies, and by charitable men of property

resident on their own estates. 10th. Encourage the establishment of friendly societies conducted without alehouse meetings. 11th. Also of Sunday schools for the children of the established church, where rewards are held forth to decent behaviour. 12th. Let the Catholic clergy be placed on an establishment, and paid by government*. 13th. At the same time the clergy of the established church ought to redouble their zeal, visit their parishes, render themselves popular, discharge their duties conscientiously, be watchful over the common seminaries of instruction for the lower orders, and perform service twice every Sunday. 14th. Let schools of industry be established, and premiums offered for regularity, cleanliness, &c. 15th. The higher orders ought to treat their inferiors with more civility than, I am sorry to say, they appear to do. At present the two classes are jealous of each other. The rich are smarting under the remembrance of rebellion; and, regarding every inferior as a rebel, treat him with haughtiness and asperity. This exasperates the lower classes, and pre-disposes them for future insurrection. An Irishman will often spend his money liberally in a coffee-house, and pay the waiter handsomely for the privilege of abusing him, and of finding a quarrel about the overcharge of some trifling article. "Never," was the advice of an Irish gentlemen, "never use a low Irishman kindly. If you do, he'll think you're afraid of him, and cut your throat." If this be true, it is only because he is unaccustomed to any other than violent treatment from his superiors. 16th. I almost forgot to mention the necessity of a total suppression of the petty banks; the introduction of some species of coin, which shall prevent the frauds which at present prevail, and which must be highly detrimental to national morals.

Monaghan, Augher, Omagh, and Strabane are dismal towns, remarkable for nothing except the multitudes of signs inscribed "Licensed to sell Strong Water," meaning whiskey. The inns on the road are bad, dirty, and dear. The coachman assigned a singular paradox as the reason why the roads were bad—because they had been mended lately. The names of Buchanan, Campbell, Hamilton, indicated vicinity to Scotland. Londonderry is a beautiful town, standing on an eminence above Loch Foyle, with fortifications that remain entire. Derry bridge,

* Should this measure take place, government must have, in some degree, the appointment of the bishops, that is, a list of trusty men may be made out on a vacancy, from which the pope may select one at his pleasure. But unless this precaution shall be taken, as the clergy are appointed by the bishops, the bishops by the pope, and the pope by Buonaparte, a Catholic establishment would be no better than the payment of a hostile body of spies and conspirators.

over the lough, is a stupendous work, being one-fourth of a mile in length, and broad enough to allow six waggons to go abreast. It is supported by immense stakes driven into the lake, and platforms constructed thereon. The very great multitude of troops crowded into every town which we have passed, gives a traveller a mingled sensation of pity and security:—pity, at beholding a fine country so deplorably situated as to render military severity necessary; and security, in considering that if a French army should land in any point of Ireland, twenty thousand men could be collected in twenty-four hours.

Friday, 17th August. From Derry to Coleraine the natives appear more civilized, having shoes and stockings, and chimnies to their houses. The linen manufacture is more briskly carried on. The religion of the people is Protestant; and in their decency and in their language strong symptoms of connection with Scotland appear. We travelled in one of the Irish cars, and breakfasted at Newtown-Limavady, one of the neatest and cleanest country-towns in the United Kingdoms. Our driver is a furious presbyterian of the Calvinistic sort—a covenanter. Though aspiring to uncommon sanctity, he passed no liquor-house on the road (and there were multitudes) without drinking a *neggin* (two bumpers) of raw whiskey; and was so much intoxicated at breakfast-time, that we were obliged to wait until he had slept off his debauch. He called himself a covenanter; and certainly his lips had entered into a covenant with the spirit bottle. He said he had seceded from the Seceders, because they considered Christ to be the head only of their own particular sect; whereas, in his opinion, our Lord was head of the church from the top of heaven to the bottom of hell. Religion was his favourite theme; and he did not offend, at least by his impiety or obscenity, in his cups. He pressed me very hard to stop all the night in his house (I have no doubt with an intention to rob and murder me, as he had discovered from my servant that I was a member of the established church). He also said he would carry me in the evening to a religious society, who met at a chapel once a week for the purpose of devout communication. He not unfrequently too, offered me the grossest flattery, calling himself one of the lowest of the people, and me a gentleman of the first magnitude; yet not without insinuating with great pride, that he had five horses, three men-servants, and a clock.—Such and so strange a mixture is man!

The road from Newtown-Limavady to Coleraine lies through dreary and unfruitable mountains, in the most desolate part of which the covenanter pointed out a place called *Murder-hole*, where the wild Irish used formerly to deposit the bodies of those whom they had robbed and murdered in the mountains. I would

not have trusted myself in this place with my covenanter at night had he made me a thousand protestations of fidelity.

Coleraine is a handsome town, through which we passed on to Bushmills, two Irish miles from the Giant's Causeway. Here we remained all night in a miserable inn, where I considered myself as in no small danger, as the people were moving about the whole of the night, and made frequent attempts to come into my room, as they pretended, for lineh for some company who had arrived after they had gone to bed.

Very early, on a dismal morning, Saturday, August 18th, the rain pouring in torrents, we set out with a guide to view the Giant's Causeway. The first place to which we were conducted was a cave, at the mouth of which the sea broke tremendously. It is a sublime cathedral, built by the God of nature himself, and where the elements worship him. We next visited the Three Causeways, one of which is a plain surface of hexagonal stones, more nicely shaped and adapted to each other than the feeble hand of art could effect; and over this we walked as on the level of the sea. In the second, the basaltic columns, rising in different shapes, gave occasion to the guides (of whom another now joined us) to point out the giant's chair, his loom, his well, and his organ; but Pleskin, the last causeway, is the most striking, being that of which drawings are generally taken, and of which there is a model in the museum of Trinity College, Dublin. Here the columns are more numerous and regular, appearing like many rows of elegant pillars rising in clusters over each other: but my curiosity was gratified; and the heaviness of the morning, the call of hunger, and the prospect of the great distance I had yet to travel, prevented me from lingering on the spot. I accordingly returned to the inn; and, after breakfasting and paying an immoderate charge to the guide, set off to walk back to Newton-Limavady.

This guide was either an United Irishman, or, suspecting me to be one, an artful spy. I asked him whether there were any rebels in that part of the country; to which he replied, "If there are, they keep quiet; but in the rebellion two companies went from Bushmills to join the rebel army at Ballymahinch, and *fought like men*. Captain M'Neven, their leader, had a purse of guineas as long as my arm, and intrusted one to each private, lest he should himself be killed or taken. To avoid being apprehended, he was at last carried through Coleraine in an empty barrel, and is now in America."

The guide also had a budget of stories relating to the bloody contests betwixt the owners of a neighbouring castle, and the chieftains from the opposite shore of Scotland.

Nothing remarkable happened on the road until we had passed Coleraine about two miles, and were about to ascend the mountain, when a woman, standing at the head of a lane, told us that a farmer the week before was robbed of seventeen guineas and a watch upon the mountains. Although I had not quite so much to lose, this intelligence quickened my pace: and although we met with very few people upon the dreary hills, we, to my great joy, got clear of them long before the close of day; and at a little after six o'clock in the evening found ourselves once more in Newtown-Limavady.

I here met with an adventure which, though unpleasant at the time, will diversify my journal with a curious incident.

While I was at dinner in the parlour, my servant, as I afterwards understood, having gone into the kitchen, found a Serjeant ——— of the — regiment This man my servant found at dinner; and permission being granted to mess with him, they sat down together. Entering into conversation after dinner, my servant, whom I had ordered to conceal nothing, told him my name and object, and the capacity in which he attended me. But the serjeant found it convenient to doubt the narration, and immediately set off to the brigade-major, whom he acquainted that there were two Frenchmen come to the inn, personating an English gentleman and his servant; that they had plans and maps of the country; were going to look at the fortifications of Lough Swilly; with a variety of similar information. The consequence was, that after I had got safely into bed, the door of the room was thrown open, and the major, preceded by the waiter, and followed by a long train of the rabble of the town, whom, with very little delicacy or decorum, he permitted to attend him, entered in uniform, and, after a pompous preamble, demanded my pass. On my informing him that I did not understand a pass to be necessary in travelling through the interior of the country, I was told that it would be necessary for me to remain in the place until I should receive a letter from some friend in Dublin, which should satisfy him in regard to my motives for travelling. Upon this I offered to shew him all my papers, which he said he would look over in the morning. He had not retired half an hour when he returned, demanding the surrender of my papers at that time. I accordingly gave him up my pocket-book and writing-case, when he examined minutely every scrap of paper which he found, asking me several questions, which gave me no very favourable impression of his politeness towards a stranger who might possibly prove a gentleman and a loyal man. After satisfying himself, and finding nothing to strengthen, but every thing to banish his suspicions, it would at least, I think, have been pro-

per that he should have made some concession; but too proud to do any thing that might lessen his authority with the rabble he had introduced, he bade, rather than invited, me to breakfast with him in the morning, ordering a soldier to shew me the way; and all this in such a tone as left me to conclude that I was still under an honourable arrest, insomuch that in the morning I rose early and wrote several letters, requesting immediate explanations of my motives from respectable friends.

The soldier came, but went away without me in the morning, so that after waiting till ten o'clock I set out with a young man from the inn, who shewed me the way to the house of my friend. There was now no mob to gaze and gape upon his little brief authority, and he was all civility and politeness. I pardon, I praise the vigilance with which he did his duty; but shall never forget the *manner* of executing it, nor the gaping vulgar whom he brought along with him.

As soon as my servant returned from church (for this adventure had prevented my own devotion), we walked back to Londonderry in a very fine evening. Early the next morning I set out for Dublin, where I arrived on Tuesday evening, having met with nothing particularly worth mentioning on the road.

Wednesday, August 22. I went to inspect the Dublin Society's museum, where the fossils, minerals, insects, birds, woods, &c. are finely arranged in separate apartments, and all in a state of high preservation. The busts and models stand in galleries leading from one room to another. The ores, fossils, and other curiosities found in different counties of Ireland, are distributed according to their respective districts. Amongst the general curiosities are, a beautiful piece of writing performed by a person without hands, a very small copy in writing of the Lord's prayer, a brass arrow found in an Irish bog, with other things of a similar nature; fine specimens of corals; various marbles fancifully tessellated.

Amongst the models, which I had little time for inspecting, there is one of a machine for drawing water above its level, worthy of attention.

This evening set off in the Cork mail, in which I had taken a place to Fermoy, not however without having taken the precaution of getting a pass for the interior, and, to save trouble afterwards, for leaving the island: which, by the way, the worthy gentleman made out, "Lat- - and servant pass from Dublin to Holyhead, through Cork."

The mail is attended for two stages out of Dublin by two dragoons, who ride one on each side with pistols, exclusively

of the two guards who carry two blunderbusses and four pair of horse-pistols.

We passed through Ash, Carlow, the seat of rebellion, Leighlin bridge, a nest of rebels, and Kilkenny, a beautiful town, where the inns are clean, the breakfasts comfortable, the streets handsome and every thing more resembling an English town than any I have seen, exclusive however of the nineteen beggars whom we counted at the coach door. We dined at Clonmell, the Bath-place of Ireland; where the fare is excellent but dear. The peasantry wear broad straw hats, like the figures of Dutch women, and not tied under the chin. The mail coaches do not keep the same regular pace which distinguishes them in England. The distances betwixt the stages are greater, and they are only timed at the stages not at any intermediate places, so that they sometimes linger twenty minutes or half an hour at the door of a whiskey house, and afterwards make up the lost time by the most impetuous and dangerous driving. Hence the fear and ven of the outside must be great, and as there seems to be no examination of the coaches before they set out (as is always held over the English coaches), something is always going wrong, and thus occasions a new source of alternate delay and fury. The coachmen and guards seem much better friends to them in the English mail coaches. Indeed as long as there are two glasses of whiskey on the road an Irish traveller will never hear (what he so often hears in his own country) the voice of a guard in the execution of his duty. Add to this that the business of the post-office seems to be very ill managed. In England except to change horses the mail-coach never stops, and when bags are to be deposited in any village the guard on entering it, blows a horn the sound of which brings out the postman with the bags which are to be forwarded ready made up: the one bag is dropt and the other taken up while the coach drives on with its usual speed. In Ireland, on the other hand, the coach has frequently to wait a quarter of an hour or more at petty villages, until the letters are sorted and stamped. Surely, as commerce is now the object, these things will be better ordered.

One of the circumstances which will be ever recollected by me with pleasure, entirely to my abhorrence from spirituous liquors, which, indeed, were then absolutely incapable of exhilarating me to lead the life of a mad man. It was the Irish mail of the beginning of November that I took up at three months' imprisonment at the end of which time I had become so thin that in another week of the same prison would have reduced him to the size of a shadow. He recounted many instances of persons who met with their death by drinking spirits, and there was one man in particular, who, after the *[illegible]* of the

other. On being asked how much whiskey he had ever drunk in one day, he assured me he had once gone the length of thirty-six glasses.

This fellow was impudent and unprincipled enough to avow his determination to resign his situation as guard, the very moment when the rebellion should break out; which he considered as likely to take place after the getting in of the harvest. "They are kept asunder," said he, "by the bayonet, and cannot associate in clubs; but I am bloodily mistaken if they don't settle it all, now that they have got together in the harvest." This observation may serve as a hint to those in power; and explains the insurrection which was threatened in the October following, from Carlow and Leighlin-bridge.

Fermoy is a newly-built elegant town, consisting of four streets crossing each other at right angles, and the work of Mr. Anderson, a Scotch gentleman, now possessed of immense property and proprietor of the mail-coaches. Every thing in the inn is dear, even to the grossest imposition A small tart was charged one shilling and sevenpence halfpenny, such a one as is sold in the shops in London for one penny. The accommodations also are very bad: and here my servant caught that complaint, which, if it belongs exclusively to Scotland, Mr. Anderson must have brought along with him!

Friday, 24th Aug.—We enjoyed a delightful walk to Mallow, through Castle-Town Roche, a romantic village, hanging on the bank of the Black-water. Besides a finely varied scene of rock, and wood and water, the old towers, the church, and a modern building in imitation of a Chinese temple, placed on different eminences, and standing above the town, give Castle-Town Roche the appearance of *enchantment*.

From Mallow to Mill-street I took a post-chaise; but like all other travellers in a post chaise, might as well have been at home, as I can give no account of the prospects, or of the manners of the people. The little vile inn of Mill-street was full of the company resorting to Killarney; so that I fared very uncomfortably: but early next morning set off in a chaise, and arrived at Killarney to breakfast.

I immediately made inquiries about a boat, but found the charges likely to be unsuitable to my purse, and the time to be occupied in sailing on the lake incompatible with my plans and my impatience. In short, I perceived in the men every disposition to impose: and accordingly set out immediately after breakfast, to walk to some eminence where I might survey the beauties of the lake at a single glance; and without expence sail in fancy over the lake, soar with the eagle among the rocks, or pursue the echoes to their most distant caves.

Passing Mucrass Abbey, I found at the foot of Turk mountain a bare-footed guide, who led me over stones with the sharpest points which cut me to the quick through the soles of my shoes, but to which his unprotected feet had long become callous; and through briars and brambles to which he was equally indifferent, although they stung me through a triple fold of gaiters, pantaloons, and stockings. This man's ancestors have lived upon the spot, and laboured for Lord Kenmare or Mr. Herbert's family, for three hundred years. We beguiled the way by pulling nuts and whinberries. After climbing the almost perpendicular sides of Turk, covered with wood, and pursuing the course of a little stream that dropt from rock to rock, concealed among shrubs, and brushing our way through trackless steeps and obstructing underwood, we at length turned the shoulder of the mountain, and arrived at an eminence opposite to Eagle Crag, from which we could take in, at a *coup d'œil*, the three lakes with their adjacent scenery. But can my pen do justice to the beauties of this scene? Faint must be every attempt to describe it. In variety of character Killarney surpasses all the English lakes, and possesses beauties peculiar to itself. The lower lake is a large bason nearly circular, surrounded on one side by high mountains, and having the rest of the banks finely adorned with the town of Killarney, the seat of Lord Kenmare, Ross Castle stretching into the lake, Mucrass Abbey, and Mucrass Villa.

This lake, as well as the upper one, is spotted with an archipelago of islands, richly covered with the arbutus-tree. This lower lake contracts itself to a narrow inlet, spanned by a little bridge of one arch, barely sufficient to permit the boats to pass under to the other sheets of water. One arm of the arch rests on the extreme point of the peninsula of Mucrass, which is only a few yards in breadth, and stretches out betwixt the lower and Mucrass lakes; forming the pleasure-ground of Mr. Herbert's seat, which is delightfully situated at the neck of this land, with two little fields opening in front, and disclosing the house embosomed in trees. The end of the lower lake shelves away into a cultivated plain, yellow with the harvest, or variegated with young firs; and behind the lower Killarney are several romantic white houses in the *cottage style*. Mucrass lake is of an oval form, retiring like a large excrescence of water from the line of the other lakes; and perpetually wearing a gloomy and solemn appearance, from the dark, sullen shadow of Turk, which frowns upon it. Turk is covered half way up with firs; beyond is Mangerton, the highest mountain of Ireland, barren, craggy, and cloud-capt. The serpentine winding of the water, of a narrow rivulet which connects these lakes with the upper one, is another

beauty peculiar to Killarney. This rivulet traverses the valley or dell which is contained between the almost meeting cross of Eagle's Nest and Turk, on which we stood. Behind the rock called Eagle's Nest, the seat of the celebrated echo, are the sublime mountains known by the name of Macgellicuddy's Cross, which stretch their necks to look into the upper lake. Fortune favoured us; for while we stood on the point, a boat sailed from the confluence of the lower and Muckrass lake, along the base of Turk mountain. The people were too minute to be discerned at such a distance; but the boat moving majestically along, like a stately swan, and leaving behind it a track in the calm sheet of water, added greatly to the charms of this favourite spot of nature. At intervals, the mellow sound of horns proceeding from the boat, swelled on our ears and harmonized with the scenery. A little smoke now tinged the air, a prelude to the report of a pistol which reached our ears in the space of a quarter of a minute. Instantly all the echoes were roused from their dens; they roared to each other in tremendous anger, loudly complaining that their deep silence should be disturbed, and their horrid recesses explored, by the petulance of mortal beings. The murmurs were discontinued and began again; at length they became fainter and fainter, and died away at a great distance.

The blue cloud of smoke floated for a length of time on the water, and then gradually dissolved and vanished. In the meantime the boat continued to move solemnly along, till it came nearly under us; we saw the silvery-edged oars dipping in the water, and keeping time to the soft sounds of the music, which again and again swelled on the ear and ravished the senses with their melody. Far to the left of us we saw the upper lake, covered with little islands, but of a character rough, horrid, and sublime. Two boats that were exploring its farthest corners, seemed to us like hardly distinguishable specks. If we except the peculiarity of little islands, this lake bears some resemblance to those of Cromack and Buttermere.

I was now at the farthest extent of my tour, and if at each remove I had dragged a lengthening, although a pleasing chain, no wonder that I leaped down the sides of the mountains with a speed that outstripped and surprised the guide. Every step was now shortening my chain, and bringing me nearer home.

On reaching Flesk-bridge, I saw from it with a delay that was heedless of the calls of hunger, for it was now evening, a glorious, golden setting sun. His beams empurpled and gave a body to the thick mists which hung on the high mountain sides, and gave them an uncommonly solemn appearance; while, at a greater distance, where there were more light and openness, the effect of the last rays of the sun upon the mist, resembled the

dim smoke of a volcano or vast furnace. Weary as I was, as well as hungry, I climbed a little eminence nearer the town, which communicated with the road by a red gate, and saw the fine effect of the parting beams on the heavens, and on the whole bason of the lower lake.

As I entered the town, the band of the 17th regiment were playing several delightful Scotch and other airs, on the lawn before Lord Kenmare's house, which, by the way, is a heavy building not worth looking at. The new inn, Murphy's, at Killarney, is not dear, but dirty and uncomfortable: here, as in most of the other inns in Ireland, there are no bells; and the only bar to the street door, as we found in the morning, was an old pair of tongs.

Next morning, Sunday, we set out on foot for Mill-street, before six o'clock; intending to reach that place in time for church at twelve. But the day being sultry, and the distance greater than we believed, sixteen Irish or twenty-one English miles, frequent restings became necessary; and it was full eight hours before we arrived at the end of our walk: alas! too late for church, of which the service seemed to have been hurried over with its usual rapidity. On the road we met multitudes of Catholics going to matins, neatly dressed, having their beads and crucifixes suspended at their sides. Can these decent people be the sanguinary rebels who delight in massacre, and seek to turn things upside down? With respect to the establishment, or any other denomination of religion, there seems to prevail a melancholy lukewarmness. There is no church on the road or near it, all the way from Killarney to Mill-street. Neither is any difference apparent, except amongst the Catholics, betwixt Saturday and Sunday; some being employed in burning lime, some cutting turf, some thatching their houses, others sewing or knitting at their doors, and all whistling or singing.

At an inn, about half way betwixt the two towns, I got a crust of bread and a jug of goat's milk, which was taken from the animal at the parlour door. At a little distance from the road, I saw children running about in a state of perfect nakedness.

At Mill-street I had a cheap and delicious breakfast, but was again cheated by the waiter. The street of this village resembled a fair or market, as the Catholic Sunday was over, and the people were assembled in companies, chatting together, decently drest, and behaving with great decorum. The women were drest in neat muslin caps, and cloaks made of cloth: the dress of both men and women was decent, and their general behaviour and relaxation grave, and suited to the day.

The priest, a respectable looking man, who resembled a fa-

reigner, was going from house to house, and chatting with the people, by whom he seemed to be respected and beloved. Some of the shops were open, and an Irish catechism appeared in the window of one of them. These people are either belied as to their atrocity of character, or they must be the deepest of deceivers.

No chaise was to be had, and, as there was to be an inspection of cavalry next day, it was impossible to obtain riding horses. I accordingly engaged a car, which cost me ten shillings and sixpence, and two shillings and eight-pence for the keep of the horse. There being no church service in the afternoon, and the inn being full of merry company, I was once more compelled to violate the evening of the Sabbath, especially as I was anxious to be with my own flock on the next. We drove on to Mallow, as quick as a post-chaise could carry us, that is to say, at the rate of three and a half Irish miles an hour; the fellow running all the way by the side of his cart with prodigious speed and indefatigableness, and never once stopping on the road, except at the whiskey houses, which it is part of an Irishman's principles not to pass. Under a hill, five miles from Mill-street, was a picturesque group of about one hundred and fifty peasants, who were playing at a game called HURL, which consists in striking a ball high in the air with wooden clubs like flattened spoons. Others were rolling a large stone; a bagpiper was enlivening the scene with his music; and the women, who were spectators, were dealing out porter to the parties. No rudeness of any kind seemed to be going forward.

The sun set on the distant mountains. The darkness advanced, and we had still a great way to go. Serious alarms began to take possession of my mind, as I had been particularly warned never to travel in the dark. The moon rose in great majesty, but our road lay through several dark avenues of trees, which her beams were unable to penetrate. In one of these, a fellow made an attempt to push our driver under the car. I began to be distrustful of the driver himself, and my state of mind was by no means enviable. At length we reached the environs of Mallow, where we met a cart full of drunken men and women, one of whom made a blow with his shelelah at our car, but happily missed his aim. We arrived at our inn at ten o'clock; and the landlord dissuaded me from taking a chaise to Fermoy to meet the Cork mail. I remained in Mallow all night, and next morning found the driver gone with the change of the note with which I had entrusted him.

Next morning, soon after breakfast, I set out on my last pedestrian excursion to Cork, and met upon the road with two fellow-travellers, in whose company I found considerable pleasure.

One of them seemed to be an ensign or lieutenant in disguise, although he would not own it; he was a modest sensible young man: the other, one of the finest and most manly boys I ever saw, the son of a gentleman of large property on the lake of Killarney. This generous boy was going to visit an uncle in Cork, to which city he was an entire stranger. His remarks were sensible, manly, and set off by a sprightly simplicity. We met a dragoon galloping at full speed, and fully accoutred, on the road. Immediately it was reported, from cottage to cottage, that the French had landed at Cork. "Well, and if they have," said the boy, "I am glad we are going there; for then we shall see the fun of driving them away again."

A little school in a smoky cabin attracted our notice on the side of the road, and we entered into this scene of filth and misery. The principal books were Catholic catechisms. "Och," said my young companion, "I think the master needs a little teaching himself."

After a pleasing journey, beguiled by much innocent conversation, I parted with my companions in the middle of Cork. Inexplicable are the sympathies of man! I have been on terms, of what the world calls friendship, with characters whose worth I have esteemed, and whose intelligence I have appreciated, for years; and have parted from them after all with less reluctance than I resigned this acquaintance of a day. Adieu, interesting young friend! I shall never see thee more. Mayst thou remain as innocent in thy journey through life, as thou now art in the outset of it; and may all thy days flow on as happily as thou hast caused this one to gild a life, in which a happy day not frequently occurs.

The labourers on the roads, as we came along, asked us for "the price of the tobacco;" and on my climbing over a newly finished bridge, at the nine-mile stone, one man called after me, "Well, if you wont leave the price of the tobacco, you can say you were the first traveller that passed over the bridge."

Cork is a beautiful town, which we entered over a handsome new bridge. I dined at the Bush Tavern, where the waiters are civil, and the fare cheap. A gentleman in a neighbouring box entertained me by calling for a bottle of draught porter. After dinner I strolled through the town, and saw the grand parade, a noble street; the cove, with gentlemen's seats hanging on its banks, and the general appearance of a town, which excited my greatest admiration. In the evening I got into the Dublin mail, which went rapidly along without any particular adventure until we came to breakfast at Kilkenny; when, on my asking the waiter to give me change for a guinea and a half note, an elderly gentleman, one of the passengers, kindly offered to accommodate me with cash, and taking up the note gave me a guinea in return,

along with a few shillings. He said it would save me the trouble of burthening myself with the provincial small notes, and that he would settle the difference as we went along. We travelled, however, first to one stage then to another, and no mention of the difference; at length, next morning, as we came within a mile of Dublin, I took the liberty of reminding him of the debt. "Och," says he, "and indeed I must continue in your debt."—"Sir," said I, "this is rather strange conduct to one entirely unknown to you."—"I shall probably meet you at the commercial buildings some time or other."—"Sir, I do not frequent the place; and must request you to pay the coachman and guard for me." Nothing more passed until he left the coach at the end of Essex-street, when I once more put him in mind of his debt. The coachman and guard were now claiming their perquisites from him; and he had the unparallelled effrontery to turn them over to me for payment. "Look to that gentleman," said he, "I have engaged to meet him at the commercial buildings at two o'clock." upon which I looked out at the window, and cried with a warmth which I thought would have brought me into a scrape, "Sir, you know I have made no such appointment with you; your behaviour is most ungentlemanlike: and I will tell the coachman and guard in your presence, that if they do not get their payment from you, they will look in vain for it to me." He stole away in the midst of my abuse, and the hearty maledictions of the guards; and although I went to the commercial buildings at the time he specified, more to discover the end of the adventure than from my expectation of repayment, my money was gone for ever. I mention this trifling circumstance thus minutely, because it is a peculiarity which an English mail-coach would hardly have presented, in any person bearing the character and appearance of a gentleman. I do not however consider it or set it down as a picture of general manners. I was sorry to see it in an individual instance. The name of this swindler is S———; he was well known to the clerk of the coach-office, who, without meaning to be pointed, called him a *Cork gentleman.*

This person lent me on the road the trial of M'Cann, one of the rebels, who was convicted of having poisoned his own mother for the sake of one hundred and seventy-five pounds. One of the coachmen was a singular character: he quoted Milton, Pope, Addison, and Goldsmith, and said, that although he came in so *disputable* a form, his education was of the highest kind; but having now got into this *agitated* way, it was morally impossible he could keep up his scholarship, and yet he did all he could; for every second Sunday he sent a man on the road in his place, and went to church, as he spent every second night with

his family. Of all the books he ever read, none pleased him so so much as Hervey's Meditations; a book which does not make mischief out of occurrences like some writers, but purifies every trifle, shewing a poor man how to derive a lesson even from the fire struck by a horse's shoe. This man drinks, swears, and quarrels, but says he injures nobody. Such is his morality, and such must be that of all those who make a morality of their own: better than none at all, but not so good as that of the Bible.

Seven hundred and fifty rebels were shot at Carlow, which we passed, in one day; six disaffected yeomen brought in four rebels, after being all night with the rebel party; they brought their friends like true traitors instigated by the hope of reward; but no sooner were they brought into the castle yard, than they were desired to pray for an hour, and were then shot.

Before dinner I inspected the Library of Trinity College, which I had omitted to see in my former visits to the metropolis. Dr. Barrett, the librarian, treated me with great civility, although I troubled him after the usual hour: he shewed amongst other curiosities, which must content a rapid observer, books entirely printed in gold, on scriptural and oriental subjects.

The upper gallery, on account of want of rooms, is about to be disfigured by projecting rows, which will spoil the view of the whole, or parallel with the wall, by which means the pillars will be broken. On this momentous question, the fellows I understand are at present divided.

"Non nostrum tantas componere lites."

As I embarked for Holyhead this evening, I shall here finish my tour with a few general observations.

The hotels, if we may judge of them from that in Dawson Street, are reasonable in their charges. Beds are two shillings a night, and breakfasts in a comfortable style, one shilling, or one shilling and sixpence. Dinners are not given here, but the house is connected with a neighbouring tavern, where they may be had on moderate terms: so moderate, indeed, that it is even thought penurious to call for less than a bottle of wine. This with an excellent dinner may be had for about six shillings and six pence. A shilling a day is sufficient for all the servants at the hotel; but it is expected that a shilling shall be given to the waiter who attends at dinner in the coffee-house. Whether this is designed to compensate for the abuse which he receives, I am unable to determine: but a moralizing mind cannot help observing, that men are not paid in this world proportionably to their deserts, and that he who has least labour, is often most largely rewarded. Each particular bed-room in the large hotel

has its own bell. You take the key in your pocket, and lay it upon the number of your bell, by which the chambermaid can get admittance, as she let me know in a violent rage, when I had had some linen stolen.

Dublin is divided into districts; each of which is committed to the superintendence of certain respectable persons, called conservators of the peace. Every householder must paste on his door a paper mentioning the names and occupations of all who reside in his house.

Amongst the public charitable institutions are the following, which deserve a minuter inspection from the philanthropic traveller, than I had time to bestow upon them. The Foundling and Workhouse, James-street; the Lock, Townsend-street; the Old and New Houses of Industry, near the Linen-Hall; the Penitentiary, George's Hill; Orphan House, Prussia-street. House of Refuge, Upper Bagshot-street, Magdalene, Leeson-street; Lock Penitentiary, Dorset-street; Magdalen, Townsend-street; Dublin Weekly and Sunday School, in School-street, Thomas-court; and the Blue-Coat Hospital, Oxmantown-street.

Of the celebrated liquor, known by the name of usquebagh, there are two sorts, a green and a yellow; the former made with angelica, the latter dyed with saffron. The only genuine usquebagh is manufactured at Drogheda; all other kinds being accommodated to the Irish taste, which regards the quantity rather than the quality.

A Scotchman is perhaps the most provident, an Irishman certainly the most improvident, character in the world. One would wonder who, or where are the persons from whom credit is obtained; for every individual of every description seems to live to the full extent of his income, or rather in the words of the Poor Soldier, "to spend half a crown out of sixpence a day."

> Hic ultra vires habitûs nitor; hic aliquid plus
> Quam Satis est; interdum aliena sumimur aveâ.
> — — — — — hic vivimus ambitiosa
> Paupertate omnes.

Who, or where are the savers and lenders of this nation? This is a question still more difficult to solve, since the union has taken place. Prior to that event, if a man of fortune had lived extravagantly, and was desirous of retrenching, he could leave his wife and family at his country seat, and ride into Dublin, to attend parliament, with a single servant, and a pair of horses. He now removes his whole establishment to London, where he live

in the highest style. In his style, however, he has no notion of economy, or of the frugal high living of the English. His fashion is extravagance; his routs are amateur concerts; his dinners are attended with excessive drinking; his wines are of the rarest quality. Even his excursions to watering places, are not, like those of the English gentry, reliefs to his winter and domestic expences; for he is accompanied by his whole establishment; and consequently returns to Dublin without a shilling in his pocket, and all this expenditure, squeezed out of the vitals of his own country, never returns into its circulation; and consisting of specie, leaves a blank to be filled up by new inundations of base coin, and country bank paper.

It is not now the fashion, as we have already observed, to go to Dublin in the winter months; whence it has happened, that this beautiful metropolis, once the seat of government, has dwindled into a sea-port: a sea-port which, however, by means of its increasing commerce, may still flourish in its former opulence and magnificence.

Neither are matters considered as altogether quiet: so that people loving security have another motive for come to London On this account, too, adventurers from Britain, whom it was expected, that the union would bring over to improve agriculture, and excite manufacturing industry, have not yet made their appearance, nor are they likely to make it for some years to come, for who would embark a large capital on any speculation, when the whole might be knocked on the head in one night? The union, however, was upon the whole, a good and useful measure: for if it had not been effected, the Irish would have been perpetually hankering after independence, which they could never have supported. If not united to Britain, and dependent on her, Ireland would have been a province of France: cajoled, perhaps, like Holland, by the specious title of an independent republic; a wreath of flowers to hide her chains.

Ostentation is certainly a prominent feature in the Irish character. They do not "light a candle and put it under a bushel." It is with their talents as with their equipage, and the plate upon their side-boards: a grand display is made of both; and it is so contrived, that whatever they have, shall go as great way as possible. Dashing men who give two courses in Dublin, finding no school cheap enough for their children in that metropolis, send them to some petty dame school in the neighbourhood. One is apt to suspect their hospitality to have some tincture of a love of shew. At all events, the praises pronounced on it cannot but be deemed extravagant, by those who reflect, that it supersedes the finest and most commendable feelings of nature. Nor is this ostentation confined to the higher walks of life; every where may be

traced marks of a desire to make an appearance, and to cause a little to go a great way. Every hedge ale-house is a hotel; every gingle is "my carriage;" every ragged boy, without shoes or stockings, is "my servant;" and even on the coffins of men who have been hanged, we find marks of national vanity, in "Mr. A. B. who departed this life," &c.

Every thing in Dublin is pomp or poverty, splendour or squalid wretchedness. No decent comforts of the middle ranks unite, as in London, the magnificence and misery. Instead of the shades of comfort which every where in England, melt into one another by insensible gradations, here may be observed two broad, distinguishable lines of brilliancy and blackness. The grandeur of the metropolis of Ireland, and the sketchings of the private hours, make it wonderful that a union should have been opposed in Dublin; but to the country in general, the effects must be beneficial. To the poor, no experiment can be hurtful: for in comforts and in morals, they are already in the lowest state of degradation to which it is possible for the people to be sunk.

END OF THE TOUR IN IRELAND.

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TO

TOUR IN IRELAND.

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ANALYSES

OF

NEW VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

Lately published in LONDON.

A Northern Summer; or, Travels round the Baltic, through Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, and part of Germany, in the year 1804. *By* JOHN CARR, ESQ. *author of "The Stranger in France," &c. &c. One large volume quarto, with eleven beautiful engravings, from the drawings of the author, pp.* 500, *Price* 2l. 2s.—PHILLIPS, 1805.

MR. CARR's publication of Travels in France during the late suspension of hostilities, was considered as the most pleasing and intelligent volume of any that had been produced by the individuals who availed themselves of that transitory period of tranquillity, to visit the French Republic. In his former tour he gained much of his information by having the good fortune to be introduced to families of the highest respectability in France, and it is certain that during his late excursion he has been equally fortunate. His information respecting the capital of the Russian Empire may therefore be deemed accurate, and at the present time must be particularly interesting. "The ground," says he, "which my pen is about to retrace, has not frequently been trodden by Englishmen. Northern travellers of celebrity, who have favoured the world with the fruits of their researches, have generally applied their learning and ingenuity more to illustrate the histories of the countries through which they have passed." The principal object of his pages is therefore to describe those features which distinguish us from our brothers in

other regions; and hence their contents must add considerably to the stock of information and amusement of the untravelled reader.

After expressing a hope, in which we cordially join, that the execution of his wishes will at least be without the fault of fortifying the prejudices which divide nations that ought to be linked together by mutual love, he begins the subject of his volume.

It appears that his primary inducement to undertake these travels, was the hope of ameliorating a state of health, which had often excited the solicitude of maternal affection. He set off from Totnes, his native town, on the 14th of May, 1804, and proceeded through London to Harwich, where he embarked in a packet for Husum, and the next day saw the top-masts of our blockading fleet off the Texel. He gives the following account of

HELOGOLAND AND ITS INHABITANTS.

"On the third day, a very singular object presented itself; it was Helogoland, a vast lofty perpendicular rock rising out of the ocean, and distant about forty-five miles from the nearest shore: it is only one mile in circumference, yet upon its bleak and bladeless top, no less than three thousand people live in health, prosperity, and happiness. The hardy inhabitants subsist principally by fishing and piloting, and are occasionally enriched by the destroying angel of the tempest. But to the honour of the brave Helogolanders, they never augment the horrors of the enraged element. Humanity and honourable interest impel them gallantly to face the storm, and snatch the sinking mariner, and the sad remains of his floating fortune, from the deep: they never suffer the love of gain to excite any other exclamation than that of thanks to God; not that the storm has happened, but that the ocean has not swallowed up all the wreck from them. How unlike a body of barbarians who infest the west of England, and prefer plunder to the preservation of life; who have been even known to destroy it, while struggling with the waves, for the sake of a ring or a bauble; and who are accustomed in the spring of every year, to speak of the last *wreck season* as a good or a bad one, according to the violence or moderation of the preceding winter."

The Helogolanders are a fine healthy race of people, remarkably fair, live in small huts, and sleep on shelves ranged one above another, and are governed by a chief who is deputed from the government of Denmark.

Our traveller and a companion who went with him from England, entered the river of Husum in the afternoon. Boats put off from the little islands which appear on either side of the river, filled with hardy men, women, and boys; the ladies wore large black glazed pasteboard bonnets, glittering in the sun: they were all going to the great fair at Husum. We cast anchor, says

he, about four miles from that town, whose tall spire appeared full in our view: a large boat filled with these good holiday folks came alongside, and received us, baggage and all. As we proceeded up the river, which became narrower as we advanced, and which seemed more like thin mud than water, through which we heavily moved by the assistance of punting poles, I waded through the tedium of the time by contemplating my companions: most of whom, with myself, were covered below with the hatches to avoid a heavy shower of rain. They were all in their holiday dresses; the men in blue or brown druggets, and large round hats, and the women in coarse striped camlet gowns, in which red was the prevailing colour, with the vast shining bonnets before described, and slippers with high heels without any quarters: we were crowded together almost to suffocation.

Our company were more animated than improved by pigs and poultry, and the various produce of the farm, amongst which I noticed some delicious butter. In the party was a fine blooming young Scotswoman, who had married a Heligolander; her expressive countenance flushed with delight, to find herself seated near an Englishman, in her look was legibly written the inextinguishable love of our country.

BUILDINGS OF HUSUM, AND FEMALES OF HOLSTEIN.

Soon after dinner, says Mr. Carr, I strolled through the fair, which was filled with peasantry from various parts of Holstein and Slesvig. The women, in their rude finery, reversed the ambition of their fair sisters on the other side of the water; they were strongly buckramed to the top of the neck, and exhibited no traces of the bosom; but, to soften the severity of this rigid decorum in front, they presented such a projecting rotundity behind, that, to eyes which had been accustomed to gaze upon the symmetry of English fair-ones, appeared truly grotesque and awakened many a smile. The church, which is large and ancient, was upon this occasion disrobed of the sanctity of its character, and in its fretted aisles booths were erected, in which books and haberdashery were exposed to sale, and where I found some coarse copies of engraving from some of the pictures of Westall. "In several places upon the continent, I witnessed with no little degree of pride, a striking predilection for the works of this distinguished artist. Almost every article which was exposed to sale was called English, although I am satisfied that many of them were never fashioned by English hands; but the charm of the name has an influence every where; its sound is attractive, and the very pedlar of the fair finds his account in its forgery."

At night he saw the peasants dancing waltzes, their per-

formance of which had a ludicrous effect. The females looked like so many tubs turning round, while their partners never moved their pipes from their mouths.

They had prepared for their departure to Fleursborg; and were sitting in the inn, when a pretty pale and interesting girl, whose age could not have exceeded thirteen, entered with a trembling step, and presented one of the gentlemen present with a note—the contents of it, says Mr. Carr, unfolded such a secret as must have shocked the soul of the most depraved libertine—it was written by her mother. We detained her miserable and devoted child until we had raised a little subscription for her, and dismissed her with an involuntary exclamation of abhorrence against the parent. This circumstance draws from him the following just observation:—"In the first step which an Englishman makes out of his own country, he is sure to meet with something to satisfy him that he cannot find a better."

Much information is given relative to the expences of travelling in Denmark, which will be of infinite utility to Englishmen whose affairs may lead them to that part of the continent; but being foreign to our purpose, we shall pass it over. The manner of travelling in Denmark and Sweden is likewise stated at much length by Mr. Carr, but it has been amply detailed in our translation of Kuttner's Travels.

At Aversund they crossed the Little Belt, and arrived at Ossens, where they slept between two feather-beds instead of a blanket and sheet. Nothing can be more singular to an Englishman than this species of northern luxury.

MARRIAGE PROCESSION.

"In the morning, as the horses were putting to, a singular procession passed us: a young woman in gala, whose hair was stiffened almost to the consistency of stucco with powder and pomatum, on which was raised a high cap of lace, decorated with a profusion of artificial flowers, and with a large nosegay of spring and artificial flowers in her bosom, and a book in her hand, and turning-in her toes most abominably, passed in the most stately manner up the street, preceded by three girls in mob caps, decorated with little bits of silver and gold lace, and in red jackets, each with a book in her hand, and followed by two old women, holding books also. The fair heroine of this singular groupe moved to me as she passed. She was proceeding to the church, where her bridegroom was counting the lagging moments of her absence. The old and the young peeped out of the doors and windows as they passed."

On arriving at Nioborg, our traveller passed the Great Belt, which is twenty English miles in breadth, and landed at Corsoer.

HAZARDOUS ENTERPRISE OF CHARLES X.

As I passed over this mighty space of water, says Mr. Carr, I could not help reflecting with astonishment, that in the month of February 1658 it formed a bridge of ice for the hardy troops of the warlike and ambitious Charles X. who, contrary to the advice of his council of war, marched over it to give battle to the Danes. During this tremendous passage a part of the ice gave way, and a whole squadron of the guards were immolated, not one of whom were saved, an order having been given that no one should attempt to assist his neighbour in such an emergency upon pain of death. After passing the Little Belt in the same way, Charles Gustavus Adolphus obliged the Danes to make the peace of Roskild. This enterprise may be ranked amongst the most marvellous atchievements, and a recurrence to it will furnish ample means of occupation to the mind of the traveller during his passage over these portions of the sea.

REMARKS ON THE DANISH CHARACTER.

"It is scarcely necessary for me to observe that the government of Denmark is despotic. The Dane is a good natured, laborious character; he is fond of spirits, but is rarely intoxicated; the severity of the climate naturalizes the attachment, and his deportment in the indulgence of it is inoffensive. At breakfast at Corsoer a respectable Dane entered the room; the landlady, a vast unwieldy good-humoured creature in boots, without saying a word opened her cupboard, and taking down a bottle of gin, presented her guest with a large wine glass full, which he drank off, as if it had been so much cocoa milk, and immediately retired."

Mr. Carr pays an elegant compliment to the ingenuity of the Danish women; for he uniformly observed, that when from his ignorance of their language he had exhausted his gestures upon the men in vain, he always found that the women comprehended him with two-thirds less of pantomimic action.—An admirable proof of the quickness of female comprehension.

INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF ROSKILD, AND ITS ANTIQUITIES.

We arrived, says our traveller, on a Sunday at Roskild, which, according to Holberg, was formerly a city of many parishes, and contained within its walls twenty-seven churches, and an equal number of convents, though now a place of very little import. We went to the cathedral, a heavy pile of brick covered with copper, with two spires, the most ancient part of which was erected under the auspices of Harold, the grandfather of Canute

the Great, king of England and Denmark. The inside of this building owes its grandeur to its size; the ceiling is stained with little sprigs of flowers in a vile taste, and are wholly unenriched by those exquisite interlacings in the roof that form the principal beauty of Gothic architecture, the rudiments of which nature first imparted to our early forefathers, by placing before their imitative eyes the graceful intersections of a simple bower: the organ is upon an immense scale, and the tone very fine: the stops are moved by the feet of the organist. In a large octagon chapel, divided from the body of the cathedral by an iron grate, so finely wrought, that at a distance it resembles black gauze, and in a subterranean vault, repose the remains of the royal family of Denmark, in several raised stone coffins, which are covered with black velvet palls, embroidered with small crowns of gold, falling in full drapery upon the floor. It is foreign to my purpose to enumerate them all. The most superb tomb is that of Juliana Maria, whose sanguinary conduct towards the hapless Queen Matilda and the unfortunate Counts Struensee and Brandt, excited so much sensation some years since. As I gazed upon this gloomy depository of unrelenting jealousy and ambition, imagination raised the bleeding shades of those devoted men, consigned from the pinnacle of power and royal favour to the dungeon and the scaffold. Alas! the common tyrant, in no wide lapse of time, has closed the eyes of the ruthless destroyer and her victims.

TOMB OF MARGARET OF VOLDEMAR.

I must not omit, says Mr. C. the tomb of that wonderful woman Margaret of Voldemar, or, as she was styled with a derision which she well revenged, the *king in petticoats*. She flourished in the 13th century, and bore upon her brow the crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The northern Semiramis was destined to astonish the world by her marvellous exploits, and her very entrance into it was rendered somewhat extraordinary on account of her being the legitimate daughter of her father and mother. The former becoming disgusted with her mother, confined her in a castle, and about the same time fell violently in love with one of her *dames d'honneur*, and was a suitor for her favours; the good-humoured girl affected to consent, but imparted the assignation to the unhappy queen, was instrumental in conveying her in disguise to the spot, and Margaret was the fruit of this singular intrigue.

We were much gratified by seeing in one of the chapels the rich and beautiful mausoleums of Frederic II. and Christian III.; they were designed and made in Italy, at an immense cost, by the order of Christian IV. The sovereigns are represented

in recumbent postures the size of life, under a stone canopy, supported by Corinthian pillars; the basso relievos which adorn the tomb of Frederic II. are exquisite pieces of sculpture. Here are also interred many distinguished heroes, who have raised the glory of their country, and live in the page of history.

As we crossed the church-yard to return to the inn, we were stopped by the appearance of an interesting young woman, who, with much grief in her countenance, was scattering slips of lilac and half-blown tulips and fine sand from a little basket which she held in her hand, upon a fresh grave, which from its size, and from her looks, I conjectured to be that of her infant child. It was the custom of the country, and an affecting one it was.

PALACE OF COPENHAGEN.

As we approached Lubel's hotel, to which we were recommended, we passed by the walls of the royal palace, which bore ample and afflicting testimony to the colossal size and magnificence which must have formerly distinguished it, before it fell a victim to the flames in 1794. Upon our visiting this splendid pile, after dinner, we found by an inscription remaining undefaced, that it was raised by Christian VI. out of his own private purse, without pinching his subjects, and cost six millions of dollars: it stands in an island, formed by a canal, and has several gates; the principal entrance is of wrought iron, and has a noble effect: the front has twenty-five enormous windows in a line, and is composed of six stories, three of which are upon a large, and the remaining three upon a small scale. This front is three hundred and sixty-seven feet long, the lateral sides three hundred and eighty-nine, and the elevation one hundred and fourteen; all the grand apartments of state were upon the fourth story; the court is surrounded with two wings of piazza twelve feet deep, and on each side are stables for saddle and carriage horses, which are arched: these have escaped the fury of the conflagration, and are truly magnificent; the racks of that which holds forty-eight horses are of copper, and the pillars which separate the stalls are of brick stuccoed. In another we observed the racks and columns were of Norwegian marble; the floor of the stalls is of stone, and the breadth of each is six feet. The court is three hundred and ninety feet long, and three hundred and forty in its greatest breadth: the pilastres are of the composite order, and the columns Ionic; there are also two lateral courts which are surrounded with buildings of two hundred and forty-five feet by one hundred and six. The stable to the left is divided by the riding-house, which is one hundred and seventy-six feet by fifty-six, and lighted by fifteen cross-bar windows, with a gallery for the royal family and spectators, and has alto-

gether a very grand appearance. Here all the branches of the royal family were formerly lodged: so rapid was the fury of the conflagration, and such the panic which it inspired, that but little of the treasure of its pictures, furniture, and gorgeous decorations could be saved. Of the internal magnificence of this palace, some idea may be formed by the following description of the ritta saal or knight's saloon: it was one hundred and eighteen feet long by fifty-eight, was lighted by day by nine windows, and at night by three lustres which contained more than twelve hundred wax lights: on each side was a gallery richly gilded and supported by forty-four columns of cinnamon wood, the bases and capitals of which were also richly gilded: an artist of the name of Abilgaad was commissioned to embellish the hall with twenty-three large paintings, from subjects arising from the Danish history, at one thousand rix dollars a-piece. The library of the king, which suffered much by the fire, contained one hundred and thirty thousand volumes and three thousand manuscripts. Its size is too enormous for that of the capital and kingdom, and forms a striking contrast to the present residence of the royal family.

ANECDOTE OF A QUACK.

Whilst I was contemplating these stupendous remains, a splendid English vis-a-vis dashed by, drawn by a pair of noble greys, which, with a profusion of gold lace upon the coats of the coachman and footman, attracted the notice and surprise of the good people of Copenhagen, who had never even seen their beloved Crown Prince in such finery: it was the equipage of a foreign quack doctor, who had had the good fortune to live and flourish in England in an *age of pills*.

CITY OF COPENHAGEN, ITS THEATRE, &c.

Copenhagen is a small but very neat city, its circumference between four and five English miles; the streets are broad and handsome; the houses, of which there are about four thousand, exclusive of the quarter belonging to the sailors, and garrisons for three regiments, are generally of brick stuccoed to resemble stone, and some are of free-stone, and in an elegant style of Italian architecture: the shops are in the basement story, and by making no prominent appearance, do not disfigure the beauty of the rest of the building. Such is the case upon every part of the continent which I have visited. The streets are divided by canals, which afford great facility to the transport of goods, but have narrow and inconvenient foot-paths: the population is estimated at eighty-two thousand. La rue de Goths is a beautiful street, and is about three quarters of an English mile

long. The Kongens nye Tow or King's place, which is also the market-place, is a noble, spacious, irregular area, adorned with many fine houses, several of which have been raised since the late fire. The only theatre in the city is here: it was not open during our stay. This building is detached, small but handsome without, and within is elegantly decorated: in the season, the performers play four times in the week, alternately opera and play, which is generally in the language of the country. On account of the vast number of persons who have free admission to it, amongst whom are all marine and land officers, the receipts are but very little, and the deficiency, which is supplied by the king, generally amounts to about one hundred thousand rix dollars per annum. Upon the whole the court is not a very munificent patron of the drama, and the performers seldom exceed mediocrity. One of the large buildings in this place is the castle of Charlottenburg, part of which is devoted to the royal academy of painting, architecture, and sculpture; it has eight professors and four masters: the day for the annual distribution of the prizes is the 31st of March, the birth-day of the prince, Frederic, who is the patron. Those pupils who obtain the golden medal are sent to travel at the expence of the crown. Such of the productions of the pupils and professors as I saw, did not excite a very high opinion of the arts in Denmark.

DANISH HOSPITALITY.

No respectable stranger can enter Copenhagen without speedily becoming the object of its frank and generous hospitality. The day after our arrival enabled us to partake of the hearty profusion of a Danish dinner; it was given at the country house of one of the most respectable inhabitants of the city, and appeared in the following succession: soups top and bottom, Norwegian beef boiled, ham strongly salted, fish, pigeons, fowls, stewed spinnage, and asparagus. The meat is always cut into slices by the master of the house, and handed round by the servants. Etiquette proscribes the touching of any particular dish out of its regular course, although the table may be groaning under the weight of its covers; this ceremony is occasionally a little tantalizing. Creams, confectionary, and dried fruits followed: the wines were various and excellent. The repast lasted a formidable length of time: it was two hours of hard stuffing in a fog of hot meats. The appetite of the fair ones present, was far, I might say very far from being puny or fastidious, but in the homely phrase, what they eat did them good.

DANISH LADIES, THEIR ETIQUETTE, &c.

The Danish ladies are *en bon point*, and possess that frank

and generous countenance, which, the moment the eye sees, the heart understands and loves; they much resemble the higher class of Wouvermann's figures, and very largely partake of that gay good humour, which is so generally the companion of a plump and portly figure. Having said so much in their favour, which they eminently deserve, I cannot help hinting that they are not so attentive to neatness of dress as their neighbours; they want such a man as Addison to rally them with his delicate satire out of a slovenly habit, which induces them, when they buy a gown, almost always to prefer a dark cotton, because *it does not want washing*. They speak English with its proper accent, as well as French and German fluently. The English language forms a prominent part of female education. Here, as in France, the company rise and retire with the lady of the house.

BATTLE OF COPENHAGEN.

On our return to the city, and about a mile from it, a turfed hillock of small poplars attracted our notice: it was the national tomb of the heroes who fell in the memorable battle of Copenhagen roads on the second of April, 1801, and stood in a meadow about two hundred yards from the road, and looked towards the Crown battery, As we approached it, we saw a small monumental obelisk, which was raised to the memory of Captain Albert Thurah, by the Crown Prince. It appeared by the inscription, that during the heat of that sanguinary battle, a signal was made from one of the block ships, that all the officers on board were killed; the Crown Prince, who behaved with distinguished judgment and composure during the whole of that terrific and anxious day, and was giving his orders on shore, exclaimed, "Who will take the command?" The gallant Thurah replied, "I will, my prince," and immediately leaped into a boat, and as he was mounting the deck of the block ship, a British shot numbered him amongst the dead, which formed a ghastly pile before him, and consigned his spirit and his glory to the regions of immortality.

As the battle under all its circumstances was as awful and affecting as any in the English and Danish history, the reader will I am sure feel no reluctance minutely to contemplate the larger tomb which first attracted our notice: it is a pyramidal hillock, neatly turfed and planted with sapling poplars corresponding with the number of officers who fell. At the base of the principal front are tomb-stones, recording the names of each of these officers and their respective ships. A little above is an obelisk of grey northern marble, raised upon a pedestal of granite, bearing this inscription:—

To the memory of those who fell for their country, their grateful fellow citizens raise this monument, April 2, 1801.

And beneath, on a white marble tablet, under a wreath of laurel, oak, and cypress bound together, is inscribed :—

The wreath which the country bestows never withers over the grave of the fallen warrior.

The whole is enclosed in a square palisado : as a national monument, it is too diminutive.

The next day I visited the spot where so much blood was shed. A young Danish officer upon the Crown battery obligingly pointed out the disposition of the ships, and spoke of the battle with great impartiality. From the position of the British fleets, before the squadron under Lord Nelson bore down, and rendered his intention indubitable, the Danes were firmly of opinion that the British commander intended to proceed either to Calscrona or Revel, and made no preparation for defence ; their ships were lying in ordinary : they therefore trusted solely to their block ships and batteries. On that day the hero of the Nile surpassed those atchievements, which an admiring and astonished world conceived must for ever remain without imitation, as they had been without example, in the annals of the British navy. Favoured by a fortunate shift of wind, and an extraordinary elevation of the tide, which at the time was higher than the Danes had long remembered it, he placed his unsupported squadron, and, as it is said, with an *unobserved* signal of retreat flying at the mast head of the ship of the chief in command, in a most advantageous and formidable position. The citizens of Copenhagen in a moment flew to their posts ; all distinctions were lost in the love of their country. Nobles and mechanics, gentlemen and shopmen, rushed together in crowds to the quays ; the sick crawled out of their beds, and the very lame were led to the sea side, imploring to be taken in the boats, which were perpetually going off with crowds to the block ships. A carnage at once tremendous and novel only served to increase their enthusiasm. What an awful moment ! The invoked vengeance of the British nation, with the fury and velocity of lightning, was falling with terrible desolation upon a race of gallant people, in their very capital, whose kings were once seated upon the throne of England, and in the veins of whose magnanimous prince flowed the blood of her august family. Nature must have shuddered as she contemplated such a war of brethren : the conflict was short, but sanguinary beyond example ; in the midst of the slaughter the heroic Nelson dispatched a flag of truce on shore, with a note to the Crown Prince, in which he expressed a wish that a stop should be put to the further effusion of human blood, and to avert the destruction of the Danish arsenal and

of the capital, which he observed that the Danes must then see were at his mercy. He once more proposed their withdrawing from the triple league, and acknowledging the supremacy of the British flag. As soon as the prince's answer was received a cessation of hostilities took place, and Lord Nelson left his ship to go on shore. Upon his arrival at the quay, he found a carriage which had been sent for him by Mr. D. a merchant of high respectability, the confusion being too great to enable the prince to send one of the royal carriages; in the former the gallant admiral proceeded to the palace in the Octagon, through crowds of people, whose fury was rising to frenzy, and amongst whom his person was in more imminent danger than even from the cannon of the block ships; but nothing could shake the soul of such a man. Arrived at the palace in the Octagon he calmly descended from the carriage amidst the murmurs and groans of the enraged concourse, which not even the presence of the Danish officers who accompanied him could restrain. The Crown Prince received him in the hall and conducted him up stairs, and presented him to the king, whose long-shattered state of mind had left him but very little sensibility to display upon the trying occasion. The objects of this impressive interview were soon adjusted, to the perfect satisfaction of Lord Nelson and his applauding country; that done, he assumed the gaiety and good humour of a visitor, and partook of some refreshment with the Crown Prince.

During the repast Lord Nelson spoke in raptures of the bravery of the Danes, and particularly requested the prince to introduce him to a very young officer, whom he described as having performed wonders during the battle, by attacking his own ship immediately under her lower guns. It proved to be the gallant young Welmoes, a stripling of seventeen; the British hero embraced him with the enthusiasm of a brother, and delicately intimated to the prince that he ought to make him an admiral; to which the prince very happily replied, "If, my lord, I were to make all my brave officers admirals, I should have no captains or lieutenants in my service." This heroic youth had volunteered the command of a praam, which is a sort of raft, carrying six small cannon, and manned with twenty-four men; who pushed off from shore, and in the fury of the battle placed themselves under the stern of Lord Nelson's ship, which they most successfully attacked, in such a manner that although they were below the reach of his stern chasers, the British marines made terrible slaughter amongst them: twenty of these gallant men fell by their bullets, but their young commander continued knee-deep in dead at his post, until the truce was announced. He has been honoured, as he most eminently de-

served to be, with the grateful remembrance of his country and of his prince, who, as a mark of his regard, presented him with a medallion commemorative of his gallantry, and has appointed him to the command of his yacht, in which he makes his annual visit to Holstein. The issue of this contest was glorious and decisive; could it be otherwise, when its destinies were committed to Nelson?

TYCHO BRAHE'S NOSE.

In the cabinet of curiosities is a very ingenious invention for tranquillizing the fears of jealous husbands: a stuffed stag, said to have lived several centuries; a lion and bear. There is here also a celestial globe made by Tycho Brahe, who was sent to Copenhagen by his father in the sixteenth century to study rhetoric and philosophy, but the great eclipse of the sun on August the 21st, 1562, engaged him to study astronomy. He was the inventor of a new system of the world, and had some followers; but it is said that his *learning* made him *superstitious*, and his *philosophy irritable*, to such a degree that in a philosophical dispute the argument rose to such a pitch of personal violence that he lost his nose, which he supplied by a gold and silver one admirably constructed; he was also very fond of automata, and of the reputation which he obtained of a conjurer.

CURIOUS CUP, AND OTHER CURIOSITIES.

I was much pleased with the convivial cup of the celebrated Margaret of Valdemar; it had ten lips, which were marked with the respective names of those whom she honoured with her intimacy, who were the companions of her table, and were permitted to taste of the Tuscan grape out of the same vessel. There are here also some exquisite carvings in wood, by a Norwegian farmer, with a common knife; some mummies badly preserved; a piece of amber weighing more than twenty-seven pounds, found in Jutland; lustres of amber; several models of ships in amber, ivory, shell, and mother of pearl; beautiful works of ivory; a toilet of amber, of surprizing workmanship; a great lustre of the same, with twenty-four branches, made by M. Spengler. A complete closet filled with bits of wood, carved by the peasants of Norway, who are extremely expert in this work; a portrait of Denner; a bit of ivory, prettily worked by Queen Louise, mother of the present king; others of the same kind, by Pierre Legrand; the emperors Leopold, Rodolph II. &c.; Jesus Christ on the cross, carved in wood, of so fine a workmanship that it must be seen through a magnifying glass,—it is attributed to Albert Durer; a carriage with six horses, of an inconceivable smallness; a great jug of ivory, with a triumph of Bacchus of a

very fine workmanship, by Jacob Hollander, a Norwegian; the descent from the cross, a superb piece by Magnus Berg; several figures dressed in foreign dresses, Indian, Chinese, &c.; great vases of gold and silver: a flagon or decanter of rock chrystal, very beautifully engraved; a horn of gold, found in Jutland, in 1639, the inscription on which has puzzled the learned; a bust of Brutus in bronze; many precious antiquities of the country; a portrait of Charles XII; the skull of archbishop Absalom, with his dress; &c.

CHARACTER OF THE KING AND THE CROWN PRINCE.

As the King resided at this time in the palace we could not see it, and from all that I could learn we had not much occasion for regret. He passes much of his time here, which he divides between billiards, romances, and his flute; he enjoys good health, but his mind is so infirm that his royal functions seldom exceed the signing of state papers. I was much disappointed in not having the honour of being presented to the Crown Prince, who at this time was in Holstein with that able and excellent minister Count Bernstoff. The Prince is virtually the sovereign of the kingdom, as his father has for many years presented only the phantom of a king. The misfortunes of the august mother of the Prince, his virtues and his wisdom, unite to render him very interesting to an Englishman. In person I was informed that he was short and slender, his eyes are of a light blue, his nose aquiline, his face singularly fair, and his hair almost white: his mind is very capacious, cultivated, and active; his disposition is very amiable; and in the discharge of his august duties he is indefatigable. He is an enemy to dissipation and parade, and avoids the latter upon all but necessary occasions: his virtues constitute his guard of honour, and excite distinction and respect wherever he moves: in his youth he was a prince of great promise, and every blossom has ripened into fruit. At the age of sixteen he effected a revolution in the councils, and crushed the powerful ambition of the sanguinary Juliana Maria, and consigned her intriguing and turbulent spirit to the shades and seclusion of Friedenburgh, by a master-piece of discretion, eloquence, and policy.

If the prince has any fault, it is that he does not sufficiently appreciate the genius of his country, which is more commercial than military. Impelled by a martial enthusiasm, he appears to consider the encouragement of commerce, as an object less worthy of his notice, than the discipline, and perhaps superfluous augmentation of his troops, whose energies will, in all human probability, be long confined to defensive operation. Yet in another mode this prince has sagaciously consulted the in-

terests of his country and the happiness of his people, by abstaining from any material participation in those conflicts, which have so long deteriorated the interests of the rest of Europe.

THE DANISH COURT.

The court days in summer are few; in winter there is a levee once a fortnight: on these days there are suppers, when strangers, upon the presumption of their having the rank of colonels, are invited. At this meeting the number of men and women is equal, and all precedence, except that of the royal family, is determined by drawing lots, as at a ball in England. In the winter, when people aggregate from necessity together, the social meetings in Copenhagen are said to be very frequent and delightful, and the ministers are very polite to strangers well introduced.

REMARKS ON LORD NELSON'S VICTORY.

The action of the 2d of April was of too short a duration to produce any other impression on the country than a temporary irritation, and that event of the day taught her the impolicy and danger of departing from a state of unequivocal neutrality; at the same time it displayed to the world what never yet was questioned, the valour and enthusiastic patriotism of the Danes. It will be considered, however, as somewhat singular, that for two successive years, they commemorated the return of that day, as a day of victory. A whimsical Dane adopted another mode of softening the affair, by endeavouring to prove, what was his own irremovable conviction, that Lord Nelson was of Danish extraction. They now, however, confine themselves to the glory of a gallant but unavailing resistance, and in a little lapse of time their love for the English will return to its former channels.

DANISH LAWS.

The mildness of the Danish government is such, that when the king and the subject, as is frequently the case, happen to be engaged in litigation respecting titles to land, the judges are recommended, if the point be dubious, to decree in favour of the subject. A short time before we arrived, a woman had been found guilty of murder, and she was sentenced only to four years solitary confinement. The Crown Prince is unwilling to see the sword of justice stained with human blood: he is merciful almost to a fault.

The internal taxes are raised or reduced at the discretion of the king, which, with the customs and tolls upon exports and imports, the duties paid by foreigners, and his own demesne

lands and confiscations, constitute the revenues of the crown. The land tax *ad valorem* is admirably managed in Denmark, by which the soil is charged according to its fertility, which is estimated by the quantity of grain required to sow a certain quantity of land. This tax is formed into classes: the peasants have no assignable property in the soil, like tenants in England upon long leases; they contract with their lord to cultivate so much land, in the manner prescribed by their ordinances respecting agriculture, and pay their rent either in money or provision. Such is the law now, that they can experience no oppression.

ANECDOTE OF A HERMIT.

In the grounds of Drommingaard, the residence of a rich family, sixteen miles from Copenhagen, our author observed the ruins of a hermitage, before which was the channel of a little brook, then dried up; and a little further, in a nook, an open grave and a tomb-stone. The story of this retired spot, says he, deserves to be mentioned Time has shed many winter snows upon the romantic beauties of Drommingaard, since one who, weary of the pomp of courts and the tumult of camps, in the prime of life, covered with honours and with fortune, sought from its hospitable owner permission to raise a sequestered cell, in which he might pass the remainder of his days in all the austerities and privation of an anchorite. This singular man had long, previous to the revolution in Holland, distinguished himself at the head of his regiment; but in an unhappy moment the love of aggrandizement took possession of his heart, and marrying under its influence, misery followed: and here, in a little wood of tall firs he raised this simple fabric: moss warmed it within, and the bark of the birch defended it without; a stream of rock water once ran in a bed of pebbles before the door, in which the young willow dipt its leaves; and at a little distance from a bed of wild roses, the labernum gracefully rose and suspended her yellow flowers. He selected an adjoining spot for the depository of his remains when death,

> -like a lover's pinch
> That hurts, but is desir'd,

should have terminated all his sufferings here. Every day he dug a small portion of his grave until he had finished it: he then composed his epitaph in French, and had it inscribed upon a stone.

In this singular solitude he passed several years, when the plans of his life became suddenly reversed, by a letter of recal

from his prince, which contained the most flattering expressions of regard. The wishes of his sovereign and of his country were imperative; he flew to Holland, and at the head of his regiment fought and fell. The night preceding his departure, he composed a farewell to the enchanting scenery in whose bosom he had found repose, which, as an affectionate remembrance of the unfortunate hermit, is inscribed upon a tablet of marble, raised in a little grove not far from the hermitage.

THE CROWN BATTERY, AND DANISH SEAMEN.

A visit to the Crown-battery was very interesting. A young Danish officer, who was present at the battle of the second of April, pointed out the respective positions of the fleets and block ships, and described with great candour and liberality, the particulars of the engagement. This formidable battery is about half an English mile from shore, is square, and the water flows into the middle of it; it is now very rapidly enlarging, and undergoing such alterations as will make it a place of great strength. It is also in contemplation to raise a fresh battery to the southward in addition to that called the lunette. The harbour is very capacious and safe. The holm or arsenal is not shewn without the permission of the admiral. The ships in ordinary are finely arranged and make a gallant show: a gallery or narrow bridge, resting upon piles, runs on each side of the line, which is patroled day and night. The magazines, forges, and workshops are upon an admirable construction: each ship has her different magazine, containing all the materials for her rapid equipment. This depôt is furnished with iron from Norway, hemp from Riga, cloth from Russia and Holland, and wood from Pomerania. The rope-walks are each a thousand feet long. The number of merchant vessels we saw at the quay confirmed the account we received of the magnitude of the Danish commerce. Nature, which has broken the kingdom into islands, has instinctively made the Danes merchants and sailors: their principal foreign trade is with France, Portugal, and Italy, and the East and West Indies: their principal domestic trade is with Norway, and even with Iceland, which, to all but its patriotic and contented native, is a most deplorable country, the very outskirts of the world. The seamen are registered, and are divided into two classes; the stationary sailors are always in the employ of the crown; the others are, in times of peace, permitted to enter into merchant ships, subject to recal in case of war, and have a small annual stipend. The academy of marine cadets forms one of the palaces in the Octagon; it was founded by Frederic V. Here, and at an hotel which belongs to it, sixty youths are maintained and instructed in the principles of navigation, at the ex-

pence of the crown. There are also several other young gentlemen admitted to the school, but are not maintained there. Every year several of these gallant pupils make a cruise in a brig of war, that they may blend practice with theory. The academy of land cadets is pretty nearly upon the same establishment: fifty boys are maintained and educated for a military life, by the crown, and others are admitted to the school, but maintained at their own expence. The former are well fed, but are never permitted to drink tea. In the academy is a riding-house, and in the adjoining stables eight horses are kept for the use of the young pupils.

DUNGEONS OF THE CITADEL.

In the course of my travels, says Mr. Carr, I visited the citadel, which is small stands at the extremity of the city, and contains two battalions, it has two gates, one towards the city, and the other towards the country; the latter is well fortified by five bastions. Adjoining the chapel is the dungeon in which the Count Struensee was confined; it is indeed a most dismal hole; it was here that he lightened the weight of his chains and the horrors of his imprisonment by his flute, upon which, so little apprehensive was he of his impending fate, that his favorite air was from "Le Deserteur," beginning with *Mourir c'est notre dernier ressort.* Upon quitting this melancholy abode, we requested the soldier who conducted us, to shew us that of his unhappy fellow sufferer Brandt; he accordingly led us through a gloomy stone passage, and after unlocking and unbarring a massy door, conducted us up a winding stone staircase into the cell, where, to my surprise, a sun-beam slanting through a small grated window, presented to us the figure of a man of respectable appearance, and of about the middle age of life, emaciated by long confinement and bowed down by grief. As we approached him a faint blush spread partially over his sallow cheek, and a tear stood in his eye, which he endeavoured to conceal with his hand, and with a bow of humiliation turned from us to a little bird-cage which he was constructing. We apologised for our intrusion, and hastily turning towards the door, we beheld a beautiful boy standing near it, apparently about eight years old; his look at once explained that the prisoner was his father: the face of this little child of sorrow was the most artless and expressive I ever beheld. As we descended he followed, and when at the bottom of the stairs, we asked him why he looked so pale: the little creature replied in French, "Ah, Sir! I look so because I have just recovered from a fever; I do not always look so: I shall soon be well, but my poor papa never will." We put money in his hand, and begged him to take it to his father; this he immediately returned saying,

"No, Sir, indeed I must not, my father will be angry with me." All our efforts were in vain; it was a scene of affecting mystery. The soldier took up the child and kissed it, and bidding him return to his father, closed the door. He informed us that the prisoner had been convicted of forgery, but stated that there were many strong circumstances in his favour.

A description of the palace of Rosenberg, the observatory, he library, and other public institutions has already been presented to our readers in the travels of Küttner; we shall therefore pass over Mr. Carr's account of his visits to them, which is nevertheless interesting and satisfactory. The first-mentioned traveller, however, speaks of them more in detail, while Mr. Carr seems to consider every thing in his passage through the Danish and Swedish territories only *en passant*; his principal attention being directed to the city of St. Petersburgh. Yet several incidents which occurred, and remarks which he made during his stay at Copenhagen, are so ludicrous and entertaining, that they are worthy of mention. At a *table d'hote* which he frequented, he saw a Turk with some appearance of consequence, who defied the sumptuary provisions of the Alcoran, and daily got drunk with copious libations of port wine and English bottled porter: in this way he lived till he had spent all his money, when he was kicked out of the boarding-house.

We learn from another passage, that the Danish laws prevent the gratification of shooting, in consequence of which the hawks fly in at the windows of dwelling-houses, and kill the birds that are in cages.

It appears that throughout Denmark every article bears nearly the same price as in England.

In Denmark there is a very rare breed of milk-white horses, which always herd together, and the mares will not permit the stallions of any other breed to approach them.

Mr. Carr at length continued his journey towards Sweden. After some desultory remarks on the country-houses which he noticed, he gives the following account of the

PALACE OF FREDENSBORG.

Through a forest of fine beech, the sun shining gloriously, and making the trunk of many a tree look like a pillar of gold, and illuminating the casement of many a romantic little cottage, we reached the palace of Fredensborg, or the Mansion of Peace: it stands in a valley, and was the retreat of the remorseless Juliana Maria, after the young Crown Prince had taken possession of the reins of government, which, having stained with blood, she vainly endeavoured to retain. Here in solitude she resigned

her breath. No doubt her last moments were agonized by the compunctious visitings of conscience, for the wrongs which she had heaped upon the unfortunate Matilda, and her savage sacrifice of Struensee and Brandt. The grass was growing in the court, and upon the steps. The building is a large square front, surmounted with a dome, and extensive crescent wings; the whole is of brick, stuccoed white. The window-shutters were closed, and the glass in several places broken; all looked dreary and desolate: after thundering at the door with a stick, we at length gained admittance. The apartments were handsome, and contained several good Flemish paintings. The domestic shewed us, with great exultation, the hall in which the Crown Prince entertained Prince William of Gloucester with a grand dinner about two years before. The Danes always mentioned this Prince with expressions of regard and admiration, that shewed how favourable were the impressions created by his amiable deportment and engaging manners during his visit to Denmark. The gardens and woods are very beautiful, but neglected, and gently slope down to the extensive lake of Esserom. As we roved along, the birds, with plaintive melodies, hailed the moist approach of evening, and our time just admitted of our visiting (which we did with real satisfaction) a vast number of statues, which are circularly ranged in an open space surrounded by shrubs, representing the various costumes of the Norwegian peasantry: some of them appeared to be admirably chiselled.

Our traveller was much delighted with the melancholy appearance of the grounds of Marie Lyst, near Elsineur, on which Hamlet's father, according to tradition, was murdered. The spires of Cronberg are observed immediately below, and the important events of which this fortress was once the scene, must excite the most painful interest in every British bosom. We allude to the

CAPTIVITY OF QUEEN MATILDA, AND MURDER OF COUNTS STRUENSEE AND BRANDT,

of which transaction Mr. Carr gives the following particulars.

It is well known what neglect and suffering the Queen, in the bloom of youth and beauty, endured, from the fatal imbecility of the King's mind, and the hatred and jealousy of Sophia Magdalen, the grandmother, and Juliana Maria, the step-mother, of his Majesty; and that the anger of the latter was increased by Matilda's producing a prince, an event which annihilated the hopes that Juliana cherished of seeing the elevation of her favourite son Prince Frederick, to the throne. The Queen, about this period, 1769, was saved from ruin, only by attaching to her confidence the Count Struensee, who, sagacious, pene-

trating, bold, enterprising, and handsome, without the pretensions of birth, had ascended to an unlimited power over the will of the sovereign, had obtained the reins of government, and had far advanced with almost unexampled celerity and unshaken firmness in reforming the mighty abuses which encumbered and distorted the finance, the laws, the administration of justice, the police, the marine, the army, and the exchequer, and in short every department of government. Struensee restored the Queen to the bosom of her sovereign, and with the assistance of Count Brandt, the friend of Struensee, environed the King, and made him inaccessible to every other person. His Majesty's great delight at this period arose from the society of a negro boy, and a little girl about ten years of age, who used to amuse him by breaking the windows of the palace, soiling and tearing the furniture, and throwing dung and turf at the statues in the garden. Struensee experienced the usual fate of reformers, the abhorrence of those whom he corrected, and the suspicions or indifference of the people whom he served. He dislodged a nest of hornets: Juliana, with the keen unwearied vigilance of the tiger cat, watched her victims from the gloomy shades of Fredensborg; where herself and her party, consisting of Counts Ranzau, Köller, and others, fixed on the 17th of January, 1772, to close the career of their hated rivals. Their savage resolve was facilitated by the last fatal and infatuated measures of Struensee, who beheld too late the phrenzy of precipitate systems of reform: he prevailed upon the King to issue an edict, empowering every creditor to arrest his debtor without reference to birth or rank. The nobility flew to their estates in all directions, with revenge in their hearts; he terrified and grievously offended the mild and rigid citizens of Copenhagen, by assimilating its police to that of Paris, and by disbanding the royal foot-guards, composed of Norwegians, for the purpose of drafting them into other regiments. His days, his hours, were now numbered: on the night of the 16th of January, a magnificent *bal paré* was given at the great palace, since, burned. The young Queen never looked more lovely. At three o'clock a dead silence reigned throughout the palace: the conspirators, with several guards, passed the bridge over the canal, and surrounded the avenues. Juliana, Prince Frederick, and Ranzau, went to the door of the King's apartment, which at first the fidelity of a page refused to unlock; they terrified the monarch by their representations of an impending plot, and thrust into his hands for signature, the orders for seizing the Queen, Struensee, and Brandt. Upon seeing the name of Matilda upon the order, love and reason for a moment took possession of the King's mind, and he threw the paper from him;

but upon being ardently pressed, he signed it, put his head upon his pillow, pulled the bed-clothes over him, and in a short time forgot what he had done. Köller proceeded to Struensee's room, and being a powerful man, seized the latter by his throat, and with some assistance sent him and Brandt in a close carriage, strongly guarded, to the citadel. Ranzau and Colonel Eickstädt opened the door of the Queen's chamber, and awoke her from profound sleep to unexpected horror. These savage intruders are said upon her resisting to have struck her: the indecency and indignity of the scene can scarcely be imagined; after the Queen had hurried on her clothes, she was forced into a carriage, attended by a squadron of dragoons, and sent off to the fortress of Cronberg; upon her arrival, she was supported to her bed-chamber, a cold, damp, stone room: upon oberving the bed she exclaimed, "Take me away! take me away! rest is not for the miserable, there is no rest for me." After some violent convulsions of nature, tears came to her relief: "Thank God," said the wretched Queen, "for this blessing, my enemies cannot rob me of it." Upon hearing the voice of her infant the Princess Louisa, who had been sent after her in another carriage, she pressed her to her bosom, kissed her with the most impassioned affection, and bathed her with tears. "Ah! art thou here," said she, "poor unfortunate innocent? This is indeed some balm to thy wretched mother." In the capital a scene of terror, tumult, and forced festivity followed: at twelve o'clock the next day, Juliana and her son paraded the King in his state coach, arrayed in his regalia, through the principal streets; but only here and there a solitary shout of joy was heard. For three days the imprisoned Queen refused to take any food. It is said the King never once enquired for her, and now became the sole property of the infamous Juliana, who guarded her treasure with the eye of a basilisk. The court of Great Britain made a mild but firm communication upon the subject of the personal safety of the Queen: nine commissioners were appointed to examine the prisoners: the principal charges against Struensee were a design against the King's life, and a criminal connection with the Queen.

Four commissioners proceeded to examine the Queen. Her answers were pointed, luminous, and dignified: she denied most solemnly any criminal intercourse with Struensee. S———, a counsellor of state, abruptly informed the Queen, that Struensee had already signed a confession in the highest degree disgraceful to the honour and dignity of her Majesty. "Impossible!" exclaimed the astonished Queen, "Struensee never could make such a confession: and if he did, I here call heaven to witness, that what he said was false." The artful S—— played off a

master-piece of subtilty, which would have done honour to a demon: "Well then," said he, "as your Majesty has protested against the truth of his confession, he deserves to die for having so traitorously defiled the sacred character of the Queen of Denmark." This remark struck the wretched Princess senseless in her chair: after a terrible conflict between honour and humanity, pale and trembling, in a faultering voice she said, "And if I confess what Struensee has said to be true, may he hope for mercy?" which words she pronounced with the most affecting voice, and with all the captivations of youth, beauty, and majesty in distress. S—— nodded, as if to assure her of Struensee's safety upon those terms, and immediately drew up her confession to that effect, and presented it to her to sign; upon this her frame became agitated with the most violent emotions; she took up the pen and began to write her name, and proceeded as far as Carol——when observing the malicious joy which sparkled in the eyes of S——, she became convinced that the whole was a base stratagem, and, throwing away the pen, exclaimed, "I am deceived, Struensee never accused me, I know him too well; he never could have been guilty of so great a crime." She endeavoured to rise, but her strength failed her; she sunk down, fainted, and fell back into her chair. In this state, the barbarous and audacious S—— put the pen between her fingers, which he held and guided, and before the unfortunate Princess could recover, the letters——*ina Matilda*, were added. The commissioners immediately departed, and left her alone: upon her recovering and finding them gone, she conjectured the full horror of her situation.

The circumstances of the trial are known to the British reader. The grand tribunal divorced the Queen, separated her for ever from the King, and proposed to blemish the birth of the Princess Louisa, but the cruel design was never executed. Uhldal exerted all the powers of his eloquence for the two unfortunate Counts. Humanity revolts at their sentence, which the unhappy King, it is said, signed with thoughtless gaiety: they had been confined from the seventeenth of January, and on the twenty-eighth of March, at eleven o'clock, were drawn out to execution in two separate carriages, in a field near the east gate of the town: Brandt ascended the scaffold first, and displayed the most undaunted intrepidity. After his sentence was read, and his coat of arms torn, he calmly prayed a few minutes, and then spoke with great mildness to the people. Upon the executioner endeavouring to assist him in taking off his pelisse, he said, "Stand off, do not presume to touch me:" he then stretched out his hand, which, without shrinking from the blow, was

struck off, and almost at the same moment his head was severed from his body. Struensee, during this bloody scene, stood at the bottom of the scaffold in trembling agony, and became so faint when his friend's blood gushed through the boards, and trickled down the steps, that he was obliged to be supported as he ascended them: here his courage wholly forsook him; he several times drew back his hand, which was dreadfully maimed before it was cut off, and at length he was obliged to be held down before the executioner could perform his last office. Copenhagen was unpeopled on the day of this savage sacrifice; but though the feelings of the vast crowd which surrounded the scaffold had been artfully wrought upon by Juliana and her partizans, they beheld the scene of butchery with horror, and retired to their homes in sullen silence. Nothing but the spirited conduct of our then ambassador, Sir Robert Keith, prevented the Queen from being immolated at the same time.

On the 27th of May, a squadron of two British frigates and a cutter, under the command of the gallant Captain Macbride, cast anchor off Helsingfors, and on the 30th every thing was finally arranged for the removal of the Queen: upon the barge being announced, she clasped her infant daughter to her breast, and shed upon her a shower of tears. The Queen then sunk into an apparent stupor; upon recovering, she prepared to tear herself away, but the voice, the smiles, and endearing motions of the babe chained her to the spot; at last summoning up all resolution, she once more took it to her arms, and in all the ardour and agony of distracted love, imprinted upon its lips the farewell kiss, and returning it to the attendant, exclaimed, "Away! away! I now possess nothing here;" and was supported to the barge in a state of agony which baffles description. Upon the Queen approaching the frigate, the squadron saluted her as the sister of his Britannic Majesty, and when she came on board, Captain Macbride hoisted the Danish colours, and insisted upon the fortress of Cronberg saluting her as Queen of Denmark, which salute was returned with two guns less. The squadron then set sail for Stade, in the Hanoverian dominions, but, owing to contrary winds, was detained within sight of the castle the whole day: in the early part of the following morning its spires were still faintly visible, and until they completely faded in the mist of distance, the Queen sat upon the deck, her eyes rivetted upon them, and her hands clasped in silent agony. Shall we follow the wretched Matilda a little farther? The path is solitary, very short, and at the end of it is her tomb. Upon her landing at Stade she proceeded to a little remote hunting seat upon the borders of the Elbe, where she remained a few months,

until the castle of Zell, destined for her future residence, was prepared for her: she removed to it in the autumn; where her little court was remarked for its elegance and accomplishments, for its bounty to the peasantry, and the cheerful serenity which reigned throughout. The queen spent much of her time alone, and having obtained the portraits of her children from Denmark, she placed them in a retired apartment, and frequently addressed them in the most affecting manner, as if present.

So passed away the time of this beautiful and accomplished exile, until the eleventh of May, 1775, when a rapid inflammatory fever put a period to her afflictions in the twenty-fourth year of her age. Her coffin is next to that of the dukes of Zell.

Nothing worthy of notice took place, till our travellers had arrived in Sweden. The mode of travelling in that country, the post regulations, and other particulars necessary to be known by foreigners who pass through it, are accurately specified. Those who feel interested in such details, will purchase Mr. Carr's volume; others will find nearly similar intelligence in the travels of Küttner, already mentioned.

It was the intention of Mr. Carr and his friend to spend the next winter either at Venice or Rome; they therefore proceeded direct to Stockholm. It was the middle of June when they arrived, and spring had but just began to appear. The palace, and the works of Sergel, the celebrated statuary, were the first objects which they examined: the state of the arts in Sweden draws from our author the following observations on the patronage afforded to them by

THE LATE GUSTAVUS III.

Most of the living artists of Sweden, says he, owe their elevation and consequent fame to the protective hand of the king, Gustavus III. a prince, who, to the energies and capacities of an illustrious warrior, united all the refined elegance of the most accomplished gentleman: his active spirit knew no repose; at one time the world beheld him amidst the most formidable difficulties and dangers, leading his fleets to glory in the boisterous billows of the Baltic; at another time it marked him amidst the ruins of Italy, collecting with a sagacious eye and profuse hand, the rich materials for ameliorating the taste and genius of his own country. What Frederic the Great was to Berlin, Gustavus the Third was to Stockholm: almost every object which embellishes this beautiful city arose from his patronage, frequently from his own designs, and will be durable monuments of that capacious and graceful mind, which, had not death arrested, would, in the profusion of its munificence, have impoverished the country which it adorned. This prince derived what hereditary talent he possessed from his

mother Ulrica, who, by a capacious and highly cultivated mind, displayed that she was worthy of being the sister of Frederick the Great. Her marriage with Apolphus Frederick was the fruit of her own unassisted address, which, as it has some novelty, I shall relate.—The court and senate of Sweden sent an ambassador *incognito* to Berlin, to watch and report upon the characters and dispositions of Frederick's two unmarried sisters, Ulrica and Amelia, the former of whom had the reputation of being very haughty, crafty, satyrical, and capricious: and the Swedish court had already pretty nearly determined in favour of Amelia, who was remarkable for the attraction of her person and the sweetness of her mind. The mission of the ambassador was soon buzzed abroad, and Amelia was overwhelmed with misery, on account of her insuperable objection to renounce the tenets of Calvin for those of Luther: in this state of wretchedness she implored the assistance of her sister's counsels to prevent an union so repugnant to her happiness. The wary Ulrica advised her to assume the most insolent and repulsive deportment to every one,* in the presence of the Swedish ambassador, which advice she followed; whilst Ulrica put on all those amiable qualities which her sister had provisionally laid aside: every one, ignorant of the cause, was astonished at the change; the ambassador informed his court, that fame had completely mistaken the two sisters, and had actually reversed their reciprocal good and bad qualities. Ulrica was consequently preferred, and mounted the throne of Sweden, to the no little mortification of Amelia, who too late discovered the stratagem of her sister and her adviser.

A description of the palace of Stockholm having been given by many travellers in Sweden, we shall pass over Mr. Carr's observations on that edifice: but during his visit, he obtained the following particulars of the

ASSASSINATION OF GUSTAVUS III.

The chamber most interesting to us, says he, was that in which Gustavus III. expired. We saw the bed on which he lay, from the time that he was brought wounded to the palace from the masquerade at the opera-house, until he breathed his last. In this room it was that the dying prince personally examined his murderer Ankerstroem, when he confessed his guilt, and was immediately ordered to retire. The general circumstances of this melancholy catastrophe are well known; perhaps it may not be as generally so, that Ankerstroem preserved such resolute coolness at the time of the perpetration of the deed; that, in order to make sure of his mark, as the King, who was dressed in a loose domino, and without a mask, was reclining, a little oppressed by the heat,

against one of the side scenes, Ankerstroem placed his hand upon the back of the sovereign, who, upon feeling him, turned shortly round, when the regicide fired. The king, who thought that he was a victim to French machinations, as he fell, exclaimed, "My assassin is a Frenchman!" the consolation of the illustrious Duke d'Enghien was denied him. The hero, the friend, and the idol of Sweden, perished by the hands of a Swede. As soon as this outrage was known, the most eminent surgeons flew to his relief. The first words which the king uttered, were to request that they would give him their candid opinion, observing, with great serenity, that if he had only a few hours to-live, he would employ them in arranging the affairs of the state, and those of his family; and that, in such an extremity, it would be unavailing to augment his pains, and consume his time, in dressing his wound. The surgeon having examined it, assured his Majesty that it was not dangerous; in consequence of this opinion he permitted it to be dressed, and was conveyed to the palace. The next day an interesting and affecting scene took place; the Countess Fersen, the Count Brahè, and the Baron de Geer, who had absented themselves for a long period from court, were the first to enquire after the health of the King, who requested them to enter the room where he was, and received them with the most touching goodness, expressing the cordial delight which he felt in seeing them thus forget their animosities in these memorable words: "My wound is not without a blessing, since it restores to me my friends." He languished in great torment for eighteen days. It is generally supposed that the malignant spirit of politics had no influence in this horrible outrage, but that he fell the victim of private revenge and fanatical disappointment. Several young men, who thought themselves aggrieved by the neglect of their prince, were concerned in this conspiracy; but it was his dying request, which was observed, that only Ankerstroem should suffer death.

Mr. Carr afterwards pays some elegant compliments to the amiable disposition of the present sovereign of Sweden, who will probably soon justify the good opinion that is entertained of him, by his military operations in the north of Europe.

On visiting a chateau some distance from the capital, our author found, that at dinner each dish was carved and handed round as in Denmark.

The spirit of French fashion, but a little disciplined, he observes, reigns in Sweden, and gives a lightness and elegance to the dress: the table, and the furniture, and even their manners partake considerably of its gaiety, except that as soon as our amiable and elegant hostess arose, upon our rising at the same time, we stood solemnly gazing upon each other for half a minute, and then exchanged

profound bows and curtsies; these being dispatched, each gentleman tripped off with a lady under his arm, to coffee in the drawing-room. Nothing else like formality occurred in the course of the day.

FEMALES OF DALECARLIA.

Just as we were quitting this spot of cordial hospitality, says Mr. Carr, we were stopped by the appearance of two fine female peasants from the distant province of Dalecarlia: their sisterhood partake very much of the erratic spirit and character of our Welch girls: they had travelled all the way on foot, to offer themselves as hay-makers; their food on the road was black bread and water, and their travelling wardrobe was a solitary chemise, which, as cleanliness demanded, they washed in the passing brook, and dried on their healthy and hardy frame; which, however, was elegantly shaped; the glow of Hebe was upon their dimpled cheeks, not a little heightened by the sun. Their eyes were blue, large, sweet, and expressive: their dress was singular, composed of a jacket and short petticoat of various colours; and they were mounted upon wooden shoes with prodigious high heels, shod with iron. There was an air of neatness, innocence, delicacy, and good humour about them, which would have made even a bilious spectator happy to look upon them. Unextinguishable loyalty, great strength of body, content, and sweetness of temper, beauty of face, and symmetry of person, are said to be the characteristics of the Dalecarlian mountaineers, a race rendered for ever celebrated in the history of one of the greatest men that ever adorned the historic page of Sweden, Gustavus Vasa.

This account leads on our author to a relation of the exploits of Gustavus Vasa, and the consequences of his appeal to the loyalty of the Dalecarlians, from which they enjoy the privilege of taking the king's hand wherever they meet him. It is remarkable that Gustavus III. chose a wet nurse for the present king from Dalecarlia. She was the wife of a peasant who had lineally descended from Andrew Preston, who preserved Gustavus Vasa from the murderers sent after him by king Christian.

CHARACTER AND RELICS OF CHARLES XII.

After our return from Drottingholm, says Mr. C. we gained admission, but with much difficulty, to the arsenal. This depôt of military triumphs is a brick building, consisting of a ground floor, with lofty windows down to the ground, stands at the end of the king's gardens, the only mall at Stockholm, and has all the appearance of a large green-house. The artillery, which is planted before it, has the ridiculous effect of being placed there to defend the

most precious of exotic trees within from all external enemies, who either move in air or pace the earth. The contents, alas! are such fruits "as the tree of war bears," and well deserve the attention of the traveller and antiquarian. Here is an immense collection of trophies and standards taken from the enemies of Sweden, and a long line of stuffed kings, in the actual armour which they wore, mounted upon wooden horses painted to resemble, and as large as life, chronologically arranged. I was particularly struck with the clothes of Charles XII which he wore when he was killed at the siege of Frederickshall, and very proudly put them on, viz. a long shabby blue frock of common cloth, with large flaps and brass buttons, a little greasy low cocked hat, a handsome pair of gloves, fit to have touched the delicate hands of the Countess of Koningsmarck, a pair of stiff high-heeled military boots, perhaps it was one of those which he threatened to send to the senate at Stockholm, to which they were to apply for orders untill his return, when they were impatient at his absence during his mad freaks in Turkey. As it is natural to think that great souls generally inhabit large bodies, my surprise was excited by finding that when I had completely buttoned the frock of this mighty madman upon my greyhound figure, my lungs gave sensible tokens of an unusual pressure from without. I must be indulged in giving the following extract from an account of this marvellous madcap, which was given by a person who had seen him, and who thus speaks of him: "His coat is plain cloth, with ordinary brass buttons, the skirts pinned up behind and before, which shews his Majesty's old leather waistcoat and breeches, which they tell me are sometimes so greasy that they may be fried. But when I saw them they were almost new; for he had been gallant a little before, and had been to see King Augustus's queen upon her return from Leipsic, and, to be sure, he put on those new leather breeches, spoke not above three words to her, but talked to a foolish dwarf she had about a quarter of an hour, and then left her. His hair is light brown, very greasy, very short, and *never combed but with his fingers*. At dinner he eats a piece of bread and butter, which he spreads with his thumbs."

Mr. Carr sums up his account of this monarch in the following words:

The said blood-besprinkled gloves, and bullet-pierced hat, have furnished abundant and fatiguing sources of vague and violent disputation pages, nay volumes, have been written, to ascertain whether the death of Charles was fair or foul: a fact only to be found in the records of Heaven, and of small import to be known here. Let the blow have been given from whatever hand it may, Sweden had good reason to bless it, and happy are those

who live in times which furnish but little of such materials for the page of history as Charles supplied.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SWEDISH FEMALES.

The Swedish ladies, says our traveller, are in general remarkably well shaped, *en bon point*, and have a fair transparent delicacy of complexion, yet though the favourites of bountiful nature, strange to relate, they are more disposed to conceal than display those charms, which in other countries, with every possible assistance, the fair possessor presents to the enraptured eye to the best advantage. A long gloomy black cloak covers the beautiful Swede when she walks, confounding all the distinctions of symmetry and deformity; and even her pretty feet, which are as neat and as well turned as those of a fine Frenchwoman, are seldom seen without the aid of a favouring breeze. Even the sultry summer has no influence in withdrawing this melancholy drapery, but I am informed it is less worn now than formerly. This custom arises from the sumptuary laws, which forbid the use of coloured silks.

The Swedish ladies are generally highly accomplished, and speak with fluency English, French, and German, and their tenderness and sensibility by no means partake of the severity of their northern latitude; yet they exhibit two striking characteristics of whimsical prudery: in passing the streets a Swedish lady never looks behind her, nor does she ever welcome the approach or cheer the departure of a visitor by permitting him to touch the cherry of her lips. This chilling custom is somewhat singular, when it is considered that the salutation of kissing between man and man, hateful as it is to an untravelled Englishman, prevails almost in every part of the continent.

SWEDISH LAWS.

His remarks on the Swedish laws may be compressed into the following statement. They are simple, clear, and just; in civil causes, each party pays his own costs; while in criminal cases, the prosecutor sustains no share whatever of the expences.

The punishments in Sweden are beheading, hanging, whipping, and imprisonment: the three former are executed in the market-place; the instrument of flagellation is a rod of tough birch twigs. There is a horrid custom in Sweden, as odious as our hanging malefactors in chains, of exposing the naked bodies of delinquents who have suffered death, extended by their limbs to trees until they rot. Two or three of these shocking objects occur upon the road from Gothenberg to Stockholm, on account of its being a greater thoroughfare, and more robberies

having been committed there. The criminal laws of Sweden may be considered as mild, and the punishment of death is rarely inflicted.

The party proceeded on a delightful morning, to the little palace of Haga, at which Gustavus spent much of his time. This visit gives occasion to the appearance of a story of one of the bravest officers which the British nation can boast. We allude to the following

ANECDOTE OF SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

In the library, says Mr. Carr, I was gratified by seeing several drawings and architectural designs of its accomplished founder, which displayed much taste and genius. The friendship and confidence with which this prince honoured the heroic Sir Sidney Smith is well known; the king first conceived an attachment for him for the resemblance which he frequently was heard to observe, existed between the face of the hero of Acre and Charles XII.

As Sir Sydney is one of my favourite heroes, I will run the hazard of being blamed for deviating from my narrative a little, and for detaining the reader an extra moment to relate a singular prepossession he felt, when a youth, of his fame, and the theatre of his future glory, which has just recurred to my memory. Being sent, some years since, on shore upon the Irish coast with a brother officer, who is now holding a deservedly high situation in the service, to look for some deserters from their ship, after a long, fatiguing, and fruitless pursuit, they halted at a little inn to refresh themselves; having dined, Sir Sidney on a sudden became silent, and seemed lost in meditation: "My dirk for your thoughts," exclaimed his friend, gently tapping him on the shoulder; "what project Sidney, has got possession of you now?" "My good fellow," replied the young warrior, his expressive countenance brightening as he spoke, "you will no doubt suppose me a little disordered in my mind, but I have been thinking that before twelve years shall have rolled over my head, I shall make the British arms triumphant in Holy Land." We need not knock at the cabinet door of St. Cloud to know how splendidly this prediction was verified.

MILITARY FORCE OF SWEDEN.

The military force of Sweden is divided into regular or garrison regiments, and *national militia*; only the latter will require some explanation. The levies for this establishment are made from the lands belonging to the crown, the holders of which contribute not only to the support of the troops, but of the clergy and civil officers. The estates are called Hemmans, and

divided into rottes; each rotte is charged in a settled proportion; the most valuable with the support of cavalry, the others with that of infantry. The men, thus selected from the very heart of the peasantry, are almost always healthy, stout, and well proportioned. In war and in peace, the crown land-holders are compellable gratuitously to transport these levies and their baggage to their respective regiments, and to allot a cottage and barn, a small portion of ground, and to cultivate it during the absence of the soldier upon the service of government, for the support of his family, and also to supply him with a coarse suit of clothes, two pair of shoes, and a small yearly stipend. In peace, where the districts adjoin, the soldiers assemble by companies every Sunday after divine worship, to be exercised by their officers and serjeants. Before and after harvest, the regiment is drawn out and encamped in its district for three weeks. In every third or fourth year, encampments of several regiments together are formed in some province, which is generally the center of many districts, and, during the rest of their time, these *martial husbandmen*, who are enrolled for life, are permitted to work as labourers for the landholder, at the usual price of labour.

It will be readily supposed, that our travellers did not leave Sweden without visiting the famous mines and foundries of Danmora: but Mr. Carr had no time to view them with the eye of a philosopher, and we shall therefore refer the reader to the ample account of them given by M. Kuttner.

On visiting the ancient town of Upsala, formerly the capital of Sweden, our author came to the remains of some state dungeons, in one of which the following tragical scene occurred.

In the year 1567, Eric IV. the most bloody tyrant ever seated on the throne of Sweden, seized upon the illustrious family of the Stures, who were the objects of his jealousy, and, in a moment of anger, descended the dungeon in which Count Sture was confined; and stabbed him in the arm. the young captive fell upon his knees, implored his clemency, and drawing the dagger from the wound, kissed it, and presented to his enraged and remorseless sovereign, who caused him to be immediately dispatched. It would, observes Mr. Carr, form a fine subject for the pencil.

An account is given of the curiosities in the above-mentioned city; but of some of these, the professors themselves are ashamed; as they blush on shewing the slippers of the Virgin Mary, Judas's purse, &c.

Many remarks ensue upon the language, poetry, and music of Sweden, which do high credit to the author's judgment.

Every parish in Sweden has a public school, in consequence

of which, nearly all the peasantry can read; and many of the peasant's sons are afterwards sent to the college at Upsala.

SWEDISH PRISONS.

Upon visiting the principal prison, says our author, the rooms appeared to me to be too small and close, were much too crowded with prisoners, and the healthy and sick were confined together. The prisoners were not compelled to work as in Copenhagen, to which circumstance, and the preceding causes, their sallow looks may be attributable: they are permitted to take the air only for a short time in the court-yard twice in the day. I was shocked to see a bar of iron, as long and as thick as a kitchen poker, rivetted to each man's leg, and which, to enable him to move, he was obliged to preserve in a horizontal position, by a cord fastened to the end of it, and suspended from his waist. To load a prisoner with irons of any other weight or shape than what are necessary for security, is a reflection upon the justice, humanity, and policy of the government that permits it. The women were confined in a separate division of the building: they were not ironed, but their cells were too close and crowded; and they were also permitted to live in indolence.

CURIOUS MODE OF THIEF-CATCHING.

The watchmen of Stockholm, like their brethren of Copenhagen, cry the hour most lustily, and sing anthems almost all night, to the no little annoyance of foreigners who have been accustomed to confine their devotions to the day. These important personages of the night perambulate the town with a curious weapon like a pitch-fork, each side of the fork having a spring barb, used in securing a running thief by the leg. The use of it requires some skill and practice, and constitutes no inconsiderable part of the valuable art and mystery of thief-catching.

On the 6th of July the party left Stockholm for Prussia, by proceeding across the gulph of Bothnia for Abo: the captain of the vessel moored it at night to the fir-trees which line the shores. From Mr. Carr's account of the country bordering on this passage, it must be truly picturesque. He gives the following pleasant description of a

LUDICROUS CEREMONY OF CLEANLINESS.

One morning as I was looking over the deck from the stern, I beheld an operation somewhat ridiculous; but as it originated in rude notions of cleanliness, and moreover is one of the domestic customs of the country, I shall relate it. Our skipper was lying at the feet of a good natured brawny girl, who was a passenger; his head was on her lap, just as Goliah some time since

rested his in that of Delilah; but the fingers of our fair companion were more kindly employed than were those of the woman of the valley of Sorek: the skipper had no comb, perhaps never heard of such a thing, and this kind-hearted creature was sedulously consigning with a humane, because an instantaneous destruction of sensation in every vital part by an equal and forcible pressure, every restless disturber of his peace in that region, which most assuredly must be, though doctors may dispute the point, the seat of reason; the cabin-boy succeeded his master, and in return, with the keen eye and nimble finger of a monkey, gratefully repaid the obligation upon the head of his benefactress. In Italy, these engaging *little offices of kindness* constitute the principal delights of courtship.

Without any material occurrence our travellers arrived at Abo, the capital of Russian Finland, in which city there is nothing to excite peculiar attention. He gives the following account of the

FINLAND COTTAGES,

Which will remind our readers of the description of the *log-houses*, given in Michaux's travels in America, and which are held out by the disaffected English, as an inducement to emigrate to the trans-Atlantic continent. As we proceeded the face of the country began to undulate: we observed that the houses were constructed of fir-trees rudely squared by the axe, and laid, with a little moss between, upon each other, the ends of which, instead of being cut off, are generally left projecting beyond the sides of the building, and have a most savage and slovenly appearance. The roof is also of fir, sometimes stained red; the windows are frequently cut with the axe after the sides of the house are raised. Such of these as were well finished had a good appearance, and are very warm and comfortable within. Our servant, who was well acquainted with the Swedish language, began to find himself, every mile we advanced, more and more puzzled. The *patois* of this province is a barbarous and unintelligible mixture of Swedish and Russ. The summer, now the eleventh July, *burst* upon us with *fiery fury*, with no other precursors than grass and green leaves. On a sudden the flies, which experience a longer date of existence in the north than in the milder regions of Europe, on account of the stoves used in the former, awoke from the torpor in which they had remained, between the discontinuance of artificial warmth and the decisive arrival of the hot weather, and annoyed us beyond imagination. They are the musquitoes and plague of the north. No one, but those who have suffered, could believe them capable of producing so much torment.

At every place at which they put up for the night they were much incommoded with *fleas* and *flies*. At length they entered Russia, on which occasion Mr. Carr entertains his readers with a curious anecdote of

NATIONAL ANIMOSITY.

About three miles from Louisa, says he, another garrison town, we reached the frontiers of Sweden, and in a custom and guard-house beheld the last remains of that country. A Swedish soldier raised the cross bar, such as I described in Denmark; we passed over a bridge which crosses a branch of the river Kymen, and divides Sweden from Russia. The *exclusive right* of *painting* this little bridge, had very nearly inflamed these rival nations to the renewal of all those horrors which have so long and so prodigally wasted the blood and treasure of both countries. It has been contended, that aggregate bodies of men are governed by other rules of conduct, than those which ordinarily influence mere individuals: for my part I regard a nation only as a man magnified, constantly displaying all the anger, inveteracy, caprice, and petulance of the solitary being. This marvellous dispute, after a stormy discussion, with the sword half-drawn, was settled in the following manner, viz. Sweden was to use what sized brush and what colours she preferred, upon one half of the bridge, and on the other Russia the like materials in the way that best suited her fancy: but it is useless to talk about a few piles and planks; they were the ostensible, but the *real* cause of the difference was and ever will be, the vicinity of the countries; for, unhappily! nations are more disposed to mutual attachment, if they cannot see each other.

RUSSIAN GUARDS AND GUARD-HOUSES.

A new race of beings, in green uniform, stout, whiskered, and sun-browned, raised the bar of the barrier on the other side of the bridge, stopped the carriage, and conducted us to the guard-house, a square wooden building, with a projecting roof, resting upon little pillars of wood, under the shade of which several soldiers were sleeping. This building was of course embellished after the fashion of the bridge, and had a most frightful appearance: we were ushered into a small shabby room; in the windows were some flower-pots, and upon an old table the poems of Ossian in French, open, and by their side a vast snuff-box and most filthy handkerchief; presently a little old Russian major entered, in a white linen dressing-gown, and in French demanded our pass-ports, with which he was satisfied, and immediately made out our order for post-horses, without which no one can travel in Russia, called a *podoragina*; upon presenting the paper to us, he demanded six rubles and forty copecs, which he informed us con-

stituted a part of the revenues of his imperial majesty; we told him that we had no Russian money whatever; but offered to pay him in Swedish rix-dollar notes: "If you have any of them," said he, "I must seize them," and went into another room; but he uttered this without severity: perhaps the consideration that he was speaking to a couple of Englishmen softened his tone and look. In a moment we found ourselves like two ill-starred mice, who unexpectedly find themselves within the basilisk beam of a cat's eye.

Our station from the last post-house in Sweden, extended to the seventh verst post in Russian Finland, and we never entertained an idea that any law so pregnant with inconvenience existed in Russia, for making Swedish money found within its barrier forfeitable, more especially as there is no bank upon the confines of either country. The major presently returned with a pile of notes, exclaiming, "See what a quantity I seized a few days since from a Danish gentleman!" We endeavoured to give a turn to the conversation, in which his urbanity assisted, and at length we paid him in Dutch ducats, one proof at least of the safety and convenience of this valuable coin. Before we parted we observed that he entered our names in a register as arrivals on the second of July: at first we were surprised, for according to my journal, it was the fourteenth; but a moment's recollection informed us that we were in a country in which the Julian calendar, with the old style, obtains, before which our calculation always precedes by an advanced march of twelve days. Both old and new style are superior to the poetical absurdity of the French calendar, which must be at perpetual variance with the immutable law of climates and geography: for instance, when a merchant is melting away under the fiery sun of the French West India Islands, his correspondence will be dated Nivose, or the month of snow.

CIVILITY OF THE RUSSIANS TO ENGLISH TRAVELLERS.

We had been travelling all day under a fervid sun, were covered with dust, and parched with thirst; our Abo ham was glowing to the bone, our last bottle of claret was as warm as milk from the cow, and our poor exhausted horses were licking the walls of a [illegible]joining building to cool their tongues. In this dilemma [illegible]eld an elegant young officer, uncovered, in a dark bottle-green uniform (the legionary colour of Russia), and an elderly gentleman, upon whose breast two resplendent stars shone, coming towards us: these stars were two propitious constellations. The principal personage addressed us in a very kind and conciliatory manner in French. Upon our explaining our situation, he said, "I am very sorry this fellow is out of the

way, but it shall make no difference. When Englishmen enter Russia it is to experience hospitality, not inconvenience; trust to me, I will immediately provide for you:" he bowed, gave directions to an officer who followed at a distance, and passed on. This amiable man proved to be the Count Meriandoff, the governor of Russian Finland, who, fortunately for us, had arrived about an hour before from Wibourg. An officer soon afterwards came to us, and conducted us to a very handsome house belonging to a Russian gentleman of fortune. Our kind host, who spoke a little English, introduced us into a spacious drawing-room, where we went to rest upon two delightful beds, which were mounted upon chairs. Our poor servant, after the manner of the Russians, ranked no higher in our host's estimation than a faithful mastiff, and was left to make a bed of our great-coats on the floor of the entry, and to sleep *comme il plait à Dieu.*

The next day we had a peep at the town, which is small but handsome: from the square in which the guard-house stands, a building of brick stuccoed, and painted green and white, almost every street may be seen. It was here in the year 1783, that Catherine II. and Gustavus III. had an interview. Upon this occasion, to impress the Swedish monarch with the magnificence of the Russian empire, and to render their intercourse less restrained, a temporary wooden palace was erected, containing a grand suite of rooms, and a theatre, by order of the Empress. The town appeared to be filled with military. The Russians of consequence generally despise a pedestrian. I was uncommonly struck with seeing officers going to the camp, and even the parade in the town, upon a droska, or as they are called in Russ, a drojcka, an open carriage, mounted upon springs, and four little wheels, formed for holding two persons, who sit sideways, with their backs toward each other, upon a stuffed seat, frequently made of satin; the driver wore a long beard (which we now began to see upon every rustic face), a large coarse brown coat, fastened round the middle by a red sash, was booted, and sat in front, close to to the horses' heels, whose pace was, as is usual in Russia, a full trot.

After some remarks on the Russian coinage, Mr. Carr thus continues:

Whilst the peasants were adjusting our horses, four abreast to the carriage, in the yard of our kind and hospitable host, I was amused with seeing with what solemn and courteous bows the commonest Russians saluted each other; nothing but an airy dress and a light elastic step were wanting to rank them with the thoughtless, gay, and graceful creatures of the Bouvélards des Italiens: here the Russian exterior was more decisively developed; but I should wish to postpone a more particular de-

scription of it until we reach the capital; it is now sufficient to observe, that the men in complexion and sturdiness resembled the trunk of a tree, and the women were remarkably ugly: I saw not a female nose which was not large and twisted, and the dress of the latter, so unlike their sex in other regions, was remarkable only for filth and raggedness. Travelling is very cheap in Russian Finland: we paid only two copecs for each horse per verst, except for the last post to Petersburg, when we paid five copecs. In Russian Finland the comfort of sending an avante-courier to order horses, ceases. On the road we met with several kibittas, such as I have described.

On arriving at Wibourg, the capital of Russian Finland, our traveller went to the national church; he makes the following observations on the

CEREMONIES OF THE GREEK RELIGION.

In the Greek church images, musical instruments, and seats, are proscribed. Even the emperor and empress have no drawing-room indulgence here. No stuffed cushion, no stolen slumbers in padded pews, inviting to repose. Upon entering the church, these people again crossed and bowed themselves, and then eagerly proceeded to an officer of the church, who was habited in a rich robe; to him they gave one of the small pieces of money, and received in return a little wax taper, which they lighted at a lamp and placed in a girandole, before the picture of the saint they preferred amongst the legions enrolled in the Greek calendar. Some of them had a brilliant homage paid to them, whilst others were destitute of a single luminary. In the body of the church were inclined tables, containing miniatures of some of these sanctified personages in glass cases adorned with hoods of gold, silver, and brass, looking very much like a collection medals. The screen, composed of folding-doors, at the back of the altar, to which a flight of steps ascended, was richly gilded and embellished with whole-length figures of saints of both sexes, well executed. In one part of the service the folding-doors opened, and displayed a priest, called a Papa*, in the shrine or sacristy, where lovely woman is never permitted to enter, for reasons that an untravelled lover would wonder to hear, without caring for, and which I leave to the ladies to discover. The priest always assumes his pontificals in this place, whilst it constitutes a part of the privileges of a bishop to robe in the body of the church. The sacerdotal habit was made of costly silk and rich gold lace; and the wearer, who appeared to be in the very

* Our readers must have observed a detailed account of the character and functions of the Papas, in the Travels of Pouqueville.—ED.

bloom of life, presented the most mild, expressive, evangelical countenance I ever beheld, something resembling the best portraits of our Charles I.; his auburn beard was of great length, fell gracefully over his vest, and tapered to a point. Seen, as I saw him, under the favour of a descending light, he was altogether a noble study for a painter. After reading the ritual in a low voice, during which his auditory crossed themselves, and one man, near me, in a long and apparently penitential gown of sackcloth, repeatedly touched the basement with his head: the congregation sung in recitative, and with their manly voices produced a fine effect. This will suffice for a description of the Greek church; as to its abstract mysteries, they are but little known, even to its followers, who recognise the authority of their own priests only, and renounce the supremacy of the Roman pontiff.

Mr. Carr and his party left this town for Petersburg, drawn by miserable half-starved horses, and before the termination of his journey he had an opportunity of ascertaining the

ADVANTAGE OF A VOLUNTEER UNIFORM.

In spite of the military jokes and sparkling philippics of Mr. Windham in the senate, I speedily mounted my jacket, and with the peasant walked forward to the next post-house, distant about two miles and a half. It was in the dead of a cloudy night; as we approached the house, I saw upon a dreary heath, six or seven sturdy peasants lying on each side of a great blazing fir-tree, fast asleep:

> " Allow not nature more than nature needs;
> " Man's life is cheap as beasts."

The moment the post-master opened the door and beheld my regimentals, he bowed most respectfully, and upon the peasant's explaining the condition of our horses, he awakened the peasants by their fir-fire, and dispatched four of them to assist in drawing the carriage, and the remainder to catch the horses in the adjoining woods for the next post; he then very civilly placed three chairs in a line, and gave me a pillow, looking tolerably clean; and thus equipped, I was preparing to lay down, when a *marchand de liqueur* who lived in an opposite hotel, uncovered, with a large beard, a great bottle of quass in one hand, and a glass in the other, entered the room, and after crossing himself and bowing before me, he pressed me to drink; all these marks of distinction, to which let me add four good courier horses for the next stage, were the happy fruits of my volunteer jacket. Thus satisfied, I enjoyed two hours of

delicious sleep, until the jingling bells of our poor post-horses announced the arrival of the vehicle, and of all the calvacade.

The following day we beheld the shining cupola and spires of the capital, about ten versts from us, just rising above a long dark line of fir forests. At twelve o'clock we reached the barriers, a plain lofty arch of brick stuccoed white, from each side of which a palisado ran, part of the lines of this vast city. There is no custom-house here, but we were detained nearly an hour, owing, as we afterwards found, to the officer of the guard, a very fine looking young man, and I dare say very brave withal, being somewhat of a novice in the mystery of reading and writing: our passports appeared to puzzle him dreadfully; at length a serjeant, who doubtless was the literary wonder of the guard-house, was sent for, and in two minutes relieved his officer and the Englishmen at the same time. A fair complexioned Cossac of the Don, habited in a pyramidal red velvet cap, short scarlet cloak, with a belt of pistols, a light fusee slung across his shoulders, and a long elastic spear in his hand, mounted upon a little miserable high-boned hack, was ordered to attend us to the governor of the city; and with this *garde d'honneur* we posted through the vast suburbs of Wibourg, and at length ascended the Emperor's bridge of pontoons or barges; here the most magnificent and gorgeous spectacle burst upon me, and for a time overwhelmed me with amazement and admiration.

The sky was cloudless, the Neva of a brilliant blue, clear, and nearly as broad as the Thames at Westminster bridge; it flowed majestically along, bearing on its bosom the most picturesque vessels and splendid pleasure barges: as the eye rapidly travelled several miles up and down this glorious river, adorned with stupendous embankments of granite, it beheld its sides lined with palaces, stately buildings, and gardens; whilst at a distance arose green cupolas, and the lofty spires of the Greek churches covered with ducat gold, and glittering in the sun. Immediately before us extended the magnificent railing of the summer gardens, with its columns and vases of granite, a matchless work of imperial taste and splendour.

CHARACTER OF THE COSSACS.

In the capacious streets of this marvellous city, we passed through crowds of carriages drawn by four horses at length, and a variety of rich equipages, and of people from all parts of the world, in their various and motley costume. At the governor's office we presented our passports, and the cossac left us. The cossacs have a curious appearance upon their little shabby horses, which have the reputation, however, of being remarkably

partly by land and water, a distance of eleven versts, or forty-one thousand two hundred and fifty English feet, and cost 424,610 rubles. So indefatigable has been the labour of the chisel upon its enormous magnitude and rugged coating, that its history is its greatest wonder. The genius of Falconet was evidently jealous of the rude but stupendous powers of nature, and was fearful that *her rock* might engage more attention than *his statue*; hence he reduced the former, until he rendered it disproportioned to the colossal figure which it supports; but he has thereby succeeded in bringing his work nearer to the eye of the beholder. Had he been content to have divided the homage with nature, he would not have been a loser. The head of Peter, which is very fine, was modelled by Madame Collot, the mistress of Falconet. The figure and the drapery are admirable, and the horse is worthy of being ranked next to his *Venetian brethren*, those matchless works of art, which now adorn the gates of the Thuilleries. The spot where this statue is raised is always very much thronged, on account of its being central, and leading to one of the bridges.

STREETS, AND MODE OF RIDING.

I bestrode one of the little droshkas which I have described; my driver, who emitted a most pestiferous atmosphere of garlic, with a tin plate upon his back, marked with his number, and the quarter to which he belonged (a badge which is used by all the fraternity, to facilitate their punishment, if they behave ill), drove me with uncommon velocity. His horse had a high arch of ash rising from his collar, more for ornament than use. I was much struck with the prodigious length and breadth of the streets, and with the magnitude and magnificence of the houses, which are built in the Italian style of architecture, of brick stuccoed, and stained to resemble stone. They are mostly of four stories, including the basement, in the center of which is generally a large carriage gate-way: the roof slopes very gently, and is formed of sheets of cast iron, or of copper, painted red or green; and behind there is a great yard, containing the out-houses, and ice-houses, and immense stores of wood. The vast number also of chariots, each of which was drawn by four horses, the leaders at a great distance from the shaft horses, very much augmented the effect. The postillion is always a little boy, habited in a round hat, and a long coarse coat, generally brown, fastened round the middle by a red sash, and, strangely reversing the order of things, is always mounted on the off horse, and carries his whip in his left hand. The little fellow is very skilful and careful, and it is pleasant to hear him, whenever he turns a corner, or sees any one in the road before him, exclaim, or rather very musically sing, "paddee! paddee! paddee!" The coachman, or, as he is called

the Ishvoshick, is dressed in the same manner, and wears a long venerable beard; behind the carriage are one or two servants in large, laced, cocked hats, shewy liveries, military boots and spurs. The carriage and horses in attendance are standing the greater part of the day in the court-yards, or before the houses of their masters; the horses are fed in harness, and the little postillion is frequently twenty-four hours in the stirrup, eats, drinks, and sleeps on horseback, and the coachman does the same upon his box. A stranger immediately upon his arrival, if he wishes to maintain the least respectability, is under the necessity of hiring a coach or chariot and four, for which he pays two hundred rubles a month. Without this equipage a traveller is of no consideration in Petersburg.

Mr. Carr is firmly of opinion that Petersburgh is the most beautiful city in Europe; as a proof of the magical celerity with which its buildings are constructed, he asserts that 500 noble houses were erected in the year before he travelled thither.

PUBLIC GARDENS OF ST. PETERSBURGH, AND SINGULAR CUSTOM OF KISSING.

In the evening I visited the summer gardens that face the Neva, the palisade of which, unquestionably the grandest in Europe, is composed of thirty-six massy Doric columns of solid granite, surmounted by alternate vases and urns, the whole of which, from the ground, are about twenty feet high, connected by a magnificent railing, formed of spears of wrought iron tipped with ducat gold. The decorations over the three grand entrances are also exquisitely wrought, and covered with gold of the same superior quality. As near as I could ascertain by my own paces, the length of this magnificent balustrade must be about seven hundred feet. The pillars would certainly be improved were they thinner or fluted. It is customary to attend a little more than ordinary to dress in this promenade, as the imperial family frequently walk here. The walks are very extensive, umbrageous, and beautiful, though too regular; they are all of the growth of Catherine the Second's taste and liberality. Here only the chirping of the sparrow is to be heard; not a thrush, linnet, or goldfinch, are to be found in Russia. Amongst the women, who were all dressed *à la mode de Paris*, there were some lovely faces.

A young officer of the imperial guards approached one of them and kissed her hand, and, as he raised his head, the lady kissed his cheek: it is the custom in Russia. Is it possible, thought I, that this spot, in no very distant day, owned a Swedish master? Can a little paltry bridge make all this difference between the belles of the two countries? But I will leave this point undecided.

Be it as it may, the salutation was the most graceful I ever witnessed: it was politeness improved by the most charming gallantry—bows, curtsies, and salams, are icicles to it. Whilst France furnishes us with caps and bonnets, and Egypt with dusky side-boards, may the Russians fix the universal mode of friendly meeting between the sexes for ever and for ever!

This captivating characteristic, and, as the sun descends, the gentle sound of lovers whispering in the shade, and the beauty of the spot, entitle the Summer Gardens to the name of the Northern Eden. Where the parties are not familiar, the lady *bows*, never curtsies: the attitude is very graceful. As I am upon the subject of kissing, and quit it with reluctance, I beg leave to state, that in Easter every Russian, be his rank in life however humble, and his beard as large, long, and as bristly as ever graced or guarded the chin of a man, may, upon presenting an egg, salute the loveliest woman he meets, however high her station: they say, such is the omnipotence of the custom, that, during this delicious festival, the cheek of the lovely Empress herself, where she to be seen in the streets, would not be exempt from the blissful privilege.

As I approached the Summer Gardens, to which a great number of equipages were hastening, it was curious to observe the prodigious fulness of the horses' manes and tails, which are never cropped: to the former the Russians pay a religious attention; they even carry it so far as to adorn them, as many of the British fair decorate themselves with false hair. To show the various prejudices of mankind, it is only a short time since that mares were rode. On the appearance of a friend of mine some years since mounted upon one of them, the men expressed their astonishment, and the women tittered. Geldings are prohibited as useless animals. In the streets it is very common to see pairs of Russians, who in their dress much resemble the boys of Christ's Hospital, walking *hand in hand*, never arm in arm.

VISIT TO THE CITADEL, WITH AN INTERESTING STORY OF A RUSSIAN PRINCESS.

It requires some interest, time, and trouble, before a stranger can see the palaces and public buildings; I therefore recommend him, through the medium of his ambassador, to be speedy in making the arrangements for this purpose. Whilst these matters were negotiating in our favour, I resolved to make the best of my time in seeing what lay expanded before me. Accordingly a friend of mine ordered his Russian servant to drive us to the fortress: when the man received his orders, he curled up his beard, took off his hat, scratched his head, and expressed, by his manner, some reluctance and disgust, which arose, as we afterwards found,

from the horror with which the common Russians regard the citadel, on account of its containing the state dungeons, and of the horrible stories to which they have given birth. As we galloped all the way, the usual pace in Petersburg, we soon crossed the Emperor's bridge, and passed the draw-bridge and outer court of this melancholy place, which is built of massy walls of brick, faced with hewn granite, of the same materials as the five bastions which defend it. We were set down at the door of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, remarkable for being the burial-place of the Russian sovereigns, and for its lofty and beautiful spire, two hundred and forty feet high, richly covered with ducat gold. The inside of the church was damp and dreary, and had no beauties of architecture to recommend it. In oblong squares sepulchres of stone, raised and arranged in lines on the right of the shrine, and covered with velvet richly embroidered with gold and silver, repose the remains of Peter the Great, his Empress Catherine, the celebrated peasant of Livonia, of Alexey, Anne, Elizabeth, and Peter III. and Catherine II. and, on the other side of the church, at a distance, is the tomb of Paul, the late Emperor, opposite to a whole-length painting of the Saint of his name, covered like the others, but with more cost and grandeur. An inscription in copper informed us, that the unhappy emperor died on the *eleventh* or *twelfth* of March, 1801. On each side of the church, very carelessly arranged, are banners of war, truncheons, keys of cities, and arms, taken in battle by the Russians.

The view from the belfry is one of the grandest spectacles I ever beheld: below flowed the Neva; before us lay the whole city expanded from the Convent des Demoiselles to the end of the Galeernhoof, a line of palaces and superb houses, extending nearly six English miles; immediately facing us was the marble palace, the palace of Peter the Great; the hermitage, the winter palace, crowded with statues and pillars; and the admiralty, its church, and the dome of the marble church; in the fortress from this height we could discern a number of gloomy prison yards and the gratings of dungeons, than which nothing could look more melancholy; and also the mint, which appeared a handsome building, where the gold and silver from the mines of Siberia are refined and converted into coin. Here also we had a fine view of the country over the Wibourg suburbs, and in a distant part of the citadel was pointed out the court of the prison in which the unfortunate young princess, who was ensnared from Leghorn by the treacherous stratagems of Orloff, and afterwards confined in this place, is said to have perished. The story of this devoted young personage is still wrapped in some obscurity.—After the burning of the Turkish fleets near Tscheme, a beautiful young Russian

lady, attended by an elderly lady, appeared at Leghorn: although she appeared without shew, or the means of making any, her society was much courted on account of the sweetness and accomplishments of her mind, the attractions of her person, and a certain air of majesty which particularly distinguished her. To some of her most confidential friends she communicated the fatal secret, that she was the daughter of the empress Elizabeth by a private marriage, and that her pretensions to the throne of Russia were superior to those of Catherine II. to whose suspicious ear the communication was imparted with uncommon celerity. Allured by the deceitful solicitations of a Russian officer, who was an agent of count Orloff, who promised to espouse her cause, and to gain over the count, she came to Pisa in the beginning of the year 1775, where Alexey Orloff then resided in great magnificence during the repairs of his fleet. Upon her arrival the count paid his respects to her with all the deference and ceremony due to a reigning sovereign, affected to believe her story, and promised to support her pretensions. At length after appearing with her at every fashionable place during the carnival, and paying her the most marked and flattering attentions, he avowed, in the most respectful manner, a tender passion for her, and submitted to her the glittering prospect of her mounting with him the throne to which she was entitled. Intoxicated with the idea, she gave him her hand. A few days after the nuptials, the count announced a magnificent marine entertainment in honour of the marriage. The young personage proceeded to his ship in all imaginary naval pomp; as soon as she entered the cabin, gracious heaven, what a display of treachery was developed! Orloff upbraided her with being an impostor, and the more barbarously to degrade her, ordered her delicate hands to be fastened by handcuffs, which had been prepared for the purpose, and quitted the ship, which immediately sailed for Cronstadt, from whence she was brought to the fortress in a covered barge, where she was immolated, and never heard of more. It was supposed that she was drowned in her dungeon, which was rather deep, during one of the inundations of the Neva.

RUSSIAN TRADESMEN, &c.

From some subsequent passages, we learn that a Russian would sooner part with his life than with his beard.

Mr. Carr gives a fair and interesting character of the Russian traders, who like their more civilized brethren in other countries, use various modes for the attraction of custom. Their profits are very great, and as will appear from the following anecdote, sometimes enormous.

I one day saw, says he, a Russian, distinguished only from the commonest sort by the superiority of the cloth of his long coat, who had paid fifteen thousand pounds for his freedom, and had amassed, by indefatigable industry, a fortune of one hundred thousand pounds: and not far from my hotel resided a Russian, who in the short space of twelve years, with a fair character, had amassed nearly a million sterling.

CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIANS.

No one, says our traveller, who has remarked the Russian with candour, who judges from what he sees, and not from he has heard or read, will hesitate to pronounce him one of the best-tempered creatures in the creation. He will bear the curse and scorn, and frequently the blows of his superior with mildness. Revenge, almost sanctioned by insults, never maddens his blood; and knowing, perhaps, how hard it is to suffer without resisting he is scarcely ever seen to strike the animal over which he has power. His horse is seldom propelled by any other influence than a few cherishing and cheerful sounds; if this encouragement increases not his pace, he does not, heated with savage fury, dissect the wretched beast with his scourge, beat out an eye, or tear out the tongue; no! his patient driver begins to sing to him, and the Russians are all famous singers, as I shall hereafter tell; if the charms of music have no influence on his legs, he then begins to reason with him; "You silly fellow! why don't you go on faster? come, get on, get on, don't you know that to-morrow is a prashnick (a fast-day), and then you will have nothing to do but to eat?" By this time the sulky jade has generally had her whim out, and trots on gaily. His horse is the object of his pride and comfort; well observing the wisdom of a Russian proverb, "It is not the horse, but the oats that carry you:" as long as the animal will eat he feeds him; and his appearance generally honours, and his grateful services remunerate, the humanity of his master. A Russian, in the ebullition of passion, may do a ferocious thing, but never an *ill-natured one*. No being under heaven surpasses him in the gaiety of the heart. His little national song cheers him wherever he goes. Where a German would smoke for comfort, the Russian sings. There is nothing cold about him but his wintry climate; whenever he speaks, it is with good humour and vivacity, accompanied by the most animated gestures; and although I do not think that the Graces would at first pull caps about him, yet in the dance, for spirit and agility, I would match and back him against any any one of the most agile sons of carelessness in the *Champs Elysées*.

In his religious notions, the Russian knows not the *meaning*

of bigotry, and what is better, of *toleration*. He mercifully thinks that every one will go to heaven, only that the Russians will have the best place. When these simple children of nature address each other, it is always by the affectionate names of my father, my mother, my brother, or my sister, according to the age and sex of the party. To these good qualities of the heart, let me add the favourable and manly appearance of the Russians, I mean the proper Russian: during my stay in their residence, I never saw one man who was either lame or deformed, or who squinted, and they are remarkable for the beauty of their teeth. Their dress is plain and simple, consisting of a long coat of woollen cloth, reaching to the knees, and folding before, fastened round the middle by a sash, into which his thick leather gloves are generally tucked, and frequently it holds his axe; his drawers are of the same stuff with his coat, and his legs are usually covered with heavy boots, or swathed round with bandages, for they scarcely ever wear stockings, and for shoes he uses coarse sandals made of cloth and the matted bark of linden or birch; his hair is always cropped; the dress of the common women did not appear to me to vary much from that of our own females of the same degree; it consisted of a tunic, generally of some shewy colour, with the sleeves of the shift appearing. The milk-women looked very well in this dress; and the manner in which they carry an ashen bow, from the ends of which are suspended little jars covered with matted birch bark, resting upon one shoulder, gives them an uncommonly graceful appearance When the tradesmen's wives go out, they generally cover the top of their caps with a large rich silk handkerchief, which falls behind: this appeared to be a very favourite decoration.

CEREMONY ON PASSING THE CHURCH OF THE MOTHER OF GOD.

As I walked, says Mr. Carr, down the linden footpath of the Grand Perspective, I observed almost every passenger, with whatever hurry he seemed to be moving, stop short before a church on the right hand, a little below the shops, take off his hat, bow, and touch his forehead, and either side of his breast, and then proceed. This building was the church of the mother of God, of Kazan, which, although an inferior building, is, in religious estimation, the most considerable of the Greek churches, on account of its containing the figure of the Virgin. Upon all public occasions, the Emperor and the court assist, with great splendour, in the celebration of divine worship here. Behind it was a vast pile of scaffolding, raised for the purpose of erecting a magnificent metropolitan church, in the room of the one which I have

just named. This place of worship, when completed, will surpass in size and splendour every other building in the residence, and if I may judge from the model, will be little inferior in magnitude and grandeur to our St. Paul's. The emperor has allotted an enormous sum for its completion: all the holy utensils are to be set with the richest diamonds; even the screen is to be studded with precious stones. The scaffolding of this colossal temple is stupendous, and most ingeniously designed and executed, and would alone be sufficient to prove the genius and indefatigable labour of the Russians. Most of the masons and bricklayers who were engaged in raising the New Kazna, as well as those who are to be seen embellishing the city in other parts, are boors from the provinces. The axe constitutes the carpenter's box of tools: with that he performs all his work. No one can observe with what admirable judgment, perspicuity, and precision, these untutored rustics work, and what graceful objects rise from their uncouth hands, without doing them the justice to say, that they are not to be surpassed by the most refined people in imitation and ingenuity; from me they have drawn many a silent eulogium as I passed through the streets.

PUNISHMENT OF THE KNOUT.

Strolling nearly to the end of the Perspective, I found myself in the market-place, and saw lying near the great market, scales, the aparatus to which delinquents are fastened, when they receive the punishment of the knout, that terrible scourge which Peter the Great and the empress Elizabeth were perpetually raising over the heads of their subjects, but which the mercy of the present emperor never, except for crimes of the deepest dye, permits to be exercised with fatal violence. The last man who perished by it, broke into the cottage of a family consisting of five persons, in a dark night, and butchered every one of them with a pole-axe. An act of such wanton barbarity, and so alien to the character of the Russian, did not fail to excite the highest sensations of horror. After a fair trial, the murderer was twice knouted; and, upon receiving his last punishment, was, in the language of the Russian executioner, "*finished*," by receiving several strokes of the thong dexterously applied to the loins, which were thus cut open: the miserable wretch was then raised, and the ligaments which united the nostrils were terribly lacerated by pincers; but this latter part of his punishment, as I was informed by a gentleman who was present, created no additional pang to the sufferer, for the last stroke of the scourge only fell upon a breathless body. When a criminal is going to receive the knout, he has a right, if he chuses to stop at a certain kabac,

and drink an allowance of liquor at the expence of government.

In Russia, ladies of rank have suffered the punishment of the knout: the Abbé Chappe D'Auteroche relates the circumstance of an execution of this nature which took place in the reign of the cruel Elizabeth. He states that Madame Lapookin, who was one of the loveliest women belonging to the court of that empress, had been intimately connected with a foreign ambassador who was concerned in a conspiracy against Elizabeth, and, on this account, his fair companion was denounced as an accessary in his guilt, and condemned to undergo the knout: the truth was, Madame Lapookin had been indiscreet enough to mention some of the endless amours of her imperial mistress. The beautiful culprit mounted the scaffold in an elegant undress, which increased the beauty of her charms and the interest of her situation. Distinguished by the captivation of her mind and person, she had been the idol of the court, and wherever she moved, she was environed by admirers: she was now surrounded by executioners, upon whom she gazed with astonishment, and seemed to doubt that she was the object of such cruel preparations. One of the executioners pulled off a cloak which covered her bosom, at which, like Charlotte Cordey as she was preparing for the guillotine, her modesty took alarm, she started back, turned pale, and burst into tears. Her clothes were soon stripped off, she was naked to the waist, before the eager eyes of an immense concourse of people profoundly silent. One of the executioners then took her by both hands, and turning half round, raised her on his back, inclining forwards, lifting her a little from the ground: upon which the other laid hold of her delicate limbs with his rough hands, adjusted her on the back of his coadjutor, and placed her in the properest posture for receiving the punishment. He then retreated a few steps, measuring the proper distance with a steady eye, and leaping backwards, gave a stroke with the whip, so as to carry away a slip of skin from the neck to the bottom of her back; then striking his feet against the ground, he made a second blow parallel to the former, and in a few minutes all the skin of the back was cut away in small slips, most of which remained hanging to her chemise: her tongue was cut out immediately after, and she was banished to Siberia.

THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

The present emperor Alexander is about twenty-nine years of age, his face is full, very fair, and his complexion pale; his eyes blue, and expressive of that beneficent mildness which is one of the prominent features of his character. His person is tall, lusty,

and well proportioned; but, being a little deaf, to facilitate his hearing, he stoops: his deportment is condescending, yet dignified. In the discharge of his august duties he displays great activity and acuteness, but without shew and bustle: the leading features of his mind are sound discretion and humanity, qualities which cannot fail to render an empire flourishing and a people happy! He is so much an enemy to parade, that he is frequently seen wrapped up in his regimental cloak, riding about the capital alone, upon a little common droshka: in this manner he has been known to administer to the wants of the poor. It is his wish, if he should be recognized in this state of privacy, that no one will take off their hats; but the graciousness of his desire only puts the heart in the hand as it uncovers the head. I have many times seen him in a chariot, perfectly plain, of a dark olive, drawn by four horses, driven by a bearded coachman, a common little postilion, and attended by a single footman. Soldiers are always upon the look out for him, to give timely notice to the guard of his approach; without this precaution it would be impossible, amidst the crowd of carriages which is to be seen in the residence, to pay him the honours due to his rank. The emperor is very much attached to the English, numbers of whom have settled in the empire, and have formed under the auspices of the government, a sort of colony. The emperor has often been heard to say that, "The man within whose reach heaven has placed the greatest materials for making life happy, was, in his opinion, an *English country gentleman.*"

Although the emperor has never visited England, he is perfectly acquainted with its character and manners, as he is with its language. A very amiable and respectable English gentleman, Mr. G. of the treasury, was, by the wish of Catherine, brought up with him, and was the playmate and associate of his early years. The incidents of boyish days, so dear to every feeling and generous mind, left their accustomed impressions upon the heart of Alexander; and, though time placed him at an immeasurable distance from his early companion, he has never ceased to honour him with the most gracious regard; in the display of which, he exhibited the emperor only in the munificent proofs of his friendship. I heard another instance of the strong partiality of Alexander for England. When an English gentleman, who, a short time before the death of Paul, had frequently played duets upon the flute with the Grand Duke, was preparing to quit the empire for his own country, inconsequence of the sudden antipathy which the former had taken to our countrymen; after the close of the last piece they ever performed together, Alexander thus feelingly apostrophized the flute of his friendly musician, as he held it in his hand: "Adieu, sweet instrument! you have charmed away

many an hour of care; often and deeply shall I regret the absence of your enchanting sounds; but you are going to breathe them in the best and happiest country in the world." These are trifling anecdotes to record, but they conduct the reader to the heart.

"Man is most natural in little things."

How much, and how justly, the emperor is beloved by his people, will occasionally appear as I proceed. The Russians, who have had so many foreign princes to govern them, behold with enthusiastic fondness an empéror born in Russia. The face of the reigning empress is very sweet and expressive; her person is slight, but very elegant, and of the usual height of her sex; she is remarkably amiable, and diffident, even to shyness. Her mind is highly cultivated, and her manners soft, gracious, and fascinating. Her sister, the Queen of Sweden, if there be any fidelity in the chisel of Sergell, must be a model of female beauty. The emperor and empress have no family. They were united at an extraordinary early age, from a wish of Catherine to contemplate as many of her posterity, who were destined to succeed to the throne, as she could before she died. The two grand duchesses, who are grown up, do honour to the care of their imperial mother, and excite the attachment and admiration of all who approach them. The youngest of the two was married to the prince of Saxe Weimar, during my stay in Petersburgh.

SINGULAR PENANCE.

In one of the churches, says our author, I saw a woman doing penance for the following crime:—She had not long been married before she polluted the bed of her husband, whom she used to keep in an almost constant state of intoxication. One day, whilst she was indulging herself in her adulterous attachment, her husband unexpectedly appeared perfectly sober: stung with jealousy by what he saw, he sprang upon his guilty rival, and with a knife stabbed him to the heart. The laws of England would have protected the miserable man, but by those of Russia he was knouted and sent to Siberia; and his wife, who was the authoress of this bloody tragedy, was ordered by her priest to prostrate herself six hundred times a day for two years, before the Virgin. Her conscience and her bigotry enforced punctual observance of the prescribed mortifications. By the Russian laws, if the husband is of a tyrannical and violent temper, a woman may commit adultery with impunity.

RUSSIAN HOSPITALITY.

The dinners of the Russians are not materially different from those of England and Denmark, except perhaps in the abundance of the dishes. The hospitality of this place, says Mr. Carr, cannot be surpassed: when a stranger is introduced, the family mention the days of the week when they receive their friends, and expect that he will include himself in the number: the invitation is frank and *cordial*, and is seldom repeated, where it is understood there is no occasion for it. The finippery and formality of forced, and frequently treacherous ceremony, is not known here.

MAGNIFICENCE OF THE RUSSIAN NOBILITY.

The princely magnificence in which some of the Russian nobility live is prodigious. Having occasion one day to find out a person who occupied a suit of rooms in one of the great town hotels of count Shermboff, the Russian duke of Bedford, we had an opportunity of seeing this enormous pile, in which a great number of respectable families reside; and the rent amounting to twenty thousand rubles, is applied by its munificent lord to the relief of the poor. Exclusive of another superb mansion in the city, which he inhabits, the count has a town on the road to Moscow called Paulova, containing about two thousand five hundred houses, and five churches: this place is the Birmingham of Russia, all the inhabitants of which are his slaves, who carry on an extensive trade on the Caspian Sea. In the neighbourhood of this place, he has a palace rivalling Versailles in extent and splendour. Many of his slaves, all of whom adore him, have realized vast fortunes, and display at their tables sumptuous services of plate, every costly luxury, and have foreign masters to teach their children. Though rolling in unwieldy revenues, the count is frequently embarrassed, from his princely munificence: yet he never replenishes his exhausted treasury, by exercising the sovereign right which he has to raise the capitation-tax of his peasantry. What additional blessings might not such a nobleman bestow upon his country, by converting his vassals into tenants:—how great and immediate would be the influence and example of a spirit so liberal!—with what power has fortune invested him to accelerate the civilization of his country! One of the count's slaves advertised, during my stay in Petersburg, for a family preceptor, with an offer of two thousand rubles per annum, and six rubles per day for his table, and [illegible]ook! The count was under severe domestic affliction at this time, having just lost his amiable lady, who had formerly been one of his slaves: she left behind her a little son to console him whom the emperor elevated to the rank of nobi-

lity; a measure rendered necessary in consequence of his mixed birth, to enable him to enjoy his father's wealth and honours. Prince Shermboff, who is the lord of one hundred and forty thousand slaves, lost eighty thousand rubles one night at the gaming-table: not having so much money at immediate command, he offered to transfer to the winner an estate of slaves of that value; as soon as the unfortunate vassals heard of the intended assignment, dreading to have another master, they immediately raised the money amongst them, and sent it to their lord. Many of the nobles have three hundred servants; and one of that order, it is reported, had thirteen thousand in constant attendance.

The manners of the Russian nobility very much partake of the manners of the old school of France, and, in complimentary profession, perhaps a little exceed it. They are acute observers of human nature: and knowing that their urbanity, on account of their polar situation, is generally suspected, they are even anxious to make a profuse display of it. They are remarkably hospitable, and very attentive to strangers. Connubial happiness amongst the higher orders seldom endures eleven months after the honeymoon, when the parties generally kiss, pout, part, and afterwards are happy. Divorce is not recognized by the laws of Russia. The road to Moscow frequently exhibits a singular spectacle of lords and their ladies, taking a half yearly glance at each other as they meet, in exchanging their residences in the two cities, for their mutual accommodation and amusement: this is the nearest point of contact. The education of the young nobility very frequently suffers from the free and unguarded manner with which they receive every needy adventurer in the capacity of domestic tutor, particularly if he be an Englishman: English taylors, and servants out of livery, and travelling valets, frequently become the preceptors and governors of children. A fellow of this description said one day: "In summer I be clerk to a butcher at Cronstadt, and in winter I teaches English to the Russian nobility's children." I knew a lady whose valet left her at Petersburg, in consequence of having been appointed to the superintendence of the children of a Russian nobleman of high distinction, with one thousand rubles per annum, a table, and two slaves. The Russian nobility are in general very extravagant, and consequently frequently embarrassed: their bills are often at a discount of sixty, and even seventy pounds per cent.

RUSSIAN THEATRICALS.

Soon after our arrival, we visited the grand imperial theatre, or opera-house, called the Stone-Theatre, which stands in a large open place, nearly in front of the marine garrison, formerly the new goal, and the Nicolia canal. At four angles, in this spacious

area, are four pavillions of iron, supported by pillars of the same metal, resting upon a circular basement of granite, within which, in winter, large fir fires are constructed, the wind being kept off by vast circular movable shutters of iron, for warming and screening the servants of those who visit the theatre in the winter. Previous to the erection of these sheds, many of those unfortunate persons were frozen to death. The government, attentive to the lives of the people, has interdicted performances at the opera, when the frost is unusually severe. The front is a noble portico, supported by Doric pillars; the interior is about the size of Covent-Garden, of an oval shape, and splendidly but rather heavily decorated. The lower tier of boxes project from the sides, at the back of which are pilasters, adorned with appropriate decorations, richly gilded, above which are three rows of boxes, supported by Corinthian pillars, each of which, as well as those below, contain nine persons. Nothing less than the whole box can be taken. It frequently happens that servants stand behind their masters or mistresses in the boxes, during the performance, and present a curious motly appearance. The imperial box is in the center of the first tier, projecting a little, is small, and very plainly decorated. The pit has seven or eight rows of seats with backs to them, in which a commodious portion of space for each spectator is marked off by little plates of brass, numbered upon the top of the back seat; this part is called the *fauteuils*. Such is the order observed here, and in every theatre on the continent, that however popular the piece, a spectator may, during any part of the performance, reach his seat, in this part of the theatre, without any difficulty. Behind, but not boarded off, is the pit and the parterre. The price of admission to the boxes and *fauteuils* are two silver rubles, little more than five shillings. There are no galleries. The massy girandoles, one of which is placed at every pilaster, are never illuminated but when the imperial family are present, on which occasion only, a magnificent circle of large patent lamps is used, descending from the center of the roof; at other times its place is supplied by one of smaller dimensions, when the obscurity which prevails induces the ladies generally to appear in an undress. Although this gloom before the curtain is said to be advantageous to the effect of scenery, yet the eye is saddened, as it runs its circuit in vain for forms adorned with graceful drapery, the glittering gem, the nodding plume, and looks of adorned beauty, that give fresh brilliance to the day galaxy of light. This theatre is furnished with a great number of doors and passages, reservoirs of water, and an engine in case of fire, and with concealed flues and stoves, to give it summer warmth in winter. It is always strongly guarded by a detachment from the guards,

as well as by the police officers, who preserve the most admirable order among the carriages and servants. It is not an ungratifying sight, after the opera, to pause at the doors, and see with what uncommon skill and velocity the carriages, each drawn by four horses, drive up to the grand entrance under the portico, receive their company, and gallop off at full speed; pockets are very rarely picked, and accidents seldom happen.

Owing to the size and quantity of decorations, and the spacious arrangement of the boxes, I should not think the theatre could contain more than twelve hundred persons. Its receipts have never yet exceeded one thousand six hundred and eighty rubles, or two hundred and forty pounds. How different from a London theatre, which, on a crowded night, when a Siddons or a Litchfield delight their audience, is lined with faces, and the very walls appear to breathe!

The first opera I saw was Blue Beard, performed by Italian performers, the subject of which varied but little from the representation of it in England, except that the last wife of Blue Beard has a lover, who in the concluding act lays the sanguinary tyrant breathless with his sword. The catastrophe was finely worked up, and drew from the Russians successions of enthusiastic acclamation. Do these sentiments of tenderness, these noble notions of retributive justice, denote an immutable barbarism? The processions were in the first style of magnificence, the dresses and ornaments were very costly, and it is not unusual to introduce, on these occasions, one thousand men, selected from the guards for the expression of their faces and symmetry of their figures, to swell the scene of pomp. The orchestra was very full, and combined the first-rate powers of music. The scenes were handsome and well managed. A room was formed of entire sides, and well furnished; and a garden was displayed with all its characteristics. The Emperor contributes very munificently to the support of this theatre; and as all the machinists and workmen are his slaves, they are all under admirable discipline. The introduction of a tree into a study, or fringing the top of a forest with a rich ceiling, scenic blunders which frequently occur on the English stage, would hazard the backs of the Russian scence shifters. This theatre has a very beautiful set of scenes, which is never displayed but on nights when the Imperial family honour it with their presence. The silence and decorum of the audience cannot but impress the mind of any one, who has witnessed the boisterous clamours of an English audience. The curtain ascends at six o'clock precisely. No after-piece, as with us, only now and then a ballet, succeeds the opera, which is generally concluded by nine o'clock, when the company go to the summer gardens, drive about the city, or proceed to card and supper parties.

The Russian noblemen are fond of the drama; almost every country mansion has a private theatre. Those of the nobility, who, from disgust to the court, or some other cause, confine their residence to Moscow and the adjacent country, live in the voluptuous magnificence of eastern satraps: after dinner they frequently retire to a vast rotunda, and sip their coffee, during a battle of dogs, wild bears, and wolves, from thence they go to their private theatres, where great dramatic skill is frequently displayed by their slaves, who perform, and who also furnish the orchestra. These people are tutored by French players, who are very liberally paid by their employers.

MURDER OF THE EMPEROR PAUL.

It is with deep regret, says Mr Carr, that I approach the delicate and awful subject of this chapter. Humanity would gladly cover it with the pall of oblivion, but justice to the memory of an unhappy monarch, and to the chief of the august family of Russia, demand a candid though careful development of the events which preceded the fall of the last emperor. The original source of my information is from one who beheld the catastrophe which I am about to relate, whom I can neither name nor doubt. The causes that first created those well known prejudices which Catherine II. cherished against her son, have perished with her: but all the world knows, that, during the many years which rolled away between the grand duke's arrival at the age of maturity and his elevation to the throne, his august mother never admitted him to any participation of power, but kept him in a state of the most abject and mortifying separation from the court, and in almost total ignorance of the affairs of the empire. Although Paul, by his birth, was generalissimo of the armies, he never was permitted to head a regiment, and although, by the same right, grand admiral of the Baltic, he was interdicted from even visiting the fleet at Cronstadt. To these painful privations may be added, that when he was recommended, that is *ordered*, to travel, during his absence Catherine seized and sent to Siberia one of his most cherished friends, because she discovered that he had informed her son of some inconsiderable state affair. Thus Paul beheld himself not only severed from the being who gave him birth, but from all the ordinary felicities of life. The pressure of his hand excited suspicion, peril was in his attachment, and in his confidence guilt and treason. He could not have a friend, without furnishing a victim.

A gentleman nearly connected with me, now no more, a man of talent and acute observation and veracity, had several years since the honour of spending a short period at the little secluded court of Gatchina, upon which, as the dazzling beams of imperial

favour never shone, the observer was left in the tranquillity of the shade, to make a more calm, steady, and undiverted survey. At this time, Paul displayed a mind very elegantly inclined, and without being brilliant, highly cultivated, accomplished and informed, frank and generous, brave and magnanimous, a heart tender and affectionate, and a disposition very sweet, though most acutely and poignantly susceptible: his person was not handsome, but his eye was penetrating, and his manners such as denoted the finished gentleman. In his youth he was seen by the bedside of the dying Panin, the hoary and able minister of Catherine, and his tutor, kissing and bathing his hand with tears. As an evidence of his intellectual vigour, let the elaborate and able ukase, by which he settled the precedence and provision of the imperial family, unquestionably his own unassisted composition, be referred to. He loved his amiable princess, and his children, with the most ardent, the most indulgent fondness; and it was the labour of their love, as well as of his servants, who were devotedly attached to him, to requite his affections and graciousness, and to endeavour to fill up with every endearing, every studied attention, the gloomy chasm which had been formed by an unnatural and inexplicable neglect; but this chasm was a bottomless abyss, upon the brink of which his wounded spirit was ever wandering! Paul possessed a high martial inclination, and, reflecting that he might one day mount the throne of a military empire, he made the art of war the principal object of his studies, but neither this pursuit, so copious, so interesting, nor the endearments of those who surrounded him, could expel from his mind the sense of his injuries. He beheld himself, the second personage and the destined ruler of the empire, postponed to the periodical favourite of his mother, the minister of her unbounded voluptuousness, not unfrequently elevated to the presidency of the Hermitage from the ranks, with no other pretensions than vigorous health and a mighty frame; whilst, on the other hand, the bleeding shade of his father was for ever, in his morbid imagination, pointing to his wound, and whispering revenge. Thus exiled from the heart of his mother, is it a matter of surprise that he should exclude her from his own?

Catherine more than once observed, that her son would not long occupy the throne after her decease; and it has been the fashion to say, that her alienation from him was justified by the events which succeeded her death. With this prophetic spirit, she devoted all her care to the education of her grand-sons, Alexander and Constantine, and exercised all the powers she possessed towards the consummation of her prediction. She foretold that the flower which she had planted would wither early: she shook it till every blossom fell, and shaded it so, that the

dew of heaven should never visit it more: she pressed and pierced the delicate and ardent mind of her son until she subverted it. Was it then a proof of inspiration, to prognosticate the brevity of his reign over an empire, the history of which has too often and fatally proved, that however despotic its government, and there is not one under heaven more absolute, a cautious and dexterous cultivation of the interest, feelings, prejudices, and affections of the people, is inseparable from the safety of the ruler?

A short time before her demise, Catherine committed to P—— Z——, her last favourite, whom she highly esteemed, a declaration of her will, addressed to the senate, purporting that Paul should be passed over in the succession, and that the Grand Duke Alexander should mount the vacant throne. As soon as the favourite was acquainted with the sudden death of the Empress, he flew to Pavlovsk, about thirty-five versts from the capital, where Paul occasionally resided, whom he met on the road; and, after a short explanation, delivered up to him this important document. Paul, charmed with his zeal and loyalty, preserved him in all his honours and fortunes, whilst a general and rapid dispersion, to all points of the compass, instantaneously succeeded amongst the members of the *male seraglio* of the Hermitage. The emperor ascended the throne without difficulty, but a total stranger to his subjects. One of the first measures of his reign displayed, in a very singular manner, the native goodness of his heart, under the clouds that rapidly began to overshadow it, in an act of piety towards his murdered father, whose remains he removed from the church of St. Alexander Nevski, called the monastery; and having exhibited them in great funeral state, he consigned them to the sepulchre of Catherine II. in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul. The latter part of this extraordinary transaction has often induced me to think that Paul did not believe that his mother issued the order for the assassination of his father. At this eccentric solemnity, he compelled Count Alexey Orloff, and prince Baratynski, under whose hands the unhappy monarch is said to have perished, to stand on each side of the body as it lay in state, and afterwards to follow it to the tomb as the principal mourners.

Not long after this event, his mind began occasionally to display the most fearful symptoms of distraction; but when his reason was restored, the hapless emperor never failed to endeavour, with the most affecting sensibility, to repair the ruin and havoc which his delirium had occasioned. The deposed Stanislaus, the broken-hearted king of Poland, partook alternately of his beneficence and severity; but with what demonstration of respect and genuine grief did the emperor attend the obsequies of this

last of the Sarmates. On that gloomy occasion, he commanded in person the guards who assisted at the funeral; and uncovering himself, with the most affecting emotions, saluted the coffin as it passed. To the memory of the hoary and heroic Suvaroff, who fell a broken-hearted victim to the distraction of his imperial master, in periods of agonized and compunctious reflection, he raised a colossal statue of bronze, in the vast area behind Benskoi's palace, opposite to Romantzoff's monument; and, on the days when he reviewed his troops there, he used to order them to march by in open order, and face the statue, which, he said, represented one of the greatest and bravest generals of his own or any other age.

Notwithstanding the important service which P— Z— had rendered him, the emperor could never separate him, in his mind's eye, from the caresses of his mother, and speedily became disgusted with him; spoke of him with great asperity to his friends, and at length, converting the bounty of Catherine into a robbery, he denounced him as a defaulter to the imperial treasury of half a million of rubles; and, convinced of the justice of the allegation, proceeded, without loss of time, to sequester the vast estates which belonged to him and his two brothers. Driven to desperation by such conduct, one of the sufferers, the second brother, one day boldly walked up to the emperor upon the parade, and, with manly eloquence, represented the injustice of his measures. Paul received him without anger, heard him without interruption, reflected, and restored the property: but the original disgust rapidly returning, he ordered P— Z— to reside upon his estate, to which he submitted for a considerable time. But the mind of the exile was too ardent to endure seclusion; ambitious, bold, active, and enterprizing, he determined upon releasing himself from the unjust constraint imposed upon him by his sovereign, the delirium of whose mind now frequently burst forth with all the fury and desolation of a convulsed volcano. Messrs. Otto, Sieyes, and Talleyrand, who at that time formed a diplomatic trio, or rather were spies, at the court of Petersburgh, with the dexterity of talent, and the subtilty of Frenchmen, resolved to turn the gathering storm to the advantage of their own country, by means which, extending beyond their calculation and their wishes, finally and rapidly led to the overthrow of the emperor. Under their tuition, a French actress was introduced on the boards of the French theatre at Petersburgh, and placed in such situations of allurement, that the eye of the emperor could not but notice her. The ruin of domestic happiness furnished these politicians with the means of their success. A French actress was destined to estrange the emperor from his family, and to create a temporary and terrible change in the affairs of Europe

Madame Chevalier possessed that style of face which, without being regularly handsome, was more sweet expressive, and captivating, than the exact symmetry of a finished beauty. Her person was small, but delicate, and rather *en bon point* her manners were of the highest order, and enchanted every one who approached her. The emperor was fond of music Madame Chevalier excelled upon the harp, and sung to it some sweet and crafty verses, composed by one of her three employers, and which she herself had set to music, the subject of which was, the martial skill, valour, and generosity, of the emperor. She had not spread her witcheries long, before an evening was appointed for a private gratification of the musical taste and passion of the emperor. This syren very soon became the sole idol of his shattered mind, which she moved according to the direction of her secret principals, until the emperor withdrew himself from his alliance with Austria, recalled Suwaroff and his army covered with glory, crowded the roads to Siberia with British subjects, and filled with terror and consternation the Exchange of the British empire. I mean not to enumerate all the calamities which followed they were too signal not to be widely known, too recent not to be well remembered, and, from them very nature incontestably proved the aberration of those faculties which could alone, by their presence, exalt the emperor responsible for all the miseries, dismay, and ruin, which threatened the very existence of the empire. P— Z— availed himself much of the influence of this favourite, to whom he addressed himself with all the assiduities of person, manners, wit and money having engaged her in his favour, he made her acquainted with Count K— m— who, from having been about the person of Paul in the menial capacity of a valet, at last obtained a high place in his affection, distinguished honour, and great wealth The more firmly to bind K— to his interest, P— Z— formed an honourable passion for the daughter of the former who was, like all the sudden favourites of fortune, much pleased at the prospect of an alliance with a very distinguished family Count K— and Madame Ch— l— conceived many plans for prevailing upon his master to restore Z— to his favour At length, one evening, when she had tranquillized the mind of the emperor, and secured him an appearance of gaiety by the vivacity of her wit, and some of her most successful songs, she artfully insinuated that P— Z— was the most unhappy man alive in being deprived of the emperor's favour, and of the power of promoting the interests of one of the greatest geniuses that ever mounted the Czarian throne, to whom he was most inviolably attached. The emperor paused, and expressed some doubt of the truth of the statement, but upon her assu-

suring him of its sincerity, accompanied by some of those little blandishments which no woman ever knew how to display with more finished address than Madame Chevalier, Paul granted her petition and recalled Z— to the residence, where he flew with the celerity of a courier, and threw himself at the feet of the emperor, by whom he was graciously received, and from whose presence he withdrew to present his fair advocate with the stipulated reward, a magnificent aigrette of diamonds, valued at sixty thousand rubles. Whatever private pique Z— might have cherished against his imperial master, I believe that it was wholly lost in his review of the deteriorated and dreadful condition of the empire, and in those awful measures of restoration which were afterwards resorted to. Z— gradually and warily unfolded his mind to K—, who as cautiously entered into his views, until their confidence was completely established. The result of their deliberations was, that to save the empire, it was necessary that the emperor should be removed. They next prevailed upon Count P—, the governor of the city, and Count P—, a very young nobleman, but of considerable family interest, the son of the celebrated general, Count P— P— , who so eminently distinguished himself in the Turkish war, and also the prince Y—, and some other persons of great rank and consequence. All of these noblemen were actuated by no other motive, than to prevent the final ruin of their country, and for this purpose they determined to place in peril their lives and their fortunes.

In their conferences, which were managed with admirable discretion, it was resolved that Paul should die; and, like Cæsar, it was destined that he should perish in the ide of March, on the festival called Maslanitza.

The emperor, from an aversion he had taken to those palaces, which formed the favourite residence of Catharine, resolved upon building a palace for himself. The gorgeous magnificence of Zarsco Zalo, and of the winter palace, and all the Oriental voluptuousness of the Hermitage, were hateful to him; indeed, to such an elevation had his abhorrence of these places attained, that he had determined to reduce them to the dust. His fate, which was fast approaching, prevented the accomplishment of this irrevocable act of delirium. The emperor and his family resided, at the time when the confederacy had resolved upon his removal, in the new palace of Saint Michael. It is an enormous quadrangular pile, of red Dutch brick, rising from a massy basement of hewn granite. It stands at the bottom of the Summer Gardens, and the lofty spire of its Greek chapel, richly covered with ducat gold, rising above the trees, has a beautiful appearance.

As Paul was anxious to inhabit this palace as soon after he

was crowned as possible, the masons, the carpenters, and various artificers, toiled with incredible labour by day and by torch-light, under the sultry sun of the summer, and in all the severity of a polar winter, and in three years this enormous and magnificent fabric was completed. The whole is moated round, and when the stranger surveys its bastions of granite, and numerous draw-bridges, he is naturally led to conclude, that it was intended for the last asylum of a prince at war with his subjects. Those who have seen its massy walls, and the capaciousness and variety of its chambers, will easily admit that an act of violence might be committed in one room, and not be heard by those who occupy the adjoining one; and that a massacre might be perpetrated at one end, and not known at the other. Paul took possession of this palace as a place of strength, and beheld it with rapture, because his imperial mother had never even seen it. Whilst his family were here, by every act of tenderness, endeavouring to soothe the terrible perturbation of his mind, there were not wanting those who exerted every stratagem to inflame and increase it. These people were constantly insinuating, that every hand was armed against him. With this impression, which added fuel to his burning brain, he ordered a secret stair-case to be constructed, which, leading from his own chamber, passed under a false stove in the anti-room, and led by a small door to the terrace.

It was the custom of the emperor to sleep in an outer apartment next to the empress's, upon a sopha, in his regimentals and boots, whilst the Grand Duke and Duchess, and the rest of the Imperial family, were lodged at various distances, in apartments below the story which he occupied. On the tenth day of March, O. S. 1801, the day preceding the fatal night, whether Paul's apprehension, or anonymous information, suggested the idea, is not known, but conceiving that a storm was ready to burst upon him, he sent to Count P- ——, the governor of the city, one of the noblemen who had resolved on his destruction. "I am informed, P———," said the emperor, "that there is a conspiracy on foot against me; do you think it necessary to take any precaution?" The Count, without betraying the least emotion, replied, "Sire, do not suffer such apprehensions to haunt your mind, if there were any combinations forming against your Majesty's person, I am sure I should be acquainted with it." "Then I am satisfied," said the emperor, and the governor withdrew. Before Paul retired to rest, he unexpectedly expressed the most tender solicitude for the empress and his children, kissed them with all the warmth of farewell fondness, and remained with them longer than usual; and after he had visited the centinels at their different posts, he retired to his chamber, where he had not long remained, before, under some colourable pretext, that satisfied the men,

the guard was changed by the officers who had the command for the night, and were engaged in the confederacy. An hussar, whom the emperor had particularly honoured by his notice and attention, always at night slept at his bed-room door, in the anti-room. It was impossible to remove this faithful soldier by any fair means. At this momentous period, silence reigned throughout the palace, except where it was disturbed by the pacing of the centinels, or at a distance by the murmurs of the Neva, and only a few lights were to be seen distantly and irregularly gleaming through the windows of this dark colossal abode. In the dead of the night, Z——— and his friends, amounting to eight or nine persons, passed the draw-bridge, easily ascended the staircase which led to Paul's chamber, and met with no resistance till they reached the anti-room, when the faithful hussar, awakened by the noise, challenged them, and presented his fusee: much as they must have all admired the brave fidelity of the guard, neither time nor circumstances would admit of an act of generosity, which might have endangered the whole plan. Z— drew his sabre and cut the poor fellow down. Paul, awakened by the noise, sprung from his sopha: at this moment the whole party rushed into his room; the unhappy sovereign, anticipating their design, at first endeavoured to entrench himself in the chairs and tables, then recovering, he assumed a high tone, told them they were his prisoners, and called upon them to surrender. Finding that they fixed their eyes steadily and fiercely upon him, and continued advancing towards him, he implored them to spare his life, declared his consent instantly to relinquish the sceptre, and to accept of any terms which they would dictate. In his raving, he offered to make them princes, and to give them estates, and titles, and orders, without end. They now began to press upon him, when he made a convulsive effort to reach the window: in the attempt he failed, and indeed so high was it from the ground, that had he succeeded, the expedient would only have put a more instantaneous period to his misery. In the effort he very severely cut his hand with the glass; and as they drew him back he grasped a chair, with which he felled one of the assailants, and a desperate resistance took place. So great was the noise, that notwithstanding the massy walls, and thick double folding-doors, which divided the apartments, the empress was disturbed, and began to cry for help, when a voice whispered in her ear, and imperatively told her to remain quiet, otherwise, if she uttered another word, she should be put to instant death. Whilst the emperor was thus making a last struggle, the prince Y— struck him on one of his temples with his fist, and laid him upon the floor; Paul, recovering from the blow, again implored his life; at this moment the heart of P— Z— relented, and upon

being observed to tremble and hesitate, a young Hanoverian resolutely exclaimed, "We have passed the Rubicon: if we spare his life, before the setting of to-morrow's sun, we shall be his victims!" Upon which he took off his sash, turned it twice round the naked neck of the emperor, and giving one end to Z—, and holding the other himself, they pulled for a considerable time with all their force, until their miserable sovereign was no more; they then retired from the palace without the least molestation, and returned to their respective homes. What occurred after their departure can be better conceived than depicted; medical aid was resorted to, but in vain, and upon the breathless body of the emperor fell the tears of his widowed empress, and children, and domestics, nor was genuine grief ever more forcibly or feelingly displayed than by him on whose brow this melancholy event had planted the crown. So passed away this night of horror, and thus perished a prince, to whom nature was *severely* bountiful. The acuteness and pungency of his feeling was incompatible with happiness: unnatural prejudice pressed upon the fibre too finely spun, and snapped it.

The sun shone upon a new order of things. At seven o'clock the intelligence of the demise of Paul spread through the capital. The interval of time from its first communication to its diffusion over every part of Petersburgh, was scarcely perceptible. At the parade Alexander presented himself on horseback, when the troops, with tears rolling down their rugged and sun-browned faces, hailed him with loud and cordial acclamations. The young emperor was overwhelmed, and at the moment of mounting the throne of the most extensive empire under heaven, he was seen to turn from the grand and affecting spectacle, and weep.

What followed is of very subordinate consideration; but perhaps it will be eagerly asked, to what extremity did the avenging arm of justice pursue the perpetrators of the deed? Mercy, the brightest jewel of every crown, and a forlorn and melancholy conviction, that the reigning motive was the salvation of the empire, prevented her from being vindictive. Never upon the theatre of life was there presented a scene of more affecting magnanimity: decency, not revenge, governed the sacrifice. P— Z— was ordered not to approach the imperial residence, and the governor of the city was transferred to Riga. As soon as Madame Chevalier was informed of the demise of her imperial patron, she prepared, under the protection of her brother, a dancer, for flight, with a booty of nearly a million of rubles. A police officer was sent to inspect and report upon her property: amongst a pile of valuable articles, he discovered a diamond cross of no great intrinsic value, which had been given by Peter I. to a branch of the imperial family, and on that account much es-

teemed: it was to recover this that the officer was sent, who obtained it, after the most indecent and unprincipled resistance on her part. Passports were then granted to Madame Chevalier and her brother. Thus terminated this extraordinary and impressive tragedy.

THE PARADE ON SUNDAYS.

Sunday is always at Petersburgh a day of great festivity, but it only manifests itself after the hours of devotion. On this day the parade is well worthy the traveller's notice: it commences at ten o'clock, in that great area which lies between one side of the winter palace and the magnificent crescent, which formerly constituted the palace of Catherine's most cherished favourite Lauskoi; the men amounted to four thousand, and presented a very noble and martial appearance: their uniform consisted of a round hat, with only a rim in front, and green feather, a short green coat, buttoned tight round the body, and white duck breeches cut very high, so that no waistcoat is necessary. The belly of the soldier is tightly strapped in, for the purpose of giving an artificial breadth to the chest. With an exception to the English and consular guards, I never saw finer men in my life, nor greater neatness in dress and person. The emperor came from the palace, mounted on a beautiful grey charger, attended by two or three officers; he wore an amazing large cocked hat, fastened under his chin by a black leather strap, and buttoned to prevent the wind from occasioning that accident, for which a cruel disciplinarian (Frederic the Great) once severely flogged a poor Prussian soldier. The rest of his dress was a short coat of dark olive-green colour, decorated with a small star and the cordon bleu, white leather breeches, and high military boots, with very long projecting spurs. Upon this occasion there is always a great concourse of the commonalty, and a great muster of officers to pay their respects to the emperor, who rode at an easy canter down the line. As he passed I was much surprised to hear each company salute him with deep-toned voices, and highly gratified when I was informed that the salutation was, "Good day to our emperor." The words seemed to bring down the haughty disdain of military discipline to its proper level, and to place the hearts of the emperor and his brave soldiers in contact with each other. Upon his return he alighted and took his station in the centre, when the regiments passed the emperor, who stood uncovered all the time, in open order, the band playing, and officers saluting. As the imperial colours passed, which time or war, or both, had reduced to a few shreds of silk, all the officers and spectators bowed. As the last company was marching off the ground, a lane was formed

to the palace through the people, who gazed upon their young emperor with enthusiastic delight. The whole was a very interesting spectacle, for which by the bye I had nearly paid rather dearly. Thinking, perhaps, that I was far removed from the nimble-fingered disciples of London, or what is more likely, not thinking about the matter, I carelessly carried my pocket-book to the parade: a common Russian had for some time, it appeared, watched me with a cat-like eye, and at the moment the emperor passed me, he affected to relieve me from the pressure of the mob, and at the same time *really* endeavoured to relieve me of my letter of credit, some rûble notes, and many of the memorandums from which I am now writing. A German valet, belonging to a gentleman who was with me, instantly seized him by the throat ere his hand could leave my pocket, when he as speedily relinquished his prey.

MANSLAUGHTER.

The Russian is not naturally addicted to thieving: he is seldom seen in hostility to life, in order to obtain the felonious possession of another man's property. A rare instance of what however may be committed in an ebullition of passion, occurred at the preceding parade. An officer, in consequence of very improper behaviour, was put under arrest; in the bitterness of wounded pride, he slew the centinel who was placed at his chamber door: the emperor, instead of dooming him to death, ordered him to receive twenty-five strokes of the knout, to be branded in the forehead with *vor*, or rogue, and to be sent to Siberia.

PUGILISM.

As I was quitting the throng, two fellows, somewhat tipsy, began to quarrel; and, after abusing each other very violently as they walked along, they at last proceeded to blows. No pugilistic science was displayed: they fought with the hand expanded as awkwardly as women play at battledore and shuttlecock; no desperate contusion ensued. A police officer soon appeared, and, taking out a cord from his pocket, tied the combatants back to back, and placing them upon a droshka, galloped them off to the nearest sieja.

CHARACTER OF DR. GUTHRIE.

I found the doctor, says Mr. Carr, protected, by his philosophical knowledge, from one of the most sultry days I ever experienced. He was in a little study built of wood, raised upon piles in a little meadow. Instead of his summer windows being open to admit the air, they were all closed and fastened without; his servant occasionally moistened the branches of the trees, that

were suspended over the building, with water from a garden-engine; and to prevent, as much as possible, the admission of the flies, the entrance was through an outer door, and an inner one of gauze, and in the centre of the room stood a tub filled with ice; by these means the doctor, whilst every other person was languishing and panting with heat, enjoyed a cool and delightful atmosphere. His collection of Siberian minerals, gems, and precious stones (amongst which is a beautiful ribband agate) from various parts of the Russian empire, and a variety of marine fowls from the Russian Archipelago, are very curious and interesting. I here saw a fine specimen of the encoustic, or wax-painting, the art of which was discovered a few years since in Herculaneum, by a soldier accidentally holding a flambeau to an apparently naked wall, when the action of the heat created, to his astonishment, a beautiful landscape, by reviving the encoustic colour in which it had been painted. The doctor also obligingly shewed me an opera which was composed by the late empress, in which, with great poetical spirit and genius, she has described the founding of Moscow, and the habits and customs of the Russians. The words of many of the songs were adapted to old Russ tunes, and others were set to music by Sarti. Of this Imperial production only four copies were ever printed; as soon as they were struck off, the press, the types of which were made at Paris, was broken. Independent of his merited reputation, the doctor has two other reasons sufficient to make any philosopher proud and happy: he is the father of two lovely daughters; the eldest is lady Gascoigne, who, to the charms of youth and beauty, unites the most elegant accomplishments and captivating manners. So high was report in her favour, and so little can she be known with impunity, that I felt a sullen satisfaction in learning that she was upon a visit to her friends in Scotland whilst I was at Petersburgh; the other daughter is a lovely girl, pursuing her studies in the Convent des Demoiselles. On account of his long and faithful services, the Doctor was ennobled by Paul, who always retained a great partiality for him, even during the temporary disgust which he felt against his countrymen: he is honoured with a hat and feathers, and the rank of a general. It is scarcely necessary for me to observe that, in a military government like Russia, military rank precedes every other.

TAURIDAN PALACE.

From Doctor Guthrie's cool philosophic shade, we proceeded to the Taurida palace, built by Catherine II. and given by her to her distinguished favourite prince Potemkin, upon whom she la-

vished unprecedented dignities and treasure. She bestowed upon him the name of the Taurian, in honour of his conquest of the Crimea, and called this building after him. Upon the death of the prince, the empress purchased it of his family for an immense sum. The grand front of this building, which is of brick, stuccoed white, is towards the street leading to the Convent des Demoiselles, in the east end of the city, consisting of a centre, adorned with a portico supported by columns, and a large cupola of copper painted green, and extensive wings. A variety of out-offices, orangeries, and hot-houses, reach from the left wing to a prodigious distance: in the front is a court-yard, divided from the street by a hand-some railing. The exterior of this building is very extensive, but low; and although it has a princely appearance, does not excite the astonishment a stranger feels in entering it. Through the civility of our countryman, Mr. Gould, the emperor's gardener, who enjoys a munificent salary, and a handsome house on the west side of the gardens, I was frequently enabled to visit this delightful place. The kitchen, fruit, and pleasure gardens, and hot-houses, occupy a vast space of ground, which are watered by several canals; over one of them is thrown the celebrated model of a flying covered bridge of one arch, which an obscure illiterate Russian constructed, for the purpose of embracing the two sides of the Neva, opposite to the statue of Peter the Great: it is about seventy feet long, and is a wonderful display of mechanical ingenuity.

The pleasure-grounds are very elegantly disposed, and, as we passed the little green palisade which separates them from the kitchen garden, we contemplated, with pleasure, the favourite seat of Catherine the Great that here presented itself: it was a long, tasteful garden sopha of iron, interlaced, painted green, and stood under the branches of an oak. Here she used to take her coffee; and, upon this very seat, she gave private and unrestrained audience to the late King of Sweden. I am enabled, from indubitable authority, to state, that the age of Catherine when she expired, was seventy-five, although three years are taken from it in the calendar.

HALL OF THE TAURIDA PALACE, AND MR. FOX'S BUST.

The first room we entered from the garden, was the celebrated hall in which Prince Potemkin gave the most gorgeous and costly entertainment ever recorded since the days of Roman voluptuousness: I am not able to communicate to my readers the ideas which this enormous room excited. If a pagan were to be transported into it in his sleep, when he awoke he could not fail thinking that he had undergone an apotheosis, and had been conducted to the banqueting-room of Jupiter. It was built

after the unassisted design of Potemkin, and unites to a sublime conception, all the graces of finished taste. This prodigious room is supported by double rows of colossal Doric pillars, opening on one side into a vast pavilion, composing the winter-garden, which I saw prepared for the Emperor, who resides here for a short time every year, just before I left Petersburg. This garden is very extensive: the trees, chiefly orange, of an enormous size, are sunk in the earth in their tubs, and are entirely covered with fine mould: the walks are gravelled, wind and undulate in a very delightful manner, are neatly turfed, and lined with roses and other flowers: the whole of the pavilion is lighted by lofty windows: from the ceiling depend several magnificent lustres of the richest cut glass.

Here, whilst the polar winter is raging without, covering the world in white, and hardening the earth to marble; when water tossed in the air drops down in ice; may be seen the foliage, and inhaled the fragrance, of an Arabian grove, in the soft and benign climate of an Italian spring. The novelty and voluptuous luxuriance of this green refreshing spectacle, seen through a colonnade of massy white pillars, and reduplicated by vast mirrors, is matchless. Between the columns, now no longer incumbered with boxes for spectators as they formerly were, are a great number of beautiful statues and colossal casts: the two celebrated vases of Carrara marble, the largest in the world, occupy the centre of the room leading to the winter garden. The Dying Gladiator, Cupid and Psyche, a recumbent Hermaphrodite, and many other exquisite productions of the chisel, afford ample gratification to the man of taste. Amongst the busts, is that of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, by Nollekens; an admirable likeness of that distinguished orator. Paul, during his temporary aversion to the English, ordered this bust into the *cellar*: whether he intended that his spleen should carry the marks of some humour, I know not. His august successor removed it from the region of the Tuscan juice, and the depths of darkness, and ordered it to occupy its present station, where, by the side of Grecian and Roman virtue the sun of heaven shines full upon it. Opposite to the winter-garden is a beautiful saloon, divided from the hall only by the colonnade, which is filled with rare antiques, principally busts. During the darkened hours of Paul, he converted this palace into a garrison; and the hall, pavilion, and saloon, into a riding school for his troops.

The rest of the rooms which are upon the ground floor, have been elegantly but very simply fitted up by the present Emperor, and all their gorgeous hangings, furniture, and decorations, have been removed and deposited in magazines. In one of the rooms

there is a set of superb lustres, every drop of glass in which may be set in motion by clock-work, concealed in the centre, when it presents the appearance of a little cascade. The theatre, which has been much reduced, is still spacious and very handsome.

POTEMKIN'S GRAND FESTIVAL.

It may not be uninteresting to give a brief description of the entertainment which I have before alluded to, as I received it from Mr. Gould, who contributed his talents to augment the rich variety of that resplendent festival:—Soon after Prince Potemkin's return from the conquest of Crim Tartary, under the influence of a gloomy prepossession that it would be the last time that he should have it in his power to pay due honour to his imperial benefactress, he resolved upon giving a banquet, which, in modern Europe and Asia, should have no parallel. What the expences attending it amounted to, were never known, but they must have been prodigious. For several months previous to the gala, the most distinguished artists were invited from distant countries to assist in its completion. The grand outline was designed by the Prince, and so various as well as vast were the parts, that not one of the assistants could form any previous idea of the whole of it. In the general bustle of preparation, the following anecdote, that proves the natural taste of Potemkin's mind, is related: He had ordered a statue of Catherine to be formed of alabaster, which he intended should be raised upon a pedestal, in a temple of precious stones, in the winter-garden: for the motto upon its entablature he wrote: "To the Mother of my Country, and to me the most gracious." In his design, the artist had extended the hand and elevated the sceptre, in the formal style of our Queen Anne's appearance in wax-work; the critical eye of this Prince, although he has been termed, and in some instances justly, a splendid barbarian, in a moment perceived the deficiency of grace in the attitude, and ordered the sceptre to be inclined: the artist retired to another room in chagrin, and exclaimed, "This great savage has more taste than I have, who have been brought up in the lap of the Arts." Upon giving another direction, the artist stared, and remonstrated upon the enormous sum which it would cost: "What! Sir," said Potemkin, "do you affect to know the depth of my treasury? Be assured it stands in no need of your sensibility." After which his orders were obeyed without any reference to expenditure.

Nothing could exceed the public sensation which this fête excited. At length the evening arrived when the Prince was to appear in all his pomp and glory, before his fond and adored sovereign. The walls of these splendid apartments were most

richly and beautifully illuminated, and decorated with various exquisite transparencies; and the stairs, hall, avenues, and sides of the rooms were lined with officers of state, attached to the household of the Prince, and servants in the most costly dresses and magnificent liveries. The orchestra exceeded six hundred vocal and instrumental musicians, and announced the entrance of the Empress and her court richly attired, by a grand overture and chorus, which reverberated through the colonnades and saloons. Potemkin conducted his Imperial visiter to an elevated chair glittering with gold and diamonds: midway between the columns, were boxes gilt with pale gold, and lined with green silk, filled with spectators in gala dresses. The festivity commenced with a dance of youths of both sexes, habited in white, and covered with pearls and jewels, at the head of whom were the present Emperor and the grand duke Constantine his brother. After the dance, and the most costly refreshments, the party repaired to the theatre, at the other end of the palace, where an occasional piece, composed in honour of the Empress, was performed, in which all the powers of singing, acting, dancing, dress, scenery, and decorations, were displayed. Upon the conclusion of the drama, the audience rose, and as if impelled by magic, the benches touched by springs, moved and formed into tables and little seats, which were almost instantaneously covered with the richest viands, served up in gold and silver. The curtain again rose, and discovered a hall of mirrors, from which descended globular lustres of crystal, and a table appeared covered with the rarity of almost every region splendidly served in gold; and at the head, upon a throne gilded and glittering with precious stones, sat the Empress surrounded by her court, the most brilliant in Europe. Such were the arrangements in this place, that every one could see and be seen. In the colossal hall were spread tables filled with delicacies and the most costly wines, and at the head of it was a prodigious massy cistern of solid silver, containing sterlet soup, which is said alone to have cost ten thousand rubles. During this splendid repast, in every room the softest music was heard, which rather enlivened than restrained the current of conversation. Universal decorum and hilarity prevailed; every wish was anticipated, every sense was gratified.

The banquet was followed by a succession of magnificent exhibitions, and the Empress did not retire till midnight. As she proceeded to her carriage, it was observed that she appeared much affected by the homage which had been paid to her, increased, perhaps, by the tender remembrance of departed hours; and as she turned to bid the Prince adieu, she could scarcely support herself: at this touching moment, Potemkin fell upon

his knees, and covered her hand with his tears and kisses: it was destined that he never should more behold her under that roof, and his mind seemed fully possessed of the idea. A short time afterward, as he was proceeding from Yassy to Nicolaief, he was seized with a violent cholic, which it is supposed was produced by his singular irregularities: he alighted from his travelling carriage, supported by his nieces, with difficulty reached a bank on the side of the road, and expired in their arms. His remains were interred with magnificent honours, at Cherson, on the banks of the Dnieper, and a splendid mausoleum was raised to his memory by the order of her czarian majesty.

The dislike which Paul ever bore towards Potemkin, principally on account of his being the favourite of his imperial mother, induced the Emperor, during the dreadful subversion of his mind, to order the body of the Prince to be raised and exposed, and the mausoleum destroyed. A lady whom I met, and who was obliged, during this fearful period, to take refuge in the Crimea, beheld the ruins of the tomb, and the remains of the Prince exposed to the birds of the air.

CHARACTER OF POTEMKIN.

To what trifles do many persons owe their elevation! Potemkin was indebted for his honours and fortunes to a *feather*. In the revolution which gave the late Empress sole possession of the throne, she appeared at the head of the Ismailof guards, when Potemkin, a young officer in the cavalry, perceiving that she had no feather in her hat, as she appeared on that momentous occasion *en militaire*, rode up to her and presented his. This extraordinary man experienced, in early life, a disappointment of the heart, which so frequently forces the mind out of its proper sphere, and unsettles it for ever. Potemkin rushed into the field of battle, and in search of death obtained glory. The cruel fair one, who still rejected him, notwithstanding his scars and honours, became violently smitten with an ugly old man, whom she married, and hated for ever after.

Potemkin very frequently refused to pay his tradesmen: it is said that a very celebrated French veterinary professor went from Vienna to Petersburg, for the purpose of curing a beautiful charger, that had been presented to the Prince by the Emperor Joseph II. and which was so ill, that the medical world at Petersburg had given it over. The professor built a stable for the animal upon a particular construction, and after the most incessant attention, succeeded in restoring it to health. When the horse-doctor waited upon Potemkin with the joyful news, and expected to be profusely paid for the heavy sums of money which he had expended, and for his time and skill, he

was forbidden the sight of the Prince, never could see him afterwards, and never was paid: yet notwithstanding these occasional acts of avaricious dishonesty, and although his property was estimated at nine millions of rubles in cash, forty-five thousand peasants, besides two pensions, one of seventy-five thousand rubles, and another of thirty thousand rubles, for his table, such was his prodigality that he was frequently embarrassed. In winter he used to wear a muff of the value of one thousand pounds.

In one of the Prince's journies to the Crimea, Mr. Gould attended him, being at that time his head gardener, and was preceded by several hundred assistants. Whenever the Prince halted, if it were only for a day, he found his travelling pavilion raised, and surrounded by a garden in the English taste, composed of trees and shrubs, raised, and carried forward as the cavalcade proceeded, and divided by graval walks. Yet, strange to relate, amidst this Asiatic pomp, whilst the subordinate attendants fared upon every dainty that wealth could purchase, the poor Englishman, whenever the Prince requested him to travel in his carriage, which frequently occurred, was obliged to put up with the most homely fare, which Potemkin, always irregular and eccentric, generally preferred. At a sumptuous entertainment, where every rarity of epicurism invited the appetite, the Prince has been known to order a raw carrot, or turnip, and to dine upon it.

I must relate the following little anecdote, and then I have done with Potemkin. One day, in the course of their journey, they halted at Bender, in Bessarabia, where whilst the Prince was at dinner, Mr. G. rambled about the neighbourhood, for the purpose of discovering the scite, or remains of the house of Charles XII. of Sweden, in which, on the twelfth of February, 1713, he and a few followers madly bade defiance to the whole Ottoman army, after having been repeatedly and earnestly entreated to leave the dominions of the Grand Turk. After a diligent search, with the assistance of some of the natives, the English gardener discovered the ruins which the eccentric spirit of the Swedish king had rendered so interesting, and exultingly returned to the Prince with the intelligence, who exclaimed, with liberal joy, "the English discover every thing," immediately proceeded to it; and, after regarding its remains with a very lively sensation, ordered the house to be repaired, and partly rebuilt, and a garden to be constructed round it, which were accordingly done, as a monument of his respect for the conqueror of Narva.

RUSSIAN BATHS.

Mr. Carr and his friend, having assumed for the purpose, a shabby dress, proceeded on a Saturday, the general day of purification, to visit a Russian bath, of which he gives the following curious account:

After passing over a raised wooden path, by the side of a long wooden wall, we halted at a house built of the same materials, which formed the grand entrance. Here upon paying five copecs a-piece, from a hole in a dark shed, or magazine of birch rods with the leaves on, a hand poked out one of them to each of us, which we took, without at the time knowing for what purpose they were to be used. On the entrance on each side were stalls of black bread, little pies, quass, and liqueurs. In the first court we beheld men and women indiscriminately mingled together, in a state similar to that which preceded the slightest notion of breeches and waistcoats. They were arranged like so many hounds in a dog-kennel, upon benches tier above tier, where they were wringing their beards and combing and plaiting their hair. In the middle of the yard was a jet d'eau playing into a great wooden cistern; as the bathers came out of the vapour-room, red and reeking with heat, they ran to this tank, and filling a bucket with cold water, raised it and threw it over their heads. When these baths are near a river, they plunge into it, and in winter roll themselves in snow.

I opened the door of the vapour-room, in which I could not continue above a minute, and in that time a profuse perspiration came over me. The room was capacious, women and men were piled one above another amphitheatrically, the vapour which filled the room, and gave it the atmosphere of a digester, was produced from water being thrown upon a great number of heated stones, some of them red hot. In this place, to assist the cause of perspiration and washing, they exchange the little *tender and delicate offices* of flogging, soaping, and rubbing each other down. The Russians in this, as well as many other customs, bear a strong analogy to the Grecians. These scenes, such is the effect of habit, are seldom productive of libertinism, even amongst the natives: to every foreigner they cannot fail to be offensive and repulsive. If a painter wishes to delineate a Venus, or even any part of the figure, let him not go to a Russian bath for a model. My curiosity was soon satisfied, I visited no other part of the building, and right glad was I to quit this disgusting scene. These baths, however, which are to be found in every village, prove that the Russians are naturally clean. After these ablutions, clean shirts and shifts are put on for Sunday.

It is highly interesting to observe how nations differ from each other in their customs, and how frequently they reverse them. As we are upon the subject of bathing, I cannot help mentioning that, as I was walking with some English ladies in the Summer Gardens one evening, I observed numbers of men and women enjoying themselves in a small canal which runs from the Neva to the Michaelsky Palace. Public as this spectacle was, there seemed to be the most perfect innocence amongst all the parties. One man was very curious that I should see how well his wife could swim, and a Polish servant in waiting said, with great naiveté, to one of our English ladies, (a very timid and sensible woman, in whose service he was) "Madam, there is a fine seat there, pointing to one upon the side of the water, 'where you can have an excellent view, and see the manner in which the Russians swim.' Their manner is somewhat curious, they swim as if dogs had taught them. As I was one day walking by the side of the canal which runs before the Opera house, I saw two young, and I think I may add, *modest* women, seeking shelter from the sun in the limpid stream. The forms of these Nausicaas did more honour to the Russian women which I had before seen. The Russians [illegible] simple (I know not [illegible] two [illegible] bath, and roll [illegible]

From a subscription [illegible] that in Petersburgh [illegible] to invalids, and the inhabitants convey [illegible] the dogs come [illegible] bounties.

[illegible] THE KING

[illegible] prevented describing to [illegible] Russian navy, proposed [illegible] shore of Kronstadt, three [illegible] decorated about ten versts from [illegible] boom were [illegible] lows of [illegible], moored [illegible]. We rowed round the islands [illegible] to visit [illegible] the Neva, my [illegible] there [illegible] by relating the following anecdote of the desperate attack of Gothem and After the battle between the Russian and Swedish fleets off Cronstadt, in May 1790, Captain Pasley [illegible] navy, lieutenant, was dispatched by Rear-Admiral Greig to Catherine, who was at that time at the palace of Zarsko Selo, with an account of the successful manœuvre of her fleet. For four days and nights preceding, the empress had taken no rest, and but little refreshment, the greater part of which time she had passed upon the

beautiful terrace near the baths of porphyry; listening with the greatest anxiety to the distant thunder of the cannon, which was so tremendous, that several windows in Petersburg were broken by its concussion. It is said that, anticipating the last disaster, her horses and carriages were ready to convey her to Moscow. Young Elphinstone arrived at the palace late at night, in his fighting clothes, covered with dust and gun-powder, and severely fatigued with long and arduous duty. His dispatches were instantly carried to the empress, who ordered her page in waiting to give the bearer refreshments and a bed, and requested that he might on no account be disturbed. The gallant messenger availed himself of her graciousness, and "Tir'd Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep," never quitted his eye-lids till the dawn had far advanced, during which period Catherine had sent three times to see if he were awake. At length Captain Elphinstone, in all his *dishabille*, was conducted to her presence by her secretary, when she commenced an enchanting conversation, in which she complimented the gallantry and many naval achievements of his family; and after proceeding upon various topics for about half an hour, she said, calling him "my son," "Now let us proceed to business: I have received the dispatches, which have afforded me infinite satisfaction; I thank you for your bravery and zeal; I beg you will describe to me the position of the ships," which, as Captain E. explained, she indicated with her pencil upon a leaf of her pocket-book; and as she gave him her orders to the Commander in Chief, she presented him with a rouleau of ducats, a beautiful little French watch, and, although very young, promoted him to the rank of Captain.

It was during this battle that the Swedish monarch behaved with his accustomed gallantry: as he was rowing in his barge, and giving his orders, in the thickest of the battle, a shot carried away the hand of the strokesman, and at this moment a small Russian vessel of war, discovering the king, bore down upon him: the brave and generous monarch, seeing the accident which his poor bargeman had sustained, and his own personal peril at the same time, calmly took out his handkerchief, and bound it over the wound, then leaped on board one of his gun-boats, and miraculously escaped, by that good fortune which never favours little minds, at the instant when his barge was boarded by the enemy; the cushions of which were preserved in the apartment of Captain Elphinstone, in the marine barracks, as trophies of war and of humanity.

VISIT TO THE HERMITAGE.

What could induce Catherine to call one of the most costly and elegant palaces in Europe by the name of the Hermitage I cannot imagine; not more preposterous would it be to hear Wind-

sor castle denominated the Nutshell. Its situation on the banks of the Neva is very beautiful; the apartments are still magnificent, although much of their rich furniture has been removed, and are embellished with the Houghton and other choice collections, to which artists have free access to copy. One room was entirely filled with some of the finest productions of Vernet; there is also a great number by Teniers. Upon the same floor with the picture galleries, which, with the state-rooms, occupy the second story, is a spacious covered winter garden, filled with orange trees, and foreign singing birds, opening into a summer garden upon the top of the palace, in which there is a beautiful long gravelled walk, lined with shrubs and large graceful birch-trees, whose roots I should think must have for some time threatened to make their way through the ceiling of the drawing-rooms below. The whole is adorned with statues, elegant garden sofas, and temples, and on each side are magnificent galleries. In the cabinet of curiosities I was much pleased with a faithful and exquisite model of a Russian boor's farm-house in wax. In the music-room adjoining to this are some large and admirable pictures, by Snyder, representing fish, fowl, and fruit. In the cabinet of jewels there is a rich display of all sorts of jewellery; and amongst others, under a great glass-case, are the celebrated mechanical peacock, owl, cock, and grasshopper, of the size of life, which was made in England, at a vast expence, and presented by Potemkin to the late empress. The machinery is damaged: the cock, mounted on a tree of gold, no longer crows, nor hoots the owl, nor does the peacock spread his tail, at the expiration of the hour, but the grasshopper still skips round to denote the moment. This animal is nearly the size of his more animated brethren in Russian Finland, which are said to be an inch and a half long. There were also several ivory cups, the fruits of the leisure of Peter the Great, whose versatility was such, that apparently with equal ease, he could head from the founding of cities, leading armies into the field, and fighting battles, to building boats, turning wooden spoons and platters, and carving in ivory. Raphael's hall, one of the galleries running parallel with the garden, is superbly painted and decorated, and has a fine collection of minerals: its inlaid floor is uncommonly rich and exquisite.

Not far from the Hermitage, and upon a line with it, is the magnificent palace raised by Catherine II. for Gregory Orloff, and afterwards allotted, by the late emperor, to the last of the kings of Poland. It is built of grey Siberian marble, and adorned with columns and pilasters of the same stone, of a brown and reddish colour. The balustrades of the balconies, and the frames of the windows, are of brass richly gilded. All the splendid fur-

niture and movable decorations have been removed, and the whole is now occupied by persons belonging to the court.

ADMIRABLE INSTITUTIONS

In consequence of the gracious orders of the Empress dowager to that effect, we visited a very interesting institution under her immediate protection, the Convent des Demoselles. This Imperial Seminary, which has no equal in Europe, contains three hundred and seventy-two young ladies of nobility, and two hundred and forty daughters of citizens. There is also another institution under the same roof, called that of St Catherine, in which there are one hundred and eighty-eight children, of the inferior ranks of nobility. The age of admission is six years. The young ladies are taught German, French, Italian, drawing, music, dancing, geography, embroidery, and every other accomplishment. The daughters of the bourgeois are instructed in whatever is useful alone, and can contribute to their making good and clever wives. Their genius, or bias of mind, whenever it can be ascertained, is always consulted in their pursuits. The building is a large stone edifice, it was formerly occupied by the nobles of Smolnoi, who have been removed to accommodate more useful and lovely members of society. In the centre there is a vast projected church, surmounted with a dome in the centre of four small cupolas, all of copper gilded. This edifice forms a venerable and prominent feature in the city. We were received at the entrance by one of the officers attached to the establishment, in full uniform dress, which is worn by all male persons belonging to this imperial institution, on account of the government being military. We were first conducted to the kitchen, where we saw and tasted a sample of the day's dinner, consisting of excellent soup, boiled beef, vegetables, and pastry. The young ladies are divided into classes of age, and distinguished by brown holland, and green and white dresses. In the first school we were presented to her Excellency Madame Adelberg, the directress of the convent, who appeared, decorated with the order of Saint Catherine, a lady of great beauty, and elegance of deportment, her mind and character were explained by the smiles and looks of affection which every where attended her, as we proceeded through the schools. In the sick room there were only three patients, who were most tenderly attended by the proper nurses, the name, age, disorder, and treatment of the invalid, is inscribed upon a little tablet fixed over her head to the back of the bed. The dormitories were remarkably neat, and even elegant. Some of the little girls surprised us by the excellence to which they had attained in drawing. In the Greek church belonging to the convent, we were attended by the priest in his

full robes, who shewed us a magnificent cup of gold studded with jewels, used in devotion, the work of the Empress dowager.

The mortality among the children is very inconsiderable, upon an average only two die annually out of eight hundred, unless after filling up of several vacancies, occurring at the same time, when the children admitted from the provinces sometimes bring diseases with them. In the blue class we saw an instance of the mutability of fortune, in a little girl about eleven years of age, the Princess —, the grand daughter of the late king of Poland. In the catastrophe of the family she was left destitute. Her mother, in a frenzy produced by the dethronement of her father, threw her son, a child, from a balcony into the street, and dashed out his brains. This orphan relic of an unjust and most unfortunate family, was saved from actual want by the humanity and feeling of the Princess Biron, with whose daughter she is educated in the convent. The young Princess Biron, in the blue dress of her class, underwent an examination in French and writing in our presence, and acquitted herself with infinite credit. In the green and white class, where the eldest young ladies are, we were entertained with some very delightful Italian and French airs and choruses, accompanied by the harpsichord.

After the ample analysis which we have given of this excellent and interesting work, we have only to add that it concludes with describing the author's journey to Berlin — but the subjects which attracted his attention in that capital are far less interesting than those which we have already detailed.

END OF CARR'S NORTHERN SUMMER.

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full robes, who shewed us a magnificent cup of gold studded with jewels, used in devotion, the work of the Empress dowager.

The mortality among the children is very inconsiderable, upon an average only two die annually out of eight hundred, unless after filling up of several vacancies, occurring at the same time, when the children admitted from the provinces sometimes bring diseases with them. In the blue class we saw an instance of the mutability of fortune, in a little girl about eleven years of age, the Princess —, the grand daughter of the late king of Poland. In the catastrophe of the family she was left destitute. Her mother, in a frenzy produced by the dethronement of her father, threw her son, a child, from a balcony into the street, and dashed out his brains. This orphan relic of an unjust and most unfortunate family, was saved from actual want by the humanity and feeling of the Princess Biron, with whose daughter she is educated in the convent. The young Princess Biron, in the blue dress of her class, underwent an examination in French and writing in our presence, and acquitted herself with infinite credit. In the green and white class, where the eldest young ladies are, we were entertained with some very delightful Italian and French airs and choruses, accompanied by the harpsichord.

After the ample analysis which we have given of this excellent and interesting work, we have only to add that it concludes with describing the author's journey to Berlin — but the subjects which attracted his attention in that capital are far less interesting than those which we have already detailed.

END OF CARR'S NORTHERN SUMMER.

TURNBULL's VOYAGE.

A Voyage round the World in the years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, *and* 1804, *in which the Author visited the principal islands in the Pacific Ocean, and the English settlements of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island. By* JOHN TURNBULL. 3 *vols. crown octavo, price* 15*s. boards.*—PHILLIPS, 1805.

THE present state of the numerous islands within the tropics is but imperfectly known. No voyager since the time of Captain Vancouver has touched at them for the purpose of submitting the result of his observations to the public, if we except the persons employed by the Missionary Society, whose objects are far different from those of the circumnavigators sent out by government. The unprejudiced narrative of Mr. Turnbull will, therefore, be found very interesting, as he has evidently spared no exertions to present a correct account of the manners and characters of those islanders, while he has done ample justice to the motives and conduct of the resident missionaries.

In the preface Mr. Turnbull modestly informs his readers, that when the materials of his work were collected he had not the most distant idea of their publication, but had drawn them up merely for the information and amusement of his private friends. We afterwards learn that the voyage of the author originated from the following circumstances:—Mr. T. was second officer of the Barwell, in her last voyage to China, in 1799; and, as well as the commander, discovered from actual observation, that the Americans carried on a lucrative trade to the north west of Asia. On representing this circumstance to some enterprising merchants of our metropolis, they resolved to enter on a similar speculation; and having purchased a new ship, gave the command of it to the officer above-mentioned, while the cargo and trading part were entrusted to the author; and each of them having considerable shares as owners, they were equally interested in the success of the voyage. They sailed from Portsmouth with the India convoy in the beginning of July, 1800. Nothing worthy of notice occurred till the arrival of the ship at the delightful island of

MADEIRA,

of which Mr. Turnbull gives the following account:—

"It was now ten in the forenoon of as bright a day as the meridian glory of a southern sun ever produced to chear the heart of man. The vine-yards yet retained on their leaves some of the morning dew; the face of the island in many places was clothed with tropical shrubs: the orange, melon, sugar-cane, and banana, gratified more than one sense by their hue and fragrance.

"During the time I was on shore, I was much annoyed by innumerable swarms of mendicant friars, imploring my charity in the name of the holy virgin and all the saints of their calendar. Wearied with their importunities, and to procure my ease, I threw them some of the smaller pieces of the Portuguese money; but I had here reckoned without my host, for my liberality only procured me other applications, and this in an almost endless succession. Why is this impudent mendicity thus not only tolerated, but sanctified as it were by the laws of the country? What effect must it have on the genius of the people?

"In the several quarters of the town I observed a multitude of petty shops, presenting no bad epitome of a negro market in the West-Indies; being furnished with what every other market would reject with disgust, such as putrid fish, rotten cheese, and rancid butter. Every thing was marked, as it were, with the peculiar characteristic of the Spanish and Portuguese possession; an indifference to filth or cleanliness, an invincible indolence, and a pride the more ludicrous, as contrasted with every circumstance which should induce a contrary feeling."

On leaving Madeira the author's vessel outstripped the convoy, and after a tedious passage through the torrid zone, was obliged to put into St. Salvador to repair her leaks. Here they were regarded with much suspicion by the Portugueze, and compelled to make their repairs and sail in four days, while the Spaniards in the harbour received every indulgence. The commander and Mr. Turnbull were even watched like spies in their limited excursions ashore; but during their short stay our author made the following remarks on

ST. SALVADOR, AND THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF ITS INHABITANTS.

"The city is large and populous, and appears divided by nature into an upper and lower town. The upper town is seated on the summit of an eminence: it commands an uninterrupted view of the bay and harbour of All Saints, the sea and clouds alone terminating the boundless prospect. The upper town is the seat of the viceroy, the civil and military officers, and principal merchants; whilst the lower town is for the most part occupied by inhabitants of the inferior order, retail tradesmen, adventurers, and persons following mechanical trades.

The town of St. Salvador, next to that of Rio Janeiro, is the most active with regard to its trade of any on the coast of Brazil. The commerce to the mother country, considering the characteristic indolence of the Portuguese, is very brisk; and as the diamond mines require a numerous and constant supply of negroes, there is a considerable trade to the coast of Africa for this human merchandize.

In the dock-yard a ship of 64 guns was on the stocks: it was built of the country wood, a wood too heavy perhaps for this purpose, but undoubtedly much stronger than any European oak. The iron, pitch, and tar, I understand to have been brought from Lisbon, the policy of the parent country requiring every thing wrought or manufactured to be imported from thence.

Sunday, being a high festival in the Portuguese calendar, the captain and myself seized this opportunity to visit the Portuguese churches. We found them corresponding in every respect both with the genius of their religion and the wealth of their settlement; they were magnificently adorned, and the ornaments of the images appeared to us to be very valuable. We found moreover, and though sailors, with some satisfaction, that there was one country in the world in which religion was fashionable, the churches being crowded with all ranks of people, from the meanest slave to his excellency the governor himself.

It was not without great difficulty that we obtained a seat in the principal church. Our eyes were in some measure diverted from the preacher to the holy virgin, who arrayed in gold and jewels, with the prince of Brazil on her right hand elegantly accoutred, perhaps intimating by this his being one of her avowed champions and defenders, occupied the most conspicuous corner of the church. The bishop of the province, the second man in this part of Brazil, was the preacher.

Upon conclusion of the church service the image of the holy virgin, and her attendant the prince, was carried in procession through the streets of the city, the ladies saluting her from the windows and balconies, with garlands and chaplets showered upon her head; a theatric spectacle by no means unpleasing, if the zeal of a mistaken religion be admitted as an excuse for its errors.

After having paraded the town in every direction, the holy lady, with all her appendages, was deposited in the next considerable church, there to rest till again wanted for a new feast, or a shower of rain. Through his seeming inattention to this sacred mummery, the captain was not looked on with a very good eye; his impiety called down upon him a severe reprimand. Not a

street through which we passed but had one of these tutelary saints in some one or other of its most conspicuous parts, and thither in the evening assembled the populace in crowds, chaunting prayers or thanksgivings in the usual monotony of the Roman Catholic choristry.

Mr. T. concludes his account of St. Salvador with expressing his conviction, that if we do not soon take possession of this valuable settlement it must fall under the dominion of France.

On leaving this harbour they proceeded to the Cape, where they staid a month, and then sailed for Botany Bay. Mr. Turnbull's remarks on the Cape afford no new information; but his account of

SYDNEY TOWN, ~~BOTANY~~ BAY,

is well worth attention. It struck forcibly on my mind, says he, as one of the characteristics of the colony, that it is almost the only settlement in the world in which the residence of Europeans has produced absolutely no change in the manners, or useful knowledge of the natives. The inhabitants of Otaheite, as will be hereafter mentioned, have adopted our fishing hooks, and acknowledging the superiority of our tools, have almost universally laid aside their implements of bone. The Sandwich islanders are in many respects still more advanced in the knowledge and use of European commodities. It is not so with the natives of New Holland; they have gained nothing in civilization since their first discovery; they are still the same savages as in the time of Phillips and their first settlement.

The town of Sydney, the capital of the colony, and the seat of the government, is divided into two parts by a river, which empties itself into a cove named after the town. Sydney Cove has thus a double advantage, that of being well and plentifully provided with excellent water, and, at the same time, possessing an harbour which might contain with ease all the royal navy of Great Britain. These twofold advantages rendered it much more eligible than Botany Bay, the original destination.

The peculiar circumstances which belonged to the first settlement of this colony, rendered it necessary to have storehouses erected for the reception of provisions, houses for the convicts, and barracks for the military, upon the arrival of the first settlers. These buildings, in different parts of the country most fit for cultivation, formed the outlines of the present towns, of which the chief are Sydney, Paramatta, and Hawkesbury. The adjacent country being parcelled out amongst such of the settlers as preferred this means of livelihood, others of a more mechanical and sedentary propensity, collected together in the villages, erecting

shops, establishing trades, and becoming factors in the mutual exchange of commodities between the people of the country and the towns. From such beginnings the villages have increased to towns, and Sydney, according to the most accurate calculation I am enabled to make, has now a population of two thousand six hundred inhabitants. They may be classed under the following denominations :

Military and civil establishment, 450; convicts employed by the crown in the public works, bridges, batteries, and dock-yards, &c. 400; taylors, shoe-makers, bakers, butchers, carpenters, and masons, 250; fishermen, 20; people employed in boats, getting wood for shipping, bringing grain from the Hawkesbury sealers in Bass's Straits, chiefly employed on the water, 350; petty traders, or pedlars who gain a livelihood by trading, 40; women, 600; children, 450.

The space occupied by the town is about a mile from one extremity to the other. With the exception of the store-houses and other public buildings, eight out of ten of the houses are only one story in height, and whether built at the first formation of the colony, or immediately afterwards, are for the most part composed of wattle and plaister, and some few, but few indeed, of brick and stone. The absolute want of lime, or any sufficient substitute, except that made from shells, is an invincible impediment against more substantial architecture.

Sydney already comprehends upwards of one-third of the whole population of New South Wales. The effect of the climate has been rather over-rated. It is chiefly visible in children born in the country of European parents, but it is not visible so much in any defect, as in a certain characteristic trait of countenance. These children differ nothing in size or stature from the common standard of Europe, but are invariably of one complexion, fair and with white hair. Out of eleven hundred children born in New South Wales there is scarcely a single exception to this distinction. Their eyes are usually black and very brilliant, their disposition quick and volatile, and their loquacity such as might render them a proverb.

Nearly one-half of the population, both men and women, are Irish, many of them having been transported hither for their seditious practices. It is not too much to be dreaded that the evil of their treason is only removed to another sphere: thus far I will assert, that their transportation has not in any degree changed their principles. Were an enemy to make their appearance in any force which should promise effect, I am persuaded that this part of the convicts, at least, would join them, and at the hazard of their lives facilitate the attempt, for they almost to a man consider themselves as martyrs suffering in a glorious cause!

Mr. T. gives a melancholy picture of the depravity of the convicts. The multitude of law suits and litigations, he asserts, exceeds all conception. There were upwards of three hundred processes to be brought before the next sitting of the civil court. Indeed, he observes, the lawyers and publicans are the most profitable trades in the colony. One of these kind gentlemen of the quill had the modesty to charge me 4*l.* 6*s.* for writing half a sheet of paper, and in answer to my remonstrance, replied that he lost money by me. This fellow was a convict. Another, of a different trade, and a convict, demanded 5*s.* for some very trifling repairs of a lock, and being told by a colonist at hand that he had never charged him more than half the sum, the fellow replied, that the lock belonged to a ship, and that it was his rule of trade to charge a ship double.

NATIVES OF BOTANY BAY.

Reformation on the part of the natives appears to be equally as unpromising as on that of the convicts. The aboriginal inhabitants of this distant region, says Mr. T. are indeed beyond comparison the most barbarous on the surface of the globe. The residence of Europeans has here been wholly ineffectual, the natives are still in the same state as at our first settlement. Every day are men and women to be seen in the streets of Sydney and Paramatta, naked as in the moment of their birth. In vain have the more humane of the officers of the colony endeavoured to improve their condition: they still persist in the enjoyment of their ease and liberty in their own way, and turn a deaf ear to any advice upon this subject.

They have an extraordinary talent for imitation. Their mimicking of the oddities, dress, walk, gait, and looks of all the Europeans whom they have seen from the time of governor Phillips downwards, is so exact, as to be a kind of historic register of their several actions and characters. Governor Phillips and Colonel Gross they imitate to the life; and to this day, if there be any thing peculiar in any of our countrymen, officers in the corps, or even of the convicts, any cast of the eye or hobble in the gait, any trip or strut, stammering or thick speaking, they catch it in the moment, and represent it in the manner which renders it impossible not to recognize the original. They are moreover great proficients in the language and Newgate slang of the convicts, and in case of any quarrel are by no means unequal to them in the exchange of abuse.

They are still as unprotected as ever against the inclemencies of weather, and the vicissitudes of plenty and absolute famine, the natural evils of a savage life. In their persons they are meagre to a proverb; their skins are scarified in every part with

shells, and their faces besmeared with shell-lime and red gum: their hair is matted with a moss, and, what they call, ornamented with sharks' teeth; and a piece of wood, like a skewer, is fixed in the cartilages of the nose. In a word, they compose altogether the most loathsome and disgusting tribe on the surface of the globe.

Their principal subsistence is drawn from the sea and the rivers, the grand storehouse of nature in all the lands and islands of the Pacific; and were it not for this plenteous magazine, the natives of these lands must have long ceased to exist. From this cause it is reasonable to infer that the sea-coast is much better inhabited than the interior. When a dead whale is cast on shore, they live sumptuously, flocking to it in great numbers, and seldom leaving it till the bones are well picked. Their substitute for bread is a species of root, something resembling the fern; it is roasted and pounded between two stones, and being thus mixed with fish, &c. constitutes the chief part of their food. They have oysters of an extraordinary size, three of them being sufficient for any ordinary man. The rocks are covered with others of a smaller size, and which may be had for the trouble of carriage, and the labour of knocking them off.

There are but rare instances of their settling to any of our employments. Indeed now and then, when the humour takes them, they will occasionally assist in hauling the fishing seine, or pulling the boats up and down the harbour; but as to agriculture, or any trade, they appear as incapable of skill and application as the beasts of the fields.

They are by no means deficient in personal courage: in their pitched battles of one part of the country against the other, or of one individual against the other, they display the most determined bravery on the occasion. They defend themselves against the spears of their assailants by opposing only a shield of thick bark; previous to their onset they join in a kind of song, and gradually increase their noise till they work themselves up into a frantic fury, their countenances being in the mean time convulsed, and every feature of their face expressive of the fury of their mind. The causes of their quarrels appear to arise from jealousy of their women, and one mode of retaliation is seizing on and ravishing them; the quarrel is at first confined to two individuals, but afterwards becomes more general. Never was more determined bravery displayed than by these people. Their spears are thrown with such force as to pierce their shields through and through; but though they must suffer the greatest pain in the extraction of these weapons, such is their patience, or rather their absolute want of feeling, that they bear it unmoved, and never, or very rarely, fly from the field of battle.

Of one instance of flight I was, indeed, myself a spectator; this was in a man condemned for some crime or other to exemplary punishment. A certain number of his comrades, about fourteen, were selected to inflict it, and arranged themselves around him in the form of a crescent, the poor fellow being allowed to defend himself from their spears with his bark shield in the best manner he was able. They began, as savages usually do, with throwing their spears in every direction with the greatest impetuosity: the poor fellow parried them off most wonderfully, and had they been ranged in a right line before him, would have escaped most of them, but being ranged around him, he received many a grievous wound, and at last took to his heels, flying into the town of Sydney, where he fell down and expired. There is another custom among them, when a person is killed, either by a pitched battle, or by an unlucky blow in a hasty quarrel, that the survivor is obliged to stand on his defence from a certain number of spears to be thrown by the relatives of the deceased. If he survives, the matter ends, but if he should be killed, his antagonist goes through the same ordeal.

The quickness of their eye and ear is equally singular; they can hear and distinguish objects which would escape an European. This circumstance renders them very acceptable guides to our sportsmen in the woods, as they never fail to point out the game before any European can discover it. They are in general most accomplished marksmen; I have seen them bring down a bird not larger than a pigeon at the distance of thirty yards.

They sleep beneath the canopy of heaven for their covering, or under some hut as little sheltered from the rudeness of the wintry blast. In wet weather they retreat to the caverns in the rocks, and remain there, having lighted fires at the mouth, till the tempest is dispelled. They are said to be terribly afraid of visions and apparitions. Their canoes, composed of the bark of trees tied together in small splinters, are the most miserable that it is possible to conceive: they are usually half full of water, and nothing but the natural buoyancy of the materials could prevent them a minute from sinking. In this crazy craft a whole family may frequently be seen fishing; a fire of embers is usually in the midst of the vessel, and the fish they catch is thus dressed, or rather half warmed, in the same instant in which it is caught.

Upon the first settlement of the colony, all intercourse was much impeded by their jealousy of their new visitors. It was not without many friendly advances and some artifice that the governor could in any degree appease them, or induce them to venture among the settlers. One of their chiefs, Bennelong, a warrior of great repute, it is said, was caught by a very singular

expedient: having taken a liking to a sailor's jacket, it was offered to him without hesitation, and a sailor ordered to assist him in putting it on; the fellow obeyed, and by putting the back of the jacket in front, contrived to hamper the arms, and thus effectually secure the sturdy savage.

It is one thing however to catch, and another to civilize, a native of New South Wales. In vain did the governor lavish on him every attention, and every friendly office, clothing and feasting him daily; all his care was thrown away, for he made several attempts to regain his liberty, but without effect. This man accompanied the governor to England, and was there exhibited as a specimen of the natives of New Holland, and treated with that favour and distinction which the good-humour, perhaps the folly, of the fashionable world, lavishes indiscriminately upon every novelty.

I heard another ridiculous anecdote, and the ignorance of the natives renders it not incredible. Some fish belonging to the sailors of a ship in the harbour being boiling in a camp-kettle over the fire on shore, some of the natives observed them with a look of desire, and watching their opportunity, slily put in their hands to take one out, and being thus as it were caught in a trap, betook themselves to flight, with looks of equal terror and astonishment, and roaring like so many wounded bulls. I can the more readily believe this, as I know from my own experience, that except in their mimickry they can scarcely connect two ideas together.

Whilst Bennelong, the Botany Bay chief, was in England, he was presented to many of the principal nobility and first families of the kingdom, and received from many of them presents of clothes and other articles, which a savage of any other country would have deemed almost inestimable. It was not so, however, with Bennelong; he was no sooner re-landed in his own country, than he forgot, or at least laid aside, all the ornaments and improvements he had reaped from his travels, and returned as if with increased relish, to all his former loathsome and savage habits. His clothes were thrown away as burthensome restraints on the freedom of his limbs, and he became again as complete a New Hollander as if he had never left his native wilds. Indeed the same observation holds good with respect to the rest of his countrymen, for although they are continually craving for clothes, it is but seldom, very seldom, they appear in them a second time.

It must not indeed be denied, that Bennelong is somewhat advanced beyond his countrymen in European acquisitions, for he can occasionally converse with ease and even interest. The names of Lady Sydney and Lady Jane Dundas, are often in his

mouth, and he appears justly grateful for the favours received from these his fair patronesses. It is not unpleasing to listen to his relations of the wonders seen by him during his abode in England. One incident in particular he relates with all the satisfaction of a favourite story: that of being at the house of a very respectable gentleman, and surrounded with numberless visitors of curiosity, an old gentleman, unmoved amidst the general eagerness, took no farther notice of him than bestowing on him a single glance; and then helped himself bountifully to a pinch of snuff, and requested the company to pass the bottle, which for some time had been quite neglected. This apathy and inflexible gravity, seems to have made more impression on the mind of Bennelong than all the wonders and glitters of dress that he had seen that evening; and from the pleasure he takes in relating this incident, he no doubt considers the old gentleman as one of the wisest men in the company, or perhaps in England.

A gentleman of great humanity made the trial of cultivating a young native boy and girl, beginning with them from their infancy, justly thinking that this early commencement gave the best promise of success.

They were accordingly strictly and anxiously attended, and supplied with food, clothes, and every thing either necessary to their comfort, or to the forming them to the European habits; no sooner, however, upon their advanced age, were they restored to their free choice and liberty of action, than throwing aside all their European improvements, and rejecting with disdain all the habits of civilized life, they returned to their countrymen, and preferred even the famine of a savage life to all the plenty and comparative luxury of a civil society. But, different even from the most savage people of these seas, the natives of New South Wales appear to want the smallest portion of natural modesty; clothes are almost daily given to some or other of them, yet may they be daily seen naked in the streets of Sydney and Paramatta. To me, indeed, they appeared altogether the most stupid and insensible race of men I had ever seen.

They are wholly without any form of government, or any family, or individual, whom they acknowledge as their king, or chief. If there exists any superiority, it is that of personal strength or courage, and the only distinction they procure their possessor is that of being more frequently summoned to assist in avenging the real or fancied injuries of his friends and neighbours.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGES OF THE NATIVES.

They sometimes marry into other families, but seem to consider

this union as unlawful between relations nearer than first cousins. They observe no particular ceremony in their marriages, though their mode of courtship is not without its singularity. When a young man sees a female to his fancy, he informs her she must accompany him home; the lady refuses; he not only enforces compliance with threats but blows: thus the gallant, according to the custom, never fails to gain the victory, and bears off the willing, though struggling, pugilist. The colonists for some time entertained the idea that the women were compelled, and forced away against their inclinations; but the young ladies informed them, that this mode of gallantry was the custom, and perfectly to their taste.

The women appear to attach themselves faithfully to their husbands thus chosen: they are exceeding jealous of them, and it must be confessed not without just cause. From this source indeed flow the greater part of their quarrels; which usually commence with two or three individuals, and thence extend themselves to families and the neighbouring tribes. In these instances, as before observed, their battles are furious beyond description, and seldom terminate but in the death of many of the combatants; they cast and ward off their spears with uncommon dexterity, and when in close quarter wield their massy clubs with the most determined courage. As they possess no other property, the women are at once the cause of the war, and the spoil of the victory. The injury to the women, however, usually terminates in a violence on their persons, which by a female native of Botany Bay is not perhaps considered as a very serious evil.

From the author's subsequent remarks on these savages, it appears that not one-fourth of their children attain the age of four years, owing to their scanty manner of living. They separate the first two joints from the little finger of the right hand of the female child, and throw it into the sea; and when the male children attain to puberty, they knock out one of their front teeth with a stone. They shew the most determined courage in assaults with the spear, but are greatly in awe of fire-arms.

ACCOUNT OF NORFOLK ISLAND.

Our author and his vessel left Port-Jackson for Norfolk Island, to dispose of part of his cargo; but sales being uncommonly dull, he had time to make his observations on the island. In beauty and fertility, this spot is infinitely superior to Port-Jackson: and hither the most abandoned of the convicts are sent on falling under the sentence of the law a second time. Without the aid of any manure, the soil yields two harvests each year: it would therefore be invaluable, did not the propensity of the settlers for intoxication impede its prosperity. They are

frequently drunk for a week together; and distillation being prohibited, they will purchase spirits at almost any price. Wheat is here eight shillings per bushel, and pork sixpence per pound: The quantity of land granted to a settler is, twenty-five acres to a convict whose time has expired, thirty to a private soldier, and fifty to a non-commissioned officer. The most respectable of the settlers are some of the crew of the Sirius, who were wrecked on the island, and preferred remaining upon it. Around the coast of this island fish are as abundant as in any part of the world. Its population, including women and children, is about 1000. Mr. T. concludes his account of Norfolk Island with the following

SINGULAR INSTANCE OF SOLITUDE, WHICH OCCURRED ABOUT EIGHT YEARS AGO.

One of the prisoners, says he, belonging to the out-gangs, being sent into camp on Saturday, to draw the weekly allowance of provision for his mess, fell unfortunately into the company of a party of convicts, who were playing cards for their allowance, a thing very frequent amongst them. With as little resolution as his superiors in similar situations, after being a while a looker-on, he at length suffered himself to be persuaded to take a hand; and in the event, lost not only his own portion, but that of the whole mess. Being a man of a timid nature, his misfortune overcame his reason, and conceiving his situation amongst his messmates insupportable, he formed and executed the extravagant resolution of absconding into the glens.

Every possible enquiry was now made after him; it was known that he had drawn the allowance of his mess, and almost in the same moment discovered that he had lost it at play; search upon search however was made to no purpose. But, as it was impossible that he could subsist without occasionally marauding, it was believed that he must shortly be taken in his predatory excursions. These expectations, however, were in vain, for the fellow managed his business with such dexterity, keeping closely within his retreat during the day, and marauding for his subsistence only by night, that in despite of the narrow compass of the island, he eluded all search. His nocturnal depredations were solely confined to the supply of his necessities; Indian corn, potatoes, pumkins, and melons. He seldom visited the same place a second time; but shifting from place to place, always contrived to make his escape before the theft was scarcely discovered, or the depredator suspected. In vain was a reward offered for his apprehension, and year after year every possible search instituted; at times it was considered that he was dead, till the revival of the old trade proved that the dextrous and invisible thief still existed.

In the pursuit of him, his pursuers have often been so near him, that he has not unfrequently heard their wishes that they might be so fortunate as to fall in with him. The reward being promised in spirits (a temptation to which many would have sacrificed their brother) excited almost the whole island to join in the pursuit; and even those whose respectability set them above any pecuniary compensation, were animated with a desire of hunting in so extraordinary a chase. These circumstances concurred to aggravate the terror of the unhappy fugitive, as, from his repeated depredations, he indulged no hope of pardon.

Nothing of this kind, however, was intended; it was humanely thought that he had already sustained sufficient punishment for his original crime, and that his subsequent depredations, being solely confined to necessary food, were venial, and rendered him a subject rather of pity than of criminal infliction. Of these resolutions, however, he knew nothing: and therefore his terror continued.

Chance, however, at length accomplished what had baffled every fixed design. One morning about break of day, a man going to his labour observed a fellow hastily crossing the road; he was instantly struck with the idea that this must be the man, the object of such general pursuit. Animated with this belief, he exerted his utmost efforts to seize him, and, after a vigorous opposition on the part of the poor fugitive, finally succeeded in his design. It was to no purpose to assure the affrighted wretch that his life was safe, and that his apprehension was only sought to relieve him from a life more suited to a beast than a human creature.

The news of this apprehension flew through the island, and every one was more curious than another to gain a sight of this phenomenon, who for upwards of five years had so effectually secluded himself from all human society. Upon being brought into the camp, and the presence of the governor, never did condemned malefactor feel more acutely; he appeared to imagine that the moment of his execution approached, and, trembling in every joint, seemed to turn his eyes in search of the executioner. His person was such as may well be conceived from his long seclusion from human society; his beard had never been shaved from the moment of his first disappearance; he was clothed in some rags he had picked up by the way in some of his nocturnal peregrinations, and even his own language was at first unutterable and unintelligible by him.

After some previous questions, as to what had induced him to form such a resolution, and by what means he had so long subsisted, the governor gave him his pardon, and restored him to society, of which he afterwards became a very useful member

The author next proceeded to Bass's Streights, and stopped at the Society Islands in quest of provisions. On arriving at Otaheite, he was visited by the missionaries, and informed that a terrible war prevailed in the island, excited by the tyrannical government of the family of Pomarrie:—a general dearth in consequence prevailed. He gives the following

CURIOUS PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE NATIVES OF OTAHEITE.

We had not been long at anchor, says Mr. Turnbull, when the king Otoo, with his consort Tetua, came along-side in separate canoes, both dressed in the teboota, appropriated for the royal family and other females of the first distinction. This part of dress is merely an oblong piece of cloth, having an opening in the middle, to be passed over the head, and hanging down before and behind, but open at the sides, allowing the wearer to move with great freedom. The queen had besides a piece of country cloth wrapped round her waist, and her hair dressed with a sort of bonnet made of the leaves of the cocoa-tree. She appeared to be about twenty-four years of age, with good features, and in size above the ordinary standard of British ladies: she was employed in the humble office of baling the water out of her canoe. She and Otoo were cousins, and her sister was married to Terenaveroa king of Tiaraboo, Otoo's brother; following the patriarchal system in this respect, by marrying their nearest relations. This lady at our first interview was somewhat reserved, but upon better acquaintance became more familiar. The king appeared in his teboota and marra; this last being a narrow piece of cloth passing between the legs and round the middle with the ends folded inwards, pins being unknown in that part of the world: these two articles constitute a complete Otaheitan dress. He remained a long time in silent admiration, gazing at every thing he saw, with an air at once stupid and forbidding. The unusual stupidity of his look and manners at this his first interview, was doubtless the effect of an immoderate use of the ava, a plant which produces an intoxication similar to that of the opium amongst the Turks. In our subsequent conversations we found him to be lively and entertaining, and fond of questioning us on such different subjects as might be supposed to interest a curious, and therefore intelligent, savage.

From the confined circle of their ideas, it was impossible to give them any conception of the arts, the manufactures, the wealth, or resources and enjoyments, of Europeans: besides, they are fully persuaded that their own is the first country on the face of the globe, although they set so high a value on many of the tools, instruments, and other useful articles of Europeans,

as not unfrequently to seek them at the hazard of their lives. A variety of circumstances have combined to impress the minds of these people (whose information we must naturally suppose very limited) with an idea that their country is superior to every other: such as the late settlement of the British missionaries in Otaheite, the voyage of captain Bligh thither to procure the bread-fruit tree, and the frequent visits to their country by vessels of different nations.

The king being very desirous to obtain some of our ava, that is, spirituous liquors, we gratified him with a small quantity in a cocoa-nut shell, which was handed down to him in his canoe. On receiving the present he said aloud, *My ty te tata, My ty te pahie*—very good men, very good ship; and with this compliment in his mouth took his leave of us to pay a similar visit, and with a similar purpose, to the Porpoise, a brig of war, which was at that time in the harbour. We afterwards learned that his majesty was somewhat too much addicted to the use of such liquors, and that he would go all lengths to procure them. His father Pomarre was not yet returned from the expedition against his enemies in another part of the island. It may be necessary here to observe, that by the laws of Otaheite, the son, immediately on his birth, succeeds to the dignity of his father, the father from that instant becoming only administrator for his child. Otoo, therefore, was king; and Pomarre, his father, regent.

About this time the king's mother Edeah appeared alongside, in a canoe, attended by her favourite, a chief of the island Huaheine, a man of a most savage figure and manners. This lady had been for some years separated from her husband Pomarre; but had not on this account suffered any diminution of power or respect in the country. These two personages came on board our ship with their characteristic frankness, and were treated by us with all possible attention, having learned from the gentlemen of the mission, that Edeah still enjoyed such influence in the state, that her favour might be essentially useful to us, as we had every thing to fear from her resentment. No pains therefore were spared to gain her good will; she and her favourite chief were conducted to the cabin, and there entertained with grog, tobacco, &c. &c. Several presents were offered her, on which she seemed to set very little value; but expressed great eagerness to possess a *pu puey* or musket. This, however, we thought most prudent to withhold at present, as we were not as yet sufficiently acquainted with our company, nor with the state of matters on shore. This queen dowager and her paramour however continued to drink, and interchange tobacco, until it was nearly impossible for them to leave the ship, each seeming equally delighted with their entertainment.

Towards the close of the day a number of young females resorted to the ship, dressed in a manner very suitable to their purpose, that of attracting admirers. Their complexion was olive, but with various shades of darkness. Their head-dress consisted of a neat little bonnet, made from the leaves of the cocoa-tree split into small pieces, some of these were of a green, others yellow or straw colour. Their hair was ornamented with white flowers resembling gourdy, and highly scented with sandal wood perfume and cocoa-nut oil. Their drapery was composed chiefly of two pieces of cloth of the country fabric, one wrapped round the body, and another thrown gracefully over the shoulders and descending to the middle of the leg. Their feet were uncovered, agreeably to the universal custom of all ranks in the country. The colours and quality of their dresses were very various, probably to suit the taste of the wearers; but none of them wore the tiboota or teboota. Many of these ladies rowed their own canoe, managing them with a skill equal to that of the men, who were in general dressed in the maro and tiboota, but of a coarser stuff than those of the great personages we had before seen. Their countenance expressed much good nature and cheerfulness, and their deportment was affable and courteous. Some of the men wore their straight black hair flowing loose upon their shoulders, others again had it tied in a knot on the top of the head, in this differing from the women, whose hair was generally cut short behind. Their whole appearance was clean and comfortable.

Pomarrie, having by this time learned our arrival, hastened to welcome us to his country, doubtless in the hope of receiving his share of presents, as it had been reported that our cargo was of uncommon value. His approach with two canoes, was conducted with many formalities. When he came alongside, he ordered his arrival to be announced in due form, and refused to come on board until we were all in readiness to receive him with due respect. On entering the ship, he presented me a plantain leaf, the Otaheitan token of peace and friendship, and behaved on the whole with much affability, mingled with a certain feeling of his former dignified rank.

It has been before observed, that according to the singular custom of Otaheite, Pomarrie, formerly king, was now only regent, Otoo his son being king, though the regal power, whatever it may be, was exercised by Pomarrie. This custom of the son disinheriting the father, is one of the most curious of the fundamental laws of the Otaheitan government. In a country more civilized, a more certain source of civil wars, a divided government, and of every crime which must arise from the opposition of ambition to natural duty, could not have been

well contrived; but Otaheite is as yet the country of nature.

The writer was particularly distinguished by Pomarrie, who embraced him in the country fashion, that is, by touching noses; after which, Pomarrie squeezed him gently all over the body, and swaddled him up in a quantity of cloth, so that he could with difficulty move his limbs, being literally musket proof. Pomarrie informed him that this was the practice in his country in making a *Tayo* or *Friend*, at the same time giving his own name to his newly adopted Tayo, whose name he took to himself in exchange. When these ceremonies were gone through, Pomarrie began to examine every object around him, often expressing his admiration with loud and energetic expressions of *my ty, my ty* (very good, very good). He requested that we would pay him the compliment of firing a few guns, to shew the natives the respect we entertained for their regent, and late king. Our compliance with this request drew from him similar demonstrations of his satisfaction; and a proposal that some of his bravest warriors might be permitted to discharge the guns themselves, to shew us that they were not afraid of such formidable instruments of destruction.

Pomarrie was not less that six feet four inches in height, remarkably stout made, and well proportioned. His son Otoo is upwards of six feet two inches high, and equally well made. In the train of followers, was a dwarf only thirty-nine inches high, full grown, and duly proportioned in every respect; his age between three and four and twenty. At this time Pomarrie seemed to labour under a general debility, occasioned by the fatigues of the war, now brought to a termination; for which happy event the English missionaries in the island had this day celebrated a public thanksgiving; and in the evening one of their number came on board our vessel, to exhort our countrymen on the occasion.

The next day the ship received another visit from the royal family, who were particularly pressing for presents of fire-arms, which the captain at last found it necessary to give them; and a blunderbuss being offered to Pomarrie, it occasioned a quarrel between him and his son Otoo, the reigning king, who conceiving himself the greater man, forced his father to resign the blunderbuss and take a musket which had been given to himself. They were also obliged to give a musket to the queen, before they could get rid of her.

Pomarrie's visit, says Mr. Turnbull, being what he called one of friendship to his Tayo, he desired to be accommodated with a bed, as well for himself as for a supplementary wife, who attended him in the double capacity of mistress and servant. It was his practice

to be fed by this lady, or some other trusty attendant, when in company with strangers; as, according to the customs of Otaheite, he would have disgraced himself by carrying his hand to his mouth. We found, however, afterwards, that on shore he was not so scrupulous on this point of etiquette. During the afternoon, that he might see how much I considered myself honoured by becoming his Tayo, I showed him all possible attention, and in person waited on him as his servant. His questions were as numerous, and for the most part as insignificant as usual; some of them argued a greater strength of mind, and a more warlike propensity. He enquired repeatedly, if any of us were acquainted with the art of making gunpowder; and as he had learned from the mutineers of the Bounty, that it was a composition, and not the farina of a vegetable, as supposed by other savages, he demanded its component parts, and whether they might not be found in the soil of Otaheite:—Was my royal master a larger man than him, had he a comely countenance, was his dress elegant, and sundry other particulars respecting her majesty, and the ladies of rank in our country; and whether our armourer could make muskets, and how I liked Otaheite. Such was the curiosity of Pomarrie, and his female attendant, that the whole afternoon was employed in minutely examining every object around them. They were particularly struck with the sight of two American negroes in our ship's company, both of whom were of a complexion uncommonly dark, and had short woolly hair. The Otaheitans seemed to think the deep colour of the skin was produced by painting, as they at different times tried to rub it off.

The Otaheitans, it appears, are passionately attached to music, and particularly the Scotch bagpipe, with which Captain Cooke entertained them. In the present instance they were obliged to be satisfied with the tones of a fiddle.—The importunities of these people for fire-arms at length became so great, that it was necessary to resort to artifice in order to check them. It was accordingly settled, says Mr. Turnbull, that when the natives should repeat their importunities, they should be regularly referred to the armorer alone. This man had been bred a blacksmith at Stockton, had afterwards served some campaigns in the army as a farrier, and in other respects was well qualified to treat with the natives. They accordingly assaulted him with all the blandishment and natural endearment, which to minds of benevolence is the most resistless kind of flattery. It was a matter of astonishment to many of us, that the fellow could maintain his purpose. He had one answer, however, for all; that his fire-gun, as they called his bellows, could do nothing until certain dues were paid; and these being rather heavy, ridded him gradually of his customers. It was in vain that they made him their Tayo,

enveloping him in cloth, and affecting jealousy at his preference of each other, the fellow was inexorable, and as deaf as his fire-gun. Finding themselves thus disappointed, they now changed their language, calling him *ahow tata, ahow tata,* "very bad fellow, very bad fellow," words they had picked up from former English visitors.

EFFECTS OF INTOXICATION ON THE NATIVES.

One day, observes the author, we had Edeah and her favourite chief to dine on board, not that they cared for our food dressed after our own manner, because they knew that unless they ate with us, they could hope for none of our ava and tobacco, for which they both ardently longed. That we might not appear to be *pore, pore*, niggardly and stingy, qualities they very artfully affect to abhor, they were suffered to indulge to their fullest wishes. After a very short interval they renewed their calls for more, this was set before them, but the division of it had nearly occasioned a very serious quarrel between the lady and her attendant, who started up from table, and with the most savage fury swore in their country language he would put an end to her existence for having, as he said, taken to herself a little more than her due share.

The effects of the liquor on the two guests were very different; for while the man became mad and furious, the poor queen dowager appeared silly and childish. She burst into tears and trembled with fear, as her companion grew outrageous and desperate. Just at this time Pommie came on board to have some work done at our forge, and hearing the noise below, was touched with compassion for Edeah, his former consort, but unwilling personally to interfere, he beckoned to me to go down and endeavour to arrange matters, without his appearing to know any thing of the business. This was done, but it was only by a promise of a little more spirits on condition that peace should be restored, that the fury of the savage could be restrained from breaking out in some desperate act. Poor Edeah, however, still affirmed that he would take some other opportunity to reproach her for the imaginary offence. The glass again went round to the great satisfaction of our company, and we at length succeeded in getting the lady and her companion out of the ship, for which Pommie afterwards repeatedly expressed his gratitude. We were happy to be relieved from this party on another account: in visits of this sort, the ship was literally covered with natives in their train, prying into every corner, eyeing us through the windows and sky-light, and frequently intruding into the cabin, with the most troublesome curiosity. Edeah either entirely forgot what passed on this occasion, or perhaps was ashamed of it, as

she never afterwards took the least notice of the business. All the members of this family were indeed extremely eager to obtain spirits; and, with the exception of Pomarrie, all equally outrageous and brutal when intoxicated. Pomarrie had a brother much younger than himself, who was in the habit of treating his wife even before us with the utmost contempt; but even on those occasions always refrained from blows. Excepting in these two instances, the women appeared to be treated with as much kindness as in more polished countries; and even those instances were rather occasioned by the excess in drinking, than by the natural dispositions of the people. This man was greatly emaciated by the constant use of the ava or yava root; his understanding seemed also to have suffered from this practice. His skin was covered with scales, his eyes were sunk in his head, and his general appearance indicated speedy dissolution.

The effects of their inebrity were really horrible. Otoo the the young king was so furious in his fits of inebrity, that I am persuaded he would make no scruple of killing his subjects, out of mere ferocity. The indisposition contracted by Pomarrie during the campaign, appeared daily to increase, so as to excite in him alarms for his safety. As a last resource he instructed the missionaries to request of us the favour that two guns might be fired from the ship; to appease, as he said, the anger of his God, by whom his illness was doubtless inflicted in punishment of some offence. With this singular request we readily complied, (but doubted very much its efficacy) not only to gratify Pomarrie, but to oblige the gentlemen of the mission, lest they should have appeared remiss in their application to, or not be held by us in that estimation which was requisite to impress a favourable notion of them on the minds of the natives.

CHARACTER OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES.

Our author gives the following amiable character of these well-meaning and truly pious persons.—We cannot omit in this place to do justice to the amiable manners, and truly christian deportment of these men, who, like the apostles of old, foregoing all the comforts of civilized life, and a life at least of tranquillity in their native land, have performed a voyage equal to the circumnavigation of the globe, and, like the dove of the ark, carried the christian olive over the world of waters. Their life is a life of contest, hardship, and disappointment; like their holy master, they have to preach to the deaf, and exhibit their works to the blind.

CAUSES OF THE WAR AT OTAHEITE.

It has already been mentioned that a ruinous war had lately prevailed in Otaheite. This, as far as we could learn by the Europeans resident on the island, had been occasioned by the unusual oppression of the several members of the royal family, and particularly by the son of Pomarrie, the young king Otoo, who, it was reported, set no bounds to his haughty domineering disposition. His administration has at all times given extreme offence to the inhabitants of the district of Attahooroo, who considered him only as an usurper, and were constantly disposed to resist his measures, and throw off his yoke: their district furnished a certain and secure refuge to the malcontents of the other parts of the country. The Attahoorians had besides a private cause for discontent, which was, as I was informed, the assassination of their high priest. Being a very superstitious race, and singularly attached to the worship of their divinities, the priests are naturally held in the highest estimation and respect, as intermediate agents between the gods and their worshippers. It is well known that the morais, which serve the double purpose of places of worship and receptacles for the dead, are regarded with the utmost veneration by all the Otaheitans. Amongst those, the morias of Attahooroo were considered to be in a peculiar manner pre-eminent, and afforded a safe retreat to criminals of all descriptions. In one of these was preserved the grand image of their god *Oro*, a divinity of the first rank. In this morai the great assemblies of state were held, human sacrifices occasionally offered, and other religious and solemn rites performed. In this holy place, the custom of the country required that the new king Otoo should undergo certain operations, circumcision, &c. previous to his being publicly recognized by the state. Hitherto he could only enjoy some peculiar privileges, such as to walk on certain spots allotted for his use, &c. his installation at Oparree being considered as only partial and preparatory to that to be performed amongst the Attahoorians, one of the most warlike tribes in the island, who constantly refused to acknowledge his authority. Open hostilities and secret intrigues and negotiations had been alike insufficient to procure for Otoo this favourite divinity; and Pomarrie and Edeah were equally interested in the success, and grieved with the failure of their attempts, which had encouraged the inhabitants of certain other districts to imitate the resistance of those of Attahooroo. Otoo having repaired to Attahooroo, on a great religious solemnity, thought he saw a favourable opportunity for obtaining the object of his wishes, and quite unexpectedly ordered a number of his attendants to seize the god, which was instantly executed,

and the image carried off in triumph. The Attahoorians, however, not inclined to part with the object of their adoration so tamely, were speedily in arms, and overtaking the plunderers an engagement took place, in which several of Otoo's party fell, and the precious palladium was retaken. In the warfare of savages every thing is usually, indeed almost invariably, decided by the event of a single battle; they have no towns, nor armies in reserve, to check the further progress of the conqueror; they have only to betake themselves to their canoes, and in another settlement seek a refuge from their enemies. Their usual caution here deserts them, they venture into the main sea, and are not unfrequently overtaken by winds, which drive them to lands which, but for such occurrences, might have remained unpeopled. Such are the second means by which an all-wise Providence works his ends, and nothing is made in vain, the most remote islands being thus inhabited. This remark cannot but be strongly confirmed by the resolution of the party of Otoo upon this defeat, as it was not without the greatest difficulty that they could be persuaded to remain in the island. They believed their affairs wholly ruined, and that no safety remained but in flight. The missionaries, however, at length prevailed, and Pomarre and Otoo consented not to leave their native country.

The victorious Attahoorians, however, instead of pursuing Pomarrie's party, were satisfied with the victory itself, and were content to reap no other fruit than the immediate gratification of the natural passion of savage conquerors, that of revenge. Their cruelties on the persons of all who fell in their way were horrible, and they committed a general ravage in the immediate territories of their enemies; but here they had the wisdom to terminate their career. They knew, that to attack Matavia was to venture against an enemy superior to themselves, an enemy who would no longer remain neutral when provoked to action by self-defence.

The missionaries had indeed converted their dwelling-house at that place into a sort of fortress, having procured the guns of the Norfolk, which, as already mentioned, had been wrecked on the shore; and their guns being planted on the upper story of the house, and having laid in a large supply of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other necessaries, they were enabled to withstand a more vigorous siege than that of the Attahoorians. Happily for Pomarrie, the crew of the Norfolk, and other European residents in the island, in number about thirty, and all accustomed to the use of fire-arms, espoused his cause in this extremity. On this, indeed, as on former occasions, himself and family were solely indebted to his European allies. With his acquisition of Europeans, he now retaliated the cruelties of the Attahoorians

on their persons, and after much time consumed in parleying, a peace was concluded between the hostile parties. However, the Attahoorians kept possession of their idol, the bone of contention, and still maintained their independence as before.

INHABITANTS OF HUAHEINE.

Having been a month collecting a supply of hogs, the ship left Otaheite, and touched at the island of Huaheine, the people and manners of which are nearly similar to those of Otaheite. The chiefs treated the officers with great respect; and the next day the natives entertained them with a grand dance, of which Mr. T. gives the following account:—The performers and their attendants came off in procession in a large double canoe, having a platform or stage erected across the forepart, on which the dancers or musicians sat. This canoe was accompanied by a great number of small canoes, filled with natives to behold the entertainment prepared for the strangers. The women were dressed in a sort of long bell hooped petticoat of their own cloth, ornamented with a purple border. What answered the purpose of a hoop was a couple of stuffed pads bound round the waist to support and distend the petticoat; round the body was wrapped a large quantity of cloth, fastened with bandages; and opposite to each breast was placed a bunch of black feathers. They wore also a kind of turban adorned with a variety of flowers. A master in the ceremonies presided in the dance, and directed all the movements, which were not always of the most delicate nature. The music consisted of two drums made from a log of wood hollowed out in a cylindrical shape, and covered at the end with a piece of shark skin, tightly braced down the side. The musicians make no use of drum-sticks, but employ their fingers, and sometimes their hands, so as to be heard at a considerable distance. They beat slowly at first, as a signal to prepare for the dance; and as the music becomes more rapid, the dancers quicken their motions. Flutes also were used on the occasion, having only three holes or stops, one of which is of such a size as to admit of the performer's applying his nostrils to fill it. The dance required very great exertion in the women to keep time to the music by expiring and inspiring their breaths, drawing their mouths in contrary directions, and twirling their arms and fingers with some order and great regularity. Those who excelled in these contortions and gestures were the most applauded. So eager were the performers to gain the approbation of the spectators, and so violent were their exertions, overloaded with cloathing and straightened with bandages, that many of them seemed at length ready to sink under the violence of their efforts.

During this exhibition, some of the men were amusing themselves by a sport of their own; three of them getting into a vessel formed like a wooden dish made use of at great feastings, their weight sinking it in the water to within an inch of the brim. In this situation they whirled it round and round, by means of their paddles, with incredible velocity, till they fell into the water, when they again renewed the sport, to the no small amusement of the by-standers.

The ship soon afterwards sailed for Ulitea, a much larger island to the westward. The chiefs, as usual, came off to the ship, but the crew were much surprised by the appearance of an Englishman named Pulpit. He came off with the king, and was accompanied by his wife as he called her, an Otaheitan girl of fourteen or fifteen years of age, dressed in a piece of black cloth of British manufacture, wrapped round her body by way of a marra. After some hesitation, this young woman was allowed to come on board with her husband. The poor fellow was no sooner upon our deck than, with a wildness of look and gestures which evinced his sincerity, he uttered an impassioned exclamation of gratitude to heaven, "that he had escaped out of the hands of these savage murderers." In answer to our demand of an explanation, he informed us, that but a very short time before, himself and wife had been compelled to preserve their lives by flight, escaping with difficulty from Huaheine to Ulitea; that he had been landed in this latter island from the brig Venus, and in return for his voluntary service on board that ship, had received such articles as he conceived might be useful to him on the island. Amongst these articles were a musket and a double-barrelled gun, which so powerfully worked on the minds of the natives, that finding all other means and artifices to get possession of them ineffectual, they at last resolved to murder him, and in that manner procure the whole of his little property. This their horrible purpose had been discovered to him by the Otaheitan girl, who understood the language, and overheard their consultations upon the subject. Rendered desperate by this information, he resolved to lose his life, rather than suffer himself to be plundered of every thing by which life in such a situation could be rendered supportable. He was therefore continually on the watch against his foes, and was faithfully assisted by the young Otaheitan, who was well aware of the fate awaiting her in the event of her lover's murder. This course of life continued for some days, until being at last overpowered by incessant anxiety, watching, and fatigue, Pulpit was surprized by a party of natives, his property pillaged, and his person seized, and led away as a sacrifice to some of their divinities.

He was conducted about half a league from the spot, expecting every moment to be his last. The natives however began to dispute amongst themselves respecting the treatment he was to receive; when an elderly lady, who seemed to possess much authority among them, and who constantly opposed all sanguinary measures, threatened to leave the island if they persisted in their designs. Her remonstrances appeared to have great influence with the natives: they therefore desisted from their project, and conducted him back to his former place of residence, which was now entirely stripped. Being an ingenious man, they made him promise to repair some muskets belonging to themselves; and having supplied him and the Otaheitan girl with some provisions, as a peace-offering, they withdrew. Pulpit now bent all his thoughts on making his escape, and an opportunity soon presenting itself; he availed himself of a dark night to seize one of their canoes, and, accompanied by his heroic wife, made the best of his way to Ulitea. Here again not finding himself comfortably situated with the islanders, he had taken the present opportunity to seek for refuge in our ship.

The man's story proving to be true, he was kept, as well as his wife, on board the ship; but in return, several of the crew, some of whom were convicts, attracted by the number and facility of the women, and a love of indolence, deserted, and were protected by the king: an embassy, at the head of which was Mr. Turnbull, was sent ashore to receive them; but after running many risks of assassination, they were obliged to return without effecting their object. Soon afterwards it was discovered that the natives were meditating an

ATTEMPT TO SEIZE THE SHIP AND MURDER THE CREW.

A whole day, says the author, had been lost in this fruitless negotiation: about half an hour past ten o'clock at night, I was aroused from my sleep by the voice of the captain, who then held the watch, exclaiming, *Turnbull, our ship is on shore, the ship is on shore.* Jumping instantly out of bed, and running upon deck in my shirt, I found there was no wind to affect the ship; and it being too dark to see the shore, I sounded and found upwards of twelve fathoms of depth, and no sensible motion of the ship or water: I was persuaded therefore that the captain was in error, that his anxiety had overpowered his vigilance, and given reality to the object of his imagination. Examining the cables, I found them both lying slack on the deck, which confirmed me still more in the idea that the captain was mistaken: but the seamen being commanded to haul the cables, the first pull brought the ends of both of them on board. It is impossible to describe the general sensation produced by this discovery, that our cables were cut,

and we were drifting on shore. Another anchor, having an iron stock, was immediately ordered to be cleared away; but such was our alarm and confusion, that it was not till after repeated trials, that we affected the stocking of it. The old adage, the more haste the less speed, was never more truly verified. It happened very providentially that there was not a breath of wind stirring, otherwise the ship must have gone to pieces very speedily, for she now lay with her broadside against a reef of coral rocks, the edges of which were as sharp as flints, having twelve fathoms of water on the outside. In addition to these circumstances, we had every thing to dread from the designs and practices of some of our crew, who were as little to be trusted as the savages on shore. It therefore demanded all our skill to keep their minds in proper order, and to maintain due authority in so critical a situation, and particularly into whose hands we trusted fire-arms. It is but justice to say, that as far as we could judge from appearances, our representations and precautions on this trying occasion had the happiest effect.

It was fortunate for us also, in this distress, that for some slight offence given by individuals of the crew, the natives had threatened to murder them, whenever an opportunity should offer itself. The apprehensions of these men were now extreme, and by communicating their fears to the other seamen, and persuading them that one common lot awaited them without distinction, they united all hands in the common effort of endeavouring to rescue the vessel for her present very perilous situation. It is indeed a remark which even my own experience has suggested, that however discontented from other causes, there is a generous sentiment in English seamen which, in cases of difficulty and danger, retains them to their duty and fidelity. Thus it has not unfrequently happened, that symptoms of a mutiny on board our vessels have been restrained by the appearance of an enemy, when all as unanimously united to defend their officers, as they had before conspired to resist their authority.

Having bent the remaining part of one of the cables, about thirty fathoms, to the anchor, it was carried out in the long boat to eighteen fathoms water, and the ship hauled seven or eight fathoms off from the reef. Whilst this was doing, we suddenly heard a loud and clamorous noise amongst the natives on shore, and seemingly close under the ship's stern; the wretches were rendered outrageous by the disappointment of their hopes, the ship being now visibly moved from the rocks. They had hitherto maintained a profound silence, in the expectation that her bulging would give the signal for the commencement of their plunder. They now began an assault with stones in such quantities, and with such force, that in the hopes of intimidating them, we were

compelled to discharge some swivels and muskets over their heads. This however produced a volley of musketry from the natives stationed on different points of the shore. We now found it necessary to have recourse to our great guns, commencing a brisk fire, with what success we knew not, as they still kept up an irregular discharge of musketry in various directions, though we continued to play on those quarters whence their fires seemed to proceed. Their noise and clamour remained unabated, and we could discover, by the fury of their menaces, both their hopes of ultimate success, and the fate that awaited us in that event. Some of us were particularized as set aside to be roasted, while others were to be flayed alive to make tiaboolas or jackets of their skins, &c. with many similar expressions, which were not without a salutary effect in encouraging the resistance of our sailors, who of all things, seemed to entertain the greatest horror of being roasted.

At length, after inconceivable fatigues and hardships, in which the lives of all the ship's company were every hour at stake, they succeeded in warping the vessel out to sea. The natives had previously tried every means to possess themselves of the ship, and when they found that their efforts were abortive, they seemed perfectly frantic. After giving an animated description of the dangers his party had encountered, Mr. Turnbull thus proceeds:

About half past six in the evening, the wind, which had hitherto blown from the sea, shifted gently round to a land breeze, furnishing us with a most favourable opportunity for getting away unperceived in the night. That our operations might not be discovered, we muffled the palls of the windlass, and began to heave away upon one anchor at a time; when this was done, we got the long boat ahead, hove short on the second anchor, and carried out the first to the last inch of cable. We then got up the second anchor, and carried it out to sea in the same manner; and in this way our hopes began to revive, having the prospect of getting well off the shore, or perhaps out to sea, before daylight should discover our motions. So deeply were the minds of all on board impressed with a sense of our situation and danger, that in all this time not a whisper was heard in the ship; we were even in terror lest the uncommon brilliancy of the stars should discover the passing and repassing of our boat, as it passed backwards and forwards in weighing and carrying out the anchors.

In all these transactions we received signal services from poor Pulpit, whom we had taken on board here; for he was an excellent marksman, and was well aware of what his fate would be, should he again fall into the hands of the Uliteans; he therefore fought like a lion, resolving never to yield but with his last breath.

His young Otaheitan wife likewise behaved like a heroine, carrying powder to the men, and exerting herself to the utmost in every way in which she could be useful; at the same time that she seemed to regret that so much ammunition should be expended, one half of which would have rendered her the wealthiest lady in all her native country.

Notwithstanding all our difficulties, by the blessing of Providence on our strenuous exertions, we succeeded in getting some sail set before our motions were discovered by the natives on shore. The wretches, seeing the ship under sail, hailed us with a most hideous and savage howling, mingled with mutual reproaches and upbraidings for not keeping a better look-out, as the ship would now be for ever lost to them.

By this time, nearly two in the morning, we had moved off far enough to be out of their reach; but the weather becoming thick and dark, we came-to with both anchors, and stood on our guard till day-light. We now thought it might be possible to recover the anchors we had lost; but the chief mate coming to the quarter-deck brought a message from the ship's company, requesting they might be allowed to weigh the anchors and get under sail, lest we should be caught by the wind from the sea, and again be thrown into the hands of this treacherous and savage people. This proposal was agreed to: as it must have been extremely difficult, however desirable, to recover our anchors. When we had now fairly escaped without the harbour, and were about hoisting-in the boat, one of the men, in hawling her from under the counter, perceived a long thick rope towing astern, which was fastened to the rudder five or six feet under water, and was most probably the very rope by which the natives had drawn the ship on shore, after they had cut her cables.

In looking back to the history of these islanders, we find their general character to be a compound of mischief and dissimulation; the latter quality seems to be ingrafted in their very nature. The magnitude and force of captain Cook's ships, one would naturally conceive, would have been sufficient to have intimidated them in the weak and defenceless state in which he had first found them; this, however, did not deter them from trying some of their manœuvres with his people, by encouraging them to desert, and afterwards concealing them as much as was in their power.

Our party now bade adieu to the Society Islands, and met with nothing worthy of detail in our limits till they reached the Sandwich Islands, with which the Americans carry on an active trade. At Whahoo, they opened a traffic for salt.

In order, says Mr. T., to accommodate the natives in bringing off their articles for sale, or rather barter, we kept the ship as close as possible in with the land: but then we were beset with

such numbers of men and women, that our vessel could not have contained a quarter of our visitors, had we been disposed to admit them on board. To prevent this embarrassment, we resolved as much as possible to assume the appearance of a ship of war; and therefore dressed six seamen in soldiers' uniforms, and made them walk the deck under arms, and kept our colours and pendant always flying. These precautions we had reason to believe were not unnecessary, for it was in this island that the captain and the astronomer of his majesty's ship Dædalus lost their lives in an affray with the natives. The exemplary manner in which their murder was revenged by captain Vancouvre, has been very beneficial to all navigators who since his time have touched at the island. A few similar instances of justice would have more efficacy is ensuring the safety of our intercourse with this people, than any of those wanton and ill-judged cruelties which, under the circumstance of the slightest quarrel with these natives, are but too commonly practised.

The natives showed the utmost eagerness to get on board the ship; but when all their attempts were opposed, and themselves forced back into their canoes by our new-made marines, they at last contented themselves with lying at a little distance, conversing with our Otaheitan natives. After some time, appeared one of the deputy chiefs of the island, under Tamahama, whose approach created no small stir and bustle among the other islanders in their endeavouring to open a passage for him. But as many of their canoes were crowded and entangled together, they were in the hurry run down by the canoe of this great man, who took not the least notice of the disasters he had so wantonly occasioned, or rather he affected this cavalier behaviour, with the intention of impressing us with a high idea of his rank and consequence in the country. The poor natives, recovering their canoes, cleared them of the water, got into them again, and remained near the ship, without expressing the smallest dissatisfaction or complaint on account of the tyrannical treatment of the chief. When he was received on board, he immediately commenced inspector-general of all commodities brought off to us for sale; and at last, whether justly or unjustly I know not, he seized an old man whom he charged with offering for sale some salt belonging to the king. The old man was so alarmed at this charge, that he seemed ready to expire with terror: so that we interposed in his behalf, and on our account he was pardoned and set at liberty. Whilst he was on board, he released us from the embarrassment of our numerous visitors: seemingly resolved that we should be troubled with no other impertinence but his own. He commanded the canoes to remove to a greater distance, and issued his mandates in a

of authority which would not have disgraced a bashaw. He appeared to entertain an equal indifference to any mischief he might cause; for as many of his countrymen as were in any degree tardy in obeying his mandate, he saluted with stones from our ballast, which maimed not a few of them.

Nor did the natives appear to oppose any resistance, but submitted, as if to an acknowledged authority, without murmur or reluctance. In these islands, indeed, obedience is understood as well as tyranny, and the despotism and wantonness of command in the chiefs is only equalled by the correspondent timidity and submission of the people. Philosophers are much mistaken who build systems of natural liberty. Rosseau's savage, a being who roves the woods according to his own will, exists no where but in his writings.

When the king went away, all the canoes and their crew followed him with the utmost rapidity, which gave rise to the idea that some plot was in agitation.

As soon as he had left us, observes Mr. T. beginning now to suspect the true cause of the hasty departure of our visitors, I made enquiry amongst our people whether they had not found means to steal some articles belonging to the ship; and from their general precipitation, and general flight, my mind suggested to me that the theft was of no ordinary consequence. It was some time before I could procure a satisfactory answer; but it was at length discovered that our carpenter had secretly conveyed himself into one of the canoes, and had thus been carried on shore.

Such is the difficulty, nay almost impossibility, of maintaining the necessary complement of men in these voyages, that I could almost recommend that no one should hazard the attempt, unless, as in a king's ship, he can support his authority by martial law. Nothing, as we have before mentioned, can withstand the seduction and artifices of the southern islanders; women, and a life of indolence, are too powerful for the sense of duty in the minds of our seamen. Had we relaxed our efforts for a single moment, our ship would have been deserted.

The acquisition of such a person was of inestimable value to Tamahama, and there seemed to be little doubt that, conscious of the value of their prize, they would defend it with their utmost efforts. Our force, moreover, was wholly inadequate to compel them to restore him; and in endeavouring to recover one of our ship's company, we should have run the risk of losing many more by similar desertion. From these and other reasons, we thought it more prudent to put up with our loss; although of a person whom we could so ill spare.

We are afterwards informed that Tamahama, the king of Wha-

hoo, by his enterprising and audacious spirit, is the exact counterpart of his European prototype, the Emperor of the French.

LOYALTY OF THE NATIVES OF ATTOWAIE.

The people of this island have an unbounded attachment to their sovereign, and at the time of Mr. T.'s arrival, an invasion was meditated of theirisland by Tamahama, who was considered as a very powerful monarch. As soon as we arrived on the coast of this island, observes our author, we found it necessary to employ every precaution to prevent any further desertion from the ship; and being persuaded that we might count on the fidelity of Pulpit, whom we had taken on board at Ulitea, and who had already rejected all the offers of the king, who earnestly wished to retain him as an assistant, we admitted him into the cabin mess, whilst his Otaheitan lady ate with our cabin boy. This separation was not occasioned by her attachment to the customs of Otaheite, where the sexes always eat apart; but in fact the behaviour of this poor female being not always governed by what is considered as correct propriety in Europe, she was not altogether the most desirable companion at our table.

In the course of my stay at Attowaie, we had many opportunities to observe the dispositions and conduct of the king. One night, the wind increasing to a storm, we were driven out of sight of the island, and were two days in regaining our station. All this time the king expressed the greatest concern for his family and friends on shore, without seeming in any degree alarmed for himself. On returning to our former situation, it occurred to the king to make an experiment of the regard really entertained for him by the natives. When the first canoe came alongside, the king concealed himself in the cabin, directing one of his attendants to say that we had landed him on the island of Whahoo, and delivered him up as a prisoner to the authority of his grand enemy Tamahama. This canoe, belonging to the king himself, was loaded with provisions for his use; amongst which are some young dogs, esteemed in these islands a peculiar delicacy, and therefore kept for the tables of the great alone.

The dogs of the Society and Sandwich Islands are indeed very different from the same animals in Europe. They are very carefully fed, and any thing that might render their flesh coarse and strong, kept out of their way; by this means they were said rather to resemble kids than dogs, and are not unfrequently tasted by our hungry sailors.

Not seeing their master upon the deck, the islanders enquired earnestly how and where he was: being told he was now a prisoner in Whahoo, they laughed heartily at the supposed jest; but as all their countrymen on board agreed in a serious repetition of

this assertion they were struck dumb with astonishment and grief. Never was affection, never was the terror of genuine loyalty more strongly impressed, than on the countenances of these honest subjects of an unfortunate king. It was gratifying to a generous mind to witness this affectionate testimony, as well of the fidelity of the subjects, as of the worth of the chief. This was no flattery; it was the generous, the honourable impulse of an honest nature.

After some time, they recovered themselves so far as to renew their enquiries, with looks aghast with terror. They eagerly demanded how this disaster had happened; at the same time condemning themselves for suffering him to remain on board the ship, and be exposed to such a misfortune. When their despair was wrought to the highest pitch, the poor king, who witnessed the whole scene, could no longer contain his feelings; but running upon deck, showed himself to the natives, reproaching them kindly for so readily believing that we could have so betrayed him into the hands of enemies. The sudden transition from grief to joy produced the most lively and affecting change on these faithful creatures. We could not however so far recover them from their terrors, as not to intreat the king to leave the ship, that he might not be again driven from the island, and exposed to some serious accident.

CHARACTER OF TAMAHAMA.

From several subsequent passages relative to the ambitious spirit of Tamahama, we find that he is indebted for his superiority to the generosity of captain Vancouver, who supplied him with all sorts of stores. His progress since that period, may be ascertained from the following paragraph.

It was only in 1792 that captain Vancouver laid down the keel of Tamahama's first vessel, or rather craft; but so assidiously has he applied himself to effect his grand and favourite object, the establishment of a naval force, that at the period of our arrival he had upwards of twenty vessels of different sizes, from twenty-five to fifty tons; some of them were even copper-bottomed.

He was, however, at this time much in want of naval stores; and, to have his navy quickly placed on a respectable footing, would pay well for them. He has also a certain number of body-guards to attend him, independently of the number of chiefs who are required to accompany him on all his journies and expeditions.

Tamahama's ardent desire to obtain a ship from captain Vancouver, was in all probability first excited by the suggestions of Young and his countryman Davis: but such was the effect of

this undertaking, that Tamahama became immediately more sparing of his visits on board the Discovery; his time being now chiefly employed in attending to the carpenters at work on this new man of war, which, when finished, was named the Britannia. This was the beginning of Tamahama's navy; and from his own observations, with the assistance of Messrs. Young, Davis, &c., he has laboured inflexibly in improving his marine force, until he has brought it to its present perfection: securing to him not only a decided superiority over the frail canoes of his neighbours, but the means of transporting his warriors to distant parts. Some of his vessels are employed as transports in carrying provisions from one island to another to supply his warriors; whilst the largest are used as men of war, and are occasionally mounted with a few light guns. No one better understands his interest than this ambitious chief; no one better knows how to improve an original idea. The favours of Vancouvre, and his other European benefactors, would have been thrown away on any other savage; but Tamahama possesses a genius above his situation.

His body-guards, who may be considered in some respects as regularly disciplined troops, go on duty and relieve each other as in Europe, calling out *all is well* at every half-hour, as on board ship. Their uniform at this time was simply a blue great-coat with yellow facings.

With other things which Tamahama has learned by intercourse with Europeans, he has acquired a relish for our spirits, so that some navigators have exchanged their rum with him to very good account; sometimes, when his stock of liquor is exhausted, he employs the Europeans settled in his dominions to extract spirits from the sugar canes, which grow there of an excellent quality. When Tamahama means to relax from his serious occupations, he invites his own wives and those of his chiefs, to share his regale of spirits, which in its operation seldom fails to create disputes and even quarrels among the ladies, to the great entertainment of the master of the feast and the other male guests.

As a proof of the fidelity with which Tamahama fulfils his engagements, I may mention that of the cattle introduced by captain Vancouvre; the terms were said to be, that none were to be touched for a certain number of years This condition has been rigidly preserved, and these animals have in consequence become so wild, that none of the natives dare approach them. So that, ranging at their full liberty, they have destroyed the fences, trampled down the crops, and done much other damage. Though the inhabitants themselves have frequently suffered thus severely from their incursions, they have rigidly adhered to the condition of the original gift.

CANNIBALS.

During our stay at Atowaie, one of the Sandwich Islands, we observed the king and his fighting general made use of spitting boxes inlaid with the teeth of their enemies slain in battle; and this practice, joined to other circumstances, observed at the time of their being discovered by captain Cook, leads to the belief that human beings were not unfrequently their food. Indeed they were confessedly cannibals at the time of their discovery.

The Sandwich Islands are extremely well peopled, all circumstances of their nature and fertility being considered: and the women, according to Mr. Young's account, are said to be more numerous than the men; whereas in Otaheite the women are not reckoned to amount to more than one tenth part of the population.

The striking difference in the population of these two spots may in a great measure be imputed to the absence from Owhyhee, of the horrid practice of infant murder.

SWIMMERS OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

Although they have these excellent canoes in abundance, the natives, both men and women, often dispense with the use of them, and swim to vessels approaching the island, with no other support than a thin feather-edged slice of wood: with these they play a thousand tricks, tumbling and plunging one another into the water, then rising to the surface and plunging again, like so many inhabitants of the deep.

Their fondness for the water is indeed singular. They may be sometimes seen extended and lolling indolently on the water for the whole day, without any occupation, and as much at their ease as if it was their native element. Instances are very rare of the Sandwich Islanders being drowned; their boldness and dexterity in diving, is, perhaps, unrivalled in any part of the world. Some of them who were employed by us, says Mr. T. to assist in certain operations in the ship, would dive in fifteen fathoms of water, and clear the cable, however entangled in the jagged rocks at the bottom. I have heard from Mr. Young, that Tamahama, in the early part of his career, being one day on board, requested of the captain an anvil, an article of which he stood in great need. To have a specimen of the spirit and skill of the natives, Tamahama was told that he should have one on the condition that his divers should simply bear it up in ten fathoms water. To this he instantly agreed, and the anvil was thrown into the sea. Tamahama immediately sent some of his people down after it, expecting to raise it without difficulty; but they found it somewhat too heavy. Unwilling, however, to abandon so great a treasure, they continued their efforts, and, after long and repeat-

ed exertions, succeeded in rolling the anvil along the bottom of the sea, for about half a mile, relieving each other alternately till they gained the beach, and were received by their countrymen with the loudest applause.

These and similar exertions, although never declined by the divers, are often attended with dangerous consequences to their health On their re-appearing on the surface of the water, we observed their faces to be greatly swelled, their eyes red and inflamed, and blood discharging profusely from their nose and ears. In a short time, however, they recover their usual state, and are ready to repeat the same exertion, and incur the same or greater injury. The only precautions employed by them on these occasions, are to close the apertures of the body, as if to prevent the entrance of the water. To show their wonderful expertness in diving, they would some times go aloft to our top-gallant yard, then plunge into the water, pass under the ship's bottom, and again appear on the opposite side tumbling and sporting like so many water-fowl. We once attempted to turn this qualification to advantage, by employing some of the natives to nail parts of the copper sheeting on the ship's bottom. They would remain not less than three or four minutes under the water, come up to the surface to breathe, and return to their work. This, had we not witnessed it, we should not readily have believed.

As it is impossible for us to follow our author through the numerous islands at which he stopped, we can only recommend his book to the attention of those navigators, who may be called to that extensive part of the globe. After visiting many different spots, in search of provisions, without succeeding in their object, the ship returned to Otaheite, having on board a woman of the Sandwich Islands, who was brought away on the following account:

ANECDOTE OF A SAILOR AND HIS WIFE.

In these remote parts of the globe, says Mr. Turnbull, we were often obliged to grant indulgences to our people, to which in other circumstances we should never have agreed, and which would never have been expected. Our second mate, a very useful person in the government of a ship's company, and in many other respects, pleaded hard with us, while we lay at the Sandwich Islands, to be allowed to carry a female native back with him to Port Jackson, in New South Wales. To such a proposition we would certainly have denied our assent; but, presuming on the importance of his services, the mate intimated that, unless his desire was complied with, he would leave us at the first opportunity.

Having already malcontents enough, without adding an officer to the number, and one who had such great influence with the men, we thought it most prudent to suffer him to bring this woman on board, and thus completely secured him to our interests: much mischief might otherwise have been fomented in the ship, had he been irritated by a refusal of his request.

This person was passionately fond of his new mistress, and spared neither expence nor pains to equip her in the handsomest manner; she was, in truth, in a most woful plight when he received her from her relations, being brought to him without either wardrobe or jointure, but just as she stood, in her homely country dress. It was therefore necessary to clothe the poor creature entirely anew; no easy task in our ship, where we had neither mantua-maker nor linen-draper. Her husband, therefore, purchased seven purple-bordered shawls, on which, at every leisure moment, he worked in his best manner, until at length he produced a sort of long robe, stitched together rather than sewed. When fitted on the lady it had much the air of a leopard's skin, from the multitude of spots formed by the crossing of the coloured borders in all directions. That her finery might be of a piece, and she appear a little *à la mode d'Angleterre*, it was necessary she should wear pumps. The robe not only fitted, but quite delighted the poor girl; but with the pumps she would willingly have dispensed. It was her husband's will, however, that she should wear them, and she reluctantly submitted.

This was no small sacrifice on her part, for when the shoes were tied on, she moved as if she had been iron-shod. This was an operation too painful to be long endured; she therefore requested of her husband, that she might be unfettered; he consented, and her finery was laid aside till she reached Otaheite. One of her husband's shirts was substituted for common wear, during the passage.

From the first moment of the ship's arrival she was received with uncommon attention by the ladies, who flocked around her in crowds, regarding her attentively from head to foot, and complimenting her very courteously. Whether it was, that her colour so nearly resembled their own, or that the splendour of her dress so far surpassed any thing they had before seen, they were in raptures with her: every one pressed eagerly forward to pay their respects. After they had awhile gazed at her in this manner, the women withdrew with her into the ship's hold. I know not the object of this privacy, whether that they suspected that she was some man dressed up to impose upon them, or that, previous to her reception amongst them, there was a kind of masonry to be observed: so far is certain, that from what the women afterwards said, they must have examined

her very closely. None were more busy on this occasion, than some of the branches of the royal family.

Every one was eager to become her Tayo; perhaps, as she was the wife of an European, they cherished themselves with the hope that some presents might be in the way. They are in this respect most excellent calculators, but sometimes over-reach themselves, as was the case with respect to our armorer. She received many pressing invitations to visit them on shore, and complied with the greater part of them, dressed out to the best advantage. She did not, however, walk in her pumps as if she had enjoyed the benefit of a dancing master.

Not being able to procure hogs at Otaheite, the ship sailed for some of the windward islands; but Mr. T. with two or three assistants, was left at Otaheite, and the detail of his adventures there, is by no means the least interesting part of his work.

It appears that the natives received him as a resident with transport, as he brought a plentiful store from the ship, insomuch that he was richer than all the royal family of Otaheite. The adventures of Mr. T. on the island are curious: he gives the following description of his residence, as a hog-merchant.

From being a common dwelling-house, I converted my residence into a mansion, with more divisions and sub-divisions than all the other houses in Otaheite together. Immediately on landing, I partitioned off one-half for myself with a railing across, and a bar gate in the centre. This was a awful a sad bar to the Otaheitans. After a certain time I was persuaded to admit a few of them as an especial favour; all exclusion was henceforth at an end, they no longer troubled themselves to ask if their company was agreeable, but introduced themselves pell-mell, and *sans cérémonie*. Their only return for this impertinence, was an uninterrupted flow of compliments.

Opposite to me was a large trunk built for the purpose of keeping our pork; this furnished them with an ample theme, what a rich country must theirs be, which could supply such plentiful food for our half-starved countrymen! what a good thing it was for Prettanie that there was such a place as Otaheite, and such a man as Pomarie!

The other half of the house I had set apart for our people, four in number, who immediately applied themselves to raising some large four-post bedsteads, all of which they hung round with Otaheitan cloth for drapery. Not one corner nor crevice of the house but was filled with natives; My tye, my tye, Good, very good, resounded from every part. This flattery was very well calculated for our sailors, whose only aim was admiration, and our seamen being very rich (that is to say, having me to draw on as their banker), were considered by them as very suitable

objects of flattery. They accordingly gave them infinite credit for the elegance of their booths; and when called on to arbitrate, would take care to affront neither party, by pronouncing the booths of all equally inimitable.

Having learned from the missionaries that a large stock of hogs might be procured from the windward part of the island, that part being too distant for the market of Matavia, I engaged some of the deserters whom I have before mentioned, upon this errand.

The condition of these men was by no means enviable: they complained very heavily, and with great reason, of the royal family; who, after having tempted them to desert their ship for the sake of their property, had left them when become poor to shift for themselves. They were now in the most abject state, differing little from a native; and many of them having no other clothes but the country marra. I required some manœuvring to manage these fellows; but by treating them in their own way, business at length proceeded to my wish. I moreover learned some intelligence of them, which much facilitated my purpose.

Their consequence encreased with the wealth (wealth in Otaheite!) they procured by their labours; and, by their influence over the natives, they were of essential service. I never procured better nor cheaper hogs, than through the medium of these men. Other Europeans of the same class, seeing the flourishing state of their countrymen, were now eager to engage in my service; and, as the advantage was mutual, however little I liked them, I was induced to accept of their service.

I moreover learned of these Europeans some particulars with regard to the manners and customs of the Otaheitans, which would otherwise have escaped me. These I shall take occasion to mention in due time.

The chief part of this business I entrusted to Peter the Swede, he being the most experienced man in the island. I left it to his discretion to dispatch or detain the boat according as he judged proper, and as he found hogs scarce in one part of the island, they were instructed to move to another.

Amongst my native servants, was a fellow recommended to me by one of the missionaries; he was sent with some of his countrymen to another part of the country to purchase hogs, and as they were purchased, to see them sent home. There was now a true spirit of competition between the Europeans and the Otaheitans. I did not fail to encourage this as much as was possible, and reaped the fruits of it by a most liberal supply of hogs. Our factory was now a complete exchange.

The native I had employed on the other part of the island, with his attendant hog-drivers, proceeded for a while in the quiet

discharge of his business; but prosperity had spoiled many a better man, and the Otaheitans are not proof against it.

Being habited in some of my old clothes, he assumed the man of consequence, and in his plenitude of prosperity, ventured even to take a wife. The women would not before deign him even a look; but he had now become rich, and therefore, in the language of Otaheite, as well as of other countries, Ta ta my tye, A very good man. That he might secure his domestic peace from invasion, and at the same be uninterrupted in the discharge of his busines, he brought his wife to the factory, and requested that I would not see her injured in his absence, as he did not seem to entertain the best opinion of her fidelity.

In the meanwhile, remaining on his station, he gave me much satisfaction by a diligent discharge of his duty. It was not so with the other Otaheitans, for they began to take mortal offence at his insolence and air of superiority. His pride was much increased by the circumstance of seeing himself at the head of so numerous a retinue of servants.

This foolish fellow at length received the merited chastisement of his folly. His property was a temptation too great to be withstood by an Otaheitan; he was accordingly suddenly attacked, and plundered of all that he possessed.

His courage was so lowered by this misfortune, that he did not venture to make his appearance for two days; but at length stole away to the factory, and informed me of his misfortune. He was very desirous that I should avenge the injury, by an invasion of the district. He repeated with great fervour, Ohow, ohow tata Otaheite, Bad man, very bad man to the Otaheite man. I thought so myself, but excused myself from the invasion. I forgave him, and presented him with two axes. He wished me much to reinstate him in his former situation; but as they had begun with him, I thought the first loss the best, and I resolved to break up the encampment, as too near the frontiers. Captain Main, the name by which he styled himself as the Tayo of one of the missionaries, was now reduced to the humility and safety of a private station.

This gentleman paid me several visits afterwards. Harra way be agunny (Put away your anger), was his constant salutation on these occasions. He was the usual interpreter of the native language, and this one of his best specimens.

His wife was not very well pleased with this change of fortune; and thinking she had married his wealth, and not himself, she deemed her contract annulled by this change of circumstances, and eloped without further ceremony. In the height of her husband's prosperity I had lent him a printed coverlid as a royal marra; his wife thought proper to take this with her. The poor

fellow felt this misfortune more acutely than all his other mischances. I was so affected by his complaints, and the ingratitude of the woman, that I requested the interference of Pomarrie; but he eluded me with his usual dexterity, by the permission to arm my boat and invade the country.

Henceforth our business was wholly conducted by Europeans. It was not without the greatest difficulty that I could keep a suitable check over these profligates: the greater part of them were from Botany Bay, and required as strict a guard as the natives. It may be thus readily conceived, that my situation was not the most enviable.

For the greater security against such attempts, I put my property under the care of the missionaries; whose house, as compared with the best of the Otaheitans, was a perfect castle. Upon the conclusion of a bargain, the natives escorted me in full procession to this magazine; and if the article purchased by them happened to be a musket, it was truly ludicrous to see the bustle and consequence which was made of it. The musket, handed from one to another, was examined minutely by all; and every one, finding some fault which had escaped the other, advised their countrymen not to be imposed upon, but to insist on a good one. They were certain that this shot crooked, and that another would not shoot at all, and in this manner rejected some of my best pieces, and most usually remained content with the worst.

During this busy time, wholly occupied as I might be, I did not neglect a prudent attention to the royal family. They had much forwarded my business, by permitting my servants to range over the whole island in quest of hogs; I therefore neglected nothing which could testify my grateful sense of their kindness. I sent them a daily allowance, as well for themselves, as for their voracious attendants, who, unless on the occasions of public feastings, have seldom an opportunity for these indulgencies. My liberality procured me flattery and compliments in abundance.

This liberality, however, cost me less than they imagined; I sent them always the most indifferent parts of my hogs, such as I could not salt, and therefore from the heat of the climate, could not have been kept. The most favourite part amongst the Otaheitans, the head, happened fortunately to be the most worthless part to me, and I had thus an opportunity of bribing them at a very inconsiderable cost.

Otoo used frequently to invite me, under one pretence or another, to attend him at his house; I usually found him loitering with all the indolence of an Oriental, and his queen as idle and vacant as himself. Upon these visits he pointed to the grass,

as my seat, and throwing himself by my side, entered into familiar conversation.

Her majesty was equally condescending: she never failed, upon these opportunities, to rummage my pockets, and appropriate to herself whatever she might chance to find. The queen of Tiaraboo was equally troublesome, and examined me with equal care. After I had learned that this would be their constant practice, I usually carried about my person some trifling article, that the royal sisters might have the pleasure of pilfering it.

CHARACTER OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF OTAHEITE.

From the open and affable manner of Pomarrie, he is generally beloved by his own subjects. Whether this manner was natural or assumed, I do not take upon me to determine. It produced, however, its full effect, and caused him to be considered as the father of his people, though he had no wish so near to his heart, as that of fleecing them to the very skin.

This avidity, indeed, seemed common to every branch and member of the royal family; Otoo was still superior in this respect to his father, and neither of them had any bounds.

Edeah had nothing of the affable and easy manner of Pomarrie; she received the natives with a haughty deportment, and never descended to any thing like equality. It was much more dangerous to offend her than Pomarrie.

Otoo is a fickle, irresolute character, naturally formed to be the dupe of the sycophants by whom he is surrounded, and, as usually happens in such cases, his ill qualities are cherished to fuller growth by these very sycophants.

In a word, the general characteristic of the whole family is avarice. It is a subject of reasonable astonishment, to see the excess to which this passion is carried. Their stores consist of articles which they have received from the first visits of European ships, and which have rarely seen the light since they were first there deposited. Their hoards are never broken; their pleasure is to have, and not to enjoy.

I myself was once witness of a most notorious act of this unnatural, for thus I may call it, selfishness in Pomarrie himself. One of the missionaries, an easy, good-natured man, had suffered himself to be wheedled out of the whole of what he possessed in the world; and, the clothes on his person excepted, had nothing left but a blanket. Pomarrie happened to meet this good Samaritan at my house, and seeing that he had still his blanket

left, attached himself to him, and contrived to get it. I remonstrated with Pomarrie upon this act of selfishness, representing to him the great need that he had of this relic of his former property, but all in vain; Pomarrie thanked him for the blanket, and, without further words, sent it to his store.

The only instance of generosity I ever experienced, or saw, whilst in these seas, was from the king of Attowaie, who supplied us with cocoa-nuts, salt, and vegetables, without stipulating as to price or conditions, sending on board all that we required, and leaving the remuneration entirely to us. I hope it is needless to add, that we took care that he should lose nothing by his generosity.

As my house was in some degree open, I suffered under a peculiar inconvenience; my premises were infested during the night by dogs, and their depredations on our pork were carried to some extent. As I knew the fondness of the Otaheitans for their dogs, I suffered for some time without complaint, but at length requested of Otoo, that he would command the natives in the neighbourhood to keep their dogs at home; a request with which he not only complied, but added his permission to me to shoot any of them which I should find hereafter trespassing. Availing myself of this indulgence, I had the misfortune to kill a favourite cur of the sister of Pomarrie, and another little dog belonging to the wife of one of the chiefs. This business caused great lamentation amongst the women, and for some time brought me into disgrace with them.

Edeah having to provide for a multitude of strangers, who had lately arrived from the Mottos, was for some time still more troublesome to us than the dogs. Our servants were native boys; she availed herself therefore of their services in secretly pilfering our pork. It was some time before I could discover by what means my stock was so visibly diminished, but at length having dismissed some of the boys under suspicion, and menaced others, I extorted their confession, that they had been employed by Edeah. They, moreover, shewed me an opening formed by the removal of two pales under their bed, through which the stolen articles had been conveyed; and as the sides were greasy, there was no room for any doubt of their veracity.

I do not hesitate to say, that the whole island is but a receptacle of thieves. European property they will possess by some means or other; and theft they consider as a cheaper coin than they can give by any method of purchase. They will not hesitate to waylay and rob a traveller; one method of theft is as palatable to them as another. Pomarrie is himself as dexterous a

thief as any amongst them, if borrowing, without any intention of repayment, merit this name. He would often request me to lend him a hog, but if he once received it, never again mentioned it. This could be nothing but mere avarice, as he could have had any number of hogs at a very easy rate. But theft, as I have before said, is a cheaper method of acquisition than purchase.

FESTIVITIES OF THE OTAHEITANS.

During our author's stay at Otaheite, the return of Paitia and his sister Awow, from the Mottos or Sandy Islets, whither he had been for the recovery of his health, caused a general holiday through that part of the island, of which Mr. T. gives the following account.

It was now a Bartholomew-fair time at Otaheite; nothing but singing and drumming from morning till night. It was usually mid-day before the sports began, or their natural spirits could scarcely have supported the fatigue. Their manner of wrestling is very singular; the party challenging places his left hand on the upper part of his right breast, and with his right hand strikes a smart blow on the cavity formed by the bend of the left arm; he is answered by his antagonist in the same manner, and the contest begins. Head and feet are equally employed upon this occasion, and the contest is terminated only when one of them receives a fall.

Those who were resident in the neighbourhood were usually opposed to the strangers. Our Europeans, in general, had no chance with them; but the moment one or the other received a fall, the contest was at an end, and their threatening looks and ferocity changed into smiles and affectionate salutation. The temper of the Otaheitans is, in this respect, very amiable; they appear absolutely incapable of malice, and if we adopt an epithet from poetry, we may truly call them "a land of gentle souls." One contest, however, was no sooner decided than another party came forward, and this continued upwards of a week.

Nor were these sports confined solely to the men; the women were equally emulous to signalize themselves, and their feats of pugilism were equally honourable to their courage. They fought with equal resolution and dexterity, hanging on each other's necks like bull-dogs, tearing their hair, bumping the stomach of each other, both with their head and feet; in a word, neglecting no means of victory. Their husbands and relations were spectators of their efforts, and encouraged them to continue them; upon one or the other of them receiving a fall,

the affair was terminated, and the parties after adjusting their hair, would tenderly embrace, and be as good friends as ever.

The Arreoys were peculiarly active in exciting the parties upon these occasions. After having spent the greater part of the afternoon in this manner, we were always entertained in the evening by an heva, or dance. The women, to the amount of ninety or an hundred, formed themselves into two circles, one of them consisting wholly of the residents, the other of the strangers, and each with their separate band of music. It is impossible for me to describe the variety of sounds produced by them, by the simple means of the exhalation and inhalation of their breath, for with the exception of a few words chaunted at the beginning of a song, they made use of no words, but tuned their throats so as to produce a variety of tones, and all of them in perfect concert.

In truth I was astonished at the exact union, regularity, and good time. The king looking over my head, would frequently demand of me how I liked the entertainment, and whether we had any thing which could equal it in Prettanie. I have before said that their dances have been mentioned as replete with obscene motions; but I saw less than what I had been led to expect.

The men also had their part in this entertainment. About one hundred and fifty young fellows were so seated in two rows as to form an avenue between them about seven feet apart; they then chaunted, and inhaled, and exhaled, in the same manner as the women who had but now finished. The motions were as cotemporaneous as those of one man; nothing could be more accurate. The king frequently interrogated me in the same manner, and I gratified him by the same answer, that all I saw was admirable, and that we had nothing like it in Britain.

Before the assembly broke up, some stout muscular young fellows came forward and endeavoured to amuse the assembly by exhibiting some obscene attitudes. They were received however with very cold encouragement. I am of opinion that this favourable change in their national taste, *is to be imputed to the exertions of the missionaries*. Would to heaven that their efforts might prevail to induce these savages to cease from the practice of infant murder and human sacrifices!

THEIR METHOD OF FISHING.

Being at length, and with difficulty, satisfied what was this thing, and what was that, and what the use of every thing they saw, they would run to their fishing seine. This is a net made

of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and extending full a quarter of a mile in length. It will sweep round a rock without much injury, and whatever fish may be adhering to its side, will force from their holds without difficulty. Some of the king's attendants are always in waiting upon these occasions and seldom fail to seize upon two thirds as the royal tribute. The king being thus served, the multitude are let loose upon what remains, a scene truly ludicrous. A general scramble of men, women, and children, then ensues, the seine is usually torn to pieces in the contest, every one then decamps with his prize.

These amusements continued during the whole week after the arrival of the illustrious strangers, but slackened towards the end, the country people returning to their homes to prepare for the repetition of the same merriment in their own district.

While Mr T. was collecting his supply of hogs, he received the disastrous intelligence of the loss of his ship, which was wrecked on a reef of rocks to the northward of the island. The crew after encountering many dangers arrived in a state of starvation in a punt which they had constructed from the deck of the vessel. On the return of these fellows, Mr. Turnbull's situation became extremely precarious, for knowing that he and the captain had lost a part of their property, they represented themselves as the equal of their officers, and stimulated the natives to rise against them. But their object reverted upon themselves, for having no property of their own the natives soon repelled them with contempt.

Mr Hayward ascertained that the comfort of his stay at Otaheite would depend on his being able to pay for it, resolved to cross in the punt to the neighbouring island of Eimeo. This island is governed by the brother of Tetoo. After many dangers, which we have no room to specify, the party landed and were well received, but were soon subjected to a

DARING ROBBERY

I went to sleep, says he with the treasure-chest close to my side as usual. How great was my surprise when, awaking about two o'clock in the morning, I saw a fellow of unusual stature, walking off with it most deliberately! The fellow must doubtless have touched me, for I happened to awake in the moment that he was leisurely decamping with his booty. I immediately alarmed the house, and called my boat's crew, but as two of them had slept out, and two only were in the house, I knew not how to proceed. So enraged was I at this atrocity, that seizing a piece

of wood at hand, I followed the thief, and came up with him as he was in the act of setting it down in a house full of natives. Without any thought of consequence, I repaid him on the spot with some heavy blows on the back, the natives started up and rescued him, and wresting the stick from me, rapped me in my own com; my two fellows standing petrified with terror. Having no other resource but flight, I betook my self in good earnest to my heels, and gaining the house of the chief, requested him to interpose. From his reluctancy of manner, I could entertain no doubt that he had been accessary to the theft. I in vain solicited him to accompany me to the spot, and effect the recovery of my chest.

Finding that entreaty had no effect, I had recourse to other means, and seizing the boat's iron tiller, threatened that I would put a period to the fellow's existence or lose my own, unless my chest was restored. He now consented to follow me. The whole village was by this time in an uproar, the fellow himself, the original cause of the tumult, sat triumphantly on the chest, and seemed to glory in the heroism of his theft.

A most fortunate circumstance was, that the fellow in taking the trunk, had at the same time, carried off the two pistols with which I usually travelled, and all the ammunition. It is not at all improbable that I should otherwise have given him the contents, whilst in the first transports of passion, a circumstance which must have been attended with the most serious consequences, as a general affray must have ensued. Indeed it was already very near it, for the two men remaining with me, having resumed their courage, were now brandishing their knives and vowing vengeance, till some of the natives spoke of christening them and diming them to the issue. Finding they were determined to stand their ground, I ordered my men to desist from provoking them, this had the happiest effect, for their anger subsided entirely. I now had recourse to my interest with my friends Pomaree and Edeah, explained their commendation, when they learned that I had been thanked in my port of their commerce. I informed them that it was chiefly on their business that I was induced to visit the Islands, this was in some measure true, being commissioned to bring them as much awa as possible. Never were the lives of my adventurers more in the power of savages, than were ours at this time, for our boat being hauled up a considerable way, it was almost as impossible for us to launch her, as to move the island.

I now clearly saw that it was a concerted scheme, and having no friends, I thought it best to desist from any violent measures. I again addressed myself to the thief, and this being ineffectual,

egun requested the interference of the chief after being thus driven from one to the other the fellow at last proposed to return upon condition of receiving a recompence I was compelled to capitulate this circumstance coupled with others to convince me that from the first to the last, the island was little more than a receptacle for thieves

Mr I then returned to Otaheite but his stay was of short duration

After the unfortunate circumstance of the loss of our ship, our prospects at Otaheite were very gloomy. Having saved little or no property from the wreck, it became a subject of serious consideration in what manner we should subsist Otaheite was little calculated for Europeans for those who were without money It was moreover uncertain how long we should be compelled to remain in our present situation To attempt building exceeded our means, we had lost our carpenter at the Sandwich Islands and it was in vain to expect any assistance from any other of our people Our command and authority over them had vanished since the wreck every one now followed his own will and appeared so attached to their present indolent life, that they seemed to have no intention of quitting it Of the whole of our late crew the cook and mate, the captain, and myself were the only persons who wished to return to our native country Our boatswain had set up for himself from the native women a new set of female friendship even in the short time unfortunately not so with us we knew it, but could help ourselves

The blessings of Providence, however, were interposed at a time when we had given over to hope, for after we had been about three months in this state of despondency and fear, one afternoon, a short time before sunset a sail A ship a ship sounding through the island, raised us into new hopes Hope and fear now alternately prevailed our fears suggested that the captain might have some possible objection, that he was going to China or some other circumstances Be so happened, however, that the goodness of Providence was not incomplete, the ship was going to the very place to which of all others we wished to go, to Port Jackson We agreed with him for a passage, and in our present situation, laying aside all indignation at the conduct of our countrymen, we divided with them our remaining property.

There had been some ceremonies to get through at Attahouna, that the business had not been finally settled upon the the ships arrival The intelligence of this event, however, brought Pomarre to Opare to prepare his presents, he had got

his hogs in the canoe, and was half-way to the ship, when he was seized suddenly with a fit, and falling with each hand on the side of the canoe, expired. The poor fellows in the canoe immediately paddled back as fast as possible to his house at Oparie, where, in her way likewise to the ship, Edeah had by this time arrived. Messenger after messenger was dispatched to the missionaries and their surgeon; they were earnestly intreated to hasten to the house of Pomarrie. The surgeon happened at this time to be on board the ship, taking a farewell leave of us upon our departure. We earnestly advised him, should he find Pomarrie still alive, not to venture to prescribe to him; as in the case of his death, the natives would not fail to impute it to poison, and perhaps avenge his supposed murder on the mission. It has been before mentioned, that they imputed the death of Terinavoura to the prayers of the missionaries; and that they are persuaded that the prayers of these holy men have this kind of sacred witchcraft. Under such impressions, it may readily be conceived that the situation of the missionaries is not the most enviable in the world.

Not one moment was lost on the part of the surgeon, who on his arrival found the whole family in the deepest anguish and distress. The brother of Pomarrie was deaf to all consolation, and could scarcely be withheld from suicide. All was anguish and confusion; some imputed his death to one cause, others to another; but the opinion of the majority was, that he had offended the Gods, though they could not agree by what means, except by his human sacrifices. They had recourse to one singular remedy; the body of a human victim he had sacrificed about three weeks before, was brought and stretched prostrate under him, in hopes of appeasing the offended divinity.

The object of the voyage of Mr. T. being defeated by the loss of his ship, we shall extract his opinion of the missionaries, whose disinterested christian piety has induced them to pass their lives amongst a horde of savages. With this and his account of the customs of the people, we shall close our analysis of his interesting work. Speaking of the idolatry of the natives, he says,

The superstitious extravagances, and religious observances of these people, are beyond all description ridiculous; they seem to have no analogy either in heaven or earth, and must baffle every investigation as to their origin.

It may be satisfactory to the friends of the missionaries to learn, that their prayer meetings and public ordinances were constantly kept up, the morning and afternoon of every day, and on Sundays three times in the day. The natives, however, did not attend. The brethren took it by turns to visit all the parts

of the island within their reach on that day. The preaching, or rather the example of the missionaries, is not however wholly without effect; the Sabbath is called by the natives Mahanate Etooa, the Day of God; and however little attention in every other respect they pay to religion, their conduct in the immediate neighbourhood of Matavia, on this day, is more sedate and orderly than on any other. The missionaries have doubtless gained a small victory over them in this point, as likewise in another of still greater consequence: the greater part of their former obscenity in their public dances has disappeared, and in the neighbourhood of Matavia, the Sunday has something the semblance of a christian sabbath.

Most of the missionaries have made great advances in the Otaheitan language, and their companions were studying it with the most indefatigable industry. They are building two boats from eighteen to twenty tons, with the purpose of visiting the island to leeward. One of these boats was in great forwardness. Some of their wood was from the island of Eimeo, and they had extracted a kind of pitch from the Tapow or gum of the bread-fruit tree. On my return to Port Jackson, I learned from one of the resident missionaries of that settlement, that a supply of canvas, pitch, and tar, had been sent to them by a ship which proposed to touch at Otaheite for refreshment.

POPULATION OF OTAHEITE.

The missionaries had made the circuit of the island twice during the time we had been amongst them, preaching from district to district, and seconding their exhortations by presents. If zeal in the discharge of their duty could ensure success, the missionaries would not preach in vain.

In their circuits they have successfully endeavoured to come at the exact number of the people. It is melancholy to add, that the population has diminished in a degree which threatens to render the country a desert. Captain Cook computed them at upwards of two hundred thousand; the population has now dwindled to five thousand. On the arrival of the Duff, they exceeded triple this number.

The mortality which raged at this period, and which I fear is but too epidemic and frequent, was such as to inspire us with the most melancholy ideas. During our short absence in our visit to the Sandwich islands, many young persons of both sexes were no more; they had died in the prime and vigour of life, and others of an appearance equally healthy were following them very fast. Great part of this mortality must be imputed to their ignorance; the doctrine of fatality prevails amongst them to a most fatal excess. Every disease is the immediate consequence of

vengeance of their offended deities, and therefore every
t of remedy or relief is rejected, as equally useless and
. They are left to their fate; and their diseases are un-
such, as, however easy of cure under a regular course,
fatal when suffered to augment under neglect.
.ium the greatest contempt for old age; and if they
f om articles, were accustomed to say, it was as
old man.
our sailing, Mr. Not, one of the missionaries
ed in the langu ge), was absent upon the affairs of
, he was accompanied by another gentleman
cannot at this moment recall. Mr. Elder and
just returned from the Mottos or low islands to
They reported that th population of these
not exceed three hundred.

.r. Jefferson had opened a school, but only one native at-
ded; this was the daughter of an European, one of the crew
of the Matilda. Mr. Eyre and Mr Henry live in a new house
together, built for them by the society; the large house not
having been found sufficient to accommodate them all. Mrs.
Eyre was in good health, considering her years; Mrs. Henry had
risen from her *accouchement* about six weeks.

They apparently lived together in the greatest love and har-
mony, and all of them present an example of industry. Their
situation, however, is by no means so comfortable as many of
our countrymen may be inclined to imagine; for as their stock
of European articles decreases, they must proportionately lose
their influence over the natives.

They possess a public garden very well stocked and cultivated,
and the greater part of them a private one not much inferior.
The space inclosed within the palisades of the public garden, is
about four acres; it seems natural to imagine, that its beauty
and utility would have acted as a stimulus to the natives to imi-
tate their industry. The indolence of the Otaheitans, however,
is beyond the cure of any common remedy.

In the gardens of the missionaries are lemon, lime, orange,
each, and citron trees, in great number and perfection: they
have moreover patches of the tarra-root, Indian corn, and indigo.
It must be some years, however, before they can expect to derive
any considerable advantage from these.

The missionaries at my departure were very anxious to receive
intelligence from their friends in England, and were in daily ex-
pectation of the arrival of one of their ships. Edeah observed,
in a manner which it was not difficult to interpret, that this ship
was a long time coming. The missionaries seem well satisfied
with their situation. Some of them, however, expressed a wish

that some decent young women of character might be sent over to Otaheite as wives, and I do not think it unreasonable that the society should comply with this request.

As their chief subsistence, the fruit of the bread-tree, is becoming rather scarce at Matavia, it is their intention upon the arrival of the next missionary-ship, to retreat to the isthmus, should they not receive contrary orders from the directory. It was not their intention to finally abandon Matavia, but to leave two or three of the missionaries there to carry on the missionary business, and interpret for shipping occasionally. The natives will not be altogether pleased with this removal. They respect the missionaries, and in some respect regard them with astonishment. Their comparative purity of manners, their attachment to their women, and their peaceable and upright deportment, are subjects of their wonder; and as their minds unfold to the knowledge of morals, they will continue to increase in their esteem and regard for these men.

It is profanation, says Mr. T. in an Otaheitan woman to eat with a man; the women must on all occasions eat by themselves. The ladies of the royal family and women of the first rank, are the only exceptions to this rule.

Pair thus compelled to associate together, they live in a more perfect harmony with each other than would otherwise exist amongst them. I do not know that I ever saw any dispute between the women, the boxing matches which I have mentioned, being mere ceremonies and national amusements.

Should it so happen, that the husband and his wife cannot agree, there is no restraint on their separation; and as such is the custom of the country, neither of them are considered as having violated any duty, or broken any contract.

There is nothing for which the Otaheitans are more distinguished than for their cleanliness. Both men and women bathe twice, sometimes thrice in the day, and prefer fresh water to salt upon this occasion. They are very particular in the adjustment and nice composition of their hair, anointing it with cocoa-nut oil and the perfume of the sandal wood. They spend much of their time at their looking-glass, and with their scissars; and if any glasses are offered to them by which their features are disfigured, they return them with an indignant *Oa'hoa*, *oa'hoa*; their grimaces on those occasions are truly ludicrous.

The bonnets of the women are very neat; and, together with the sweet-scented flowers resembling our English lilies, with which they adorn their hair, much improve their air of natural simplicity. These bonnets, made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut split into fibres, are of various colours, according to the fancy of the wearers; and as the only cost is the time and trouble

of making them, they usually appear in a new one every seven or third day: every one is in this respect her own milliner.

Much has been said as to the licentiousness and loose conduct of the women. It is but justice to say, that I saw nothing of this. Their ideas of decency are doubtless very different from ours; they must be judged therefore by a very different standard.

Their dispositions are gentle to an extreme. I never saw an Otaheitan out of temper the whole time I was at Otaheite. The paramour of Edeah, and brother of Pemaine, are indeed exceptions. Their manners are perhaps softer in the immediate neighbourhood of the missionaries than in the remoter parts.

They are ardent in the love and praise of their country, and believe it to be the finest part on the whole habitable globe. Some of them do not hesitate to say, that we visit their country for its sweet food.

An Otaheitan will not suffer a hair about him, with the exception of his head. It is a great part of their daily occupation to remove them, either by a razor, or plucking them up by the roots.

On the whole, Mr. T. is decidedly of opinion, that independence and happiness no where exist in these islands, that the conduct of the petty tyrants keeps them in a continual state of warfare; that their intercourse with Europeans has corrupted their morals, and that from their general practice of destroying their infants, they will soon be obliterated from the nations of the earth.

END OF TURNBULL'S VOYAGE.

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TO

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GENERAL DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

THE Binder is to separate the sheets of each work from the different numbers, and incorporate them in a volume, in the following order:

1. POUQUEVILLE.
2. MANGOURIT.
3. FISCHER.
4. TOUR IN SPAIN, &c.
5. TOUR IN IRELAND.
6. CARR.
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POUQUEVILLE.

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TOUR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Map of Spain and Portugal, to face the title of Tour in Spain.

TOUR IN IRELAND.

Giant's Causeway, to face page 22.
Lake of Killarney, page 27.

☞ In consequence of the illiberal strictures on the Irish character, which pervade this (otherwise excellent) Tour, we think it necessary to inform our readers, that it is the production of A SCOTCHMAN!

CARR.

View of Copenhagen 8
Cronberg Castle and Elsineur, from Hamlet's Garden 17
View of St. Petersburgh 40

ERRATUM.—By an accident at the press, the following words have fallen from the bottom of page 92 of Pouqueville's Travels; but which the reader can insert with a pen:—" doors, a curtain was drawn aside, and I found myself in the chamber of the intendant."